PAUSANIAS'S

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TRANSLATED WITH A COMMENTARY

BY

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BOOK SECOND

CORINTH

WITH the Second Book Pausanias opens his description of Peloponnese, to which he has devoted six out of his ten books. Beginning with Argolis he takes the five maritine divisions or provinces of Peloponnese (namely Argolis, Laconia, Messenia, Elis, and Achaia) in topographical order, and finishes with the central and inland province of Arcadia. Each province has a book to itself except Elis, which has two. The present book, though it takes its name (*Corinthiaca*) from Corinth, deals in fact with the whole of Argolis, of which the territory of Corinth formed only a small part.

Of modern works which treat specially of the geography and topography of Peloponnese the following are the most important: W. Gell, *The Itinerary of Greece* (London, 1810) (in spite of its pretentious title this work contains little more than an itinerary of Argolis); *id.*, *Itinerary of the Morea* (London, 1817); *id.*, *Narrative of a journey in the Morea* (London, 1823); W. M. Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, in three volumes (London, 1830); *id.*, *Peloponnesiaca* (London, 1846); M. E. Puillon-Boblaye, *Recherches géographiques sur les ruines de la Morée* (Paris, 1835) (forms part of the large work *Expédition scientifique de Morée*); L. Ross, *Reisen und Reiserouten durch Griechenland*, Erster Theil: *Reisen im Peloponnes* (Berlin, 1841); E. Curtius, *Peloponnesos*, in two volumes (Gotha, 1851-52); E. Beulé, *Etudes sur le Péloponnèse*; W. G. Clark, *Peloponnesus* (London, 1858); A. Philippson, *Der Peloponnes. Versuch einer Landeskunde auf geologischen Grundlage* (Berlin, 1892) (treats of the physical and especially the geological configuration of the country). Argolis is the subject of a monograph by A. Meliarakes, *Γεωγραφία πολιτικὴ νέα καὶ ἀρχαία τοῦ νομοῦ Ἀργολίδος καὶ Κορινθίας* (Athens, 1886), which deals chiefly with the modern geography of the district.

1. 1. **That Corinthus was a son of Zeus** etc. The legendary history of Corinth has been examined by Mr. E. Wilisch ('Die Sagen von Korinth nach ihrer geschichtlichen Bedeutung,' *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik*, 117 (1878), pp. 721-746). In the legends he distinguishes three distinct strains, an Ionian, an Aeolian, and a Phoenician. According to him, the Ionians were the original settlers; their mythical representatives are Theseus, Poseidon, and Marathon. The Aeolians, he thinks, were aristocratic immigrants from Northern Greece, who domineered over the original Ionian settlers; their mythical representatives are Sisyphus, son of Aeolus, Jason, and

Neleus. Lastly, the settlement of Phoenicians on the Isthmus of Corinth is attested by the worship of Astarte (the armed Aphrodite) on the Acro-Corinth (Paus. ii. 5. 1), by the legend of Melicertes (the Phoenician Melcarth), and by the festival of the Hellotia, which is known to have been observed at Corinth. We are told that Hellotia or Hellotis was an old name for Europa, whose connection with Phoenicia is not doubtful, and that Europa's bones were carried in procession at the festival of the Hellotia, which was celebrated in Crete as well as in Corinth (Athenaeus, xv. p. 678 b; Hesychius, *s.v.* Ἑλλώτια; *Etymol. Magnum*, *s.v.* Ἑλλωτία, p. 332). According to one account (*Etymol. Magnum*, *l.c.*) *hellotia* was a Phoenician word meaning 'maiden.' The legends of the origin of the festival seem to point to a custom of burning children in sacrifice, as was done by Semitic peoples (see the Schol. on Pindar, *Olymp.* xiii. 56). The story of Medea murdering her children may possibly refer, as Mr. Wilisch thinks, to the same custom. Phoenicaeum, the name of a Corinthian mountain (Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Φοινίκαιον), is perhaps another reminiscence of a Phoenician settlement in this neighbourhood. On traces of the Phoenicians at Corinth see also Curtius, *Peloponnesos*, 2. p. 517 *sq.*; and on the early history of Corinth see *id.*, 'Studien zur Geschichte von Korinth,' *Hermes*, 10 (1876), pp. 215-243 (reprinted in his *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 1. pp. 181-210).

1. 1. **Eumelus.** Eumelus was an old Epic poet of the eighth century B.C. The work to which Pausanias here refers is supposed to have been a prose epitome, by some later hand, of an epic poem by Eumelus. This prose work seems to have been known also to Clement of Alexandria, who apparently entertained no doubt of its genuineness, for he says that "Eumelus and Acusilaus the historians turned the poems of Hesiod into prose and published them as their own productions" (*Strom.* vi. p. 267, ed. Sylburg, p. 751, ed. Potter). Pausanias tells us (iv. 4. 1) that the hymn to the Delian Apollo was esteemed the only genuine work of Eumelus. For the date of Eumelus see Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* i. p. 398, ed. Potter. Cp. W. Christ, *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*, p. 79; E. G. Wilisch, *Ueber die Fragmente des Epikers Eumelos* (Zittau, 1875); *Epicorum Graecorum fragmenta*, ed. Kinkel, p. 185 *sqq.*

1. 2. **when Critolaus was appointed general of the League** etc. See vii. 14-16.

1. 2. **it was repeopled by Caesar** etc. Carthage and Corinth were rebuilt in 44 B.C. (Strabo, xvii. p. 833; Appian, *Punica*, 136; Plutarch, *Caesar*, 57; Dio Cassius, xliii. 50; Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, 3.[2] p. 214). Appian says (*l.c.*) that the colonisation of Carthage, though planned by Caesar, was carried out by Augustus after Caesar's death and in accordance with Caesar's directions. On excavations and discoveries at Carthage in recent times see A. W. Franks, 'On recent excavations at Carthage,' *Archaeologia*, 38 (1860), pp. 163-186; N. Davis, *Carthage and her remains* (London, 1861); W. S. W. Vaux, 'Recent excavations at Carthage,' *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature* Second Series, 7 (1863), pp. 441-473; Reinach et Babelon,

'Sculptures antiques trouvées à Carthage,' *Gazette Archéologique*, 10 (1885), pp. 129-142; Vernax, 'Note sur des fouilles à Carthage,' *Revue Archéologique*, 3me Série, 10 (1887), pp. 11-27, 151-170. The remains of the massive walls of ancient Carthage, about 33 feet thick and containing a series of chambers "resembling those of bomb-proof bastions," were discovered by the French archaeologist Beulé at a depth of 56 feet. For an attempted restoration of the walls see Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 3. p. 341 *sqq.*

1. 3. **Cromyon.** Pausanias now resumes his itinerary at the point where he broke off at the end of Book First. He is proceeding from Megara to Corinth by the shore of the Saronic Gulf, and the first place to which he comes in the territory of Corinth is Cromyon or Crommyon, as it is more commonly spelt by classical writers (Thucydides, iv. chs. 42, 44, 45; Xenophon, *Hellenica*, iv. 4. 13; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 9). The site of Cromyon is now occupied by the little Albanian village of *H. Theodori*, situated just midway between Megara and Corinth. The village stands close to the seashore in a small but fertile plain, which on the landward side is shut in by the lower declivities of the Geranian mountains. The distance of the village from Corinth (13½ miles) agrees closely with Thucydides's statement (iv. 45) that Cromyon was distant 120 Greek furlongs (13⅓ miles) from Corinth. At the little chapel of St. Theodore beside the sea the French surveyors found considerable ruins. Vischer saw foundations overgrown with brushwood, and columns and architectural fragments lying about. Built into the wall of the chapel is a Greek inscription of the Imperial age, the epitaph of a girl Philostrata who died in her fifteenth year (Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, No. 463). It was probably at *H. Theodori* that Wheler observed the ancient building which he describes as 3 or 4 yards high and 8 square; he saw some marble bas-reliefs lying near it. Cromyon was a fortified place in antiquity (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, iv. 4. 13; Scylax, *Periplus*, 55). It anciently belonged to Megara (Strabo, viii. p. 380), but as early as the fourth century B.C. it had been already annexed to Corinth (Scylax, *Periplus*, 55; as to the date of this *Periplus*—about 338-335 B.C.—see C. Müller, *Geographi Graeci Minores*, 1. p. xliii. *sq.*) The present inhabitants of the place regard themselves as belonging to the Morea, not to Megara. The name Cromyon or Crommyon is perhaps derived from *kromuon*, 'an onion'; but the form Cremmyon also occurs in ancient writers (Scylax, *Periplus*, 55; Pliny, *N. H.* iv. 23; Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Κρεμμύων).

See Wheler, *Journey*, p. 436 *sq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches géographiques*, p. 35; Leake, *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 397; Curtius, *Peloponnesos*, 2. p. 555; Vischer, *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke*, p. 229 *sq.*; W. G. Clark, *Peloponnesus*, p. 45 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr. von Griechenland*, 1. p. 384; Baedeker,[3] p. 154; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, pp. 19, 28. Leake formerly identified Cromyon with *Kineta*, a modern village with flat-roofed houses situated in a valley planted with olives, five miles nearer Megara than *H. Theodori* (Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, 3. p. 307 *sq.*)

1. 3. **the sow Phaea.** On this Cromyonian sow, which was said to have been the dam of the Calydonian boar, see Plutarch, *Theseus*, 9;

Apollodorus, ed. R. Wagner, p. 173 ; Strabo, viii. p. 380 : Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Κρεμμύων. Theseus's combat with it is depicted on vases (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 2 (1881), p. 61 *sq.*, with pl. x. ; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1789), and is the subject of one of the sculptured metopes of the so-called Theseum at Athens (Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1781).

1. 3. **the pine-tree.** This was doubtless the pine-tree at the foot of which the body of the drowned Melicertes was said to have been washed ashore. Plutarch tells us (*Quaest. Conviv.* v. 3. 1) that the spot was near Megara and was known as the Path of the Fair Damsel, because Ino had rushed down it with her child in her arms to plunge into the sea. On coins of Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius, and Commodus, Melicertes is represented stretched on the back of a dolphin under the pine-tree (Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 10 *sq.*, with pl. B i-vi.) The crown of pine-leaves which was at first the prize in the Isthmian games was perhaps supposed to be made from this particular tree ; for the Isthmian games were instituted in honour of Melicertes (Paus. i. 44. 8). Afterwards a crown of celery was substituted, and at a still later time the prize was again a crown of pine-leaves. See Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* v. 3 ; *id.*, *Timoleon*, 26 ; Schol. on Nicander, *Alex.* 605 : Schol. on Pindar, *Nem.* Introd. p. 426, ed. Boeckh.



FIG. 1.—PALAEMON ON DOLPHIN UNDER PINE-TREE (COIN OF CORINTH).

1. 4. **the robber Sinis.** Cp. Apollodorus, iii. 16. 2 ; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 8 ; Hyginus, *Fab.* 38. Theseus's adventure with him is depicted on Greek vases. See O. Jahn, in *Archäologische Zeitung*, 23 (1865), p. 21 *sqq.*, with pl. cxcv. ; W. Müller, *Die Theseusmetopen vom Theseion zu Athen*, p. 36 *sq.* ; *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 2 (1881), pl. x. ; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1789 ; W. Klein, *Euphronios*.[2] p. 193 *sqq.* ; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. cx. *sqq.*

1. 4. **Periphetes.** Cp. Apollodorus, iii. 16. 1 ; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 8. On representations of this adventure in ancient art see W. Müller, *op. cit.* p. 46 *sq.*

1. 5. **The Isthmus of Corinth.** The Isthmus of Corinth, which unites the Peloponnese on the south to the mountainous district of Megara and Central Greece on the north, is a low flat neck of land about three and a half miles wide at the narrowest part and about 260 feet high at the lowest point, stretching in a direction from W.S.W. to E.N.E. The central part is a flat tableland, which shelves away in steep terraces to the sea on the southern side. Its surface is rugged, barren, and waterless ; where it is not quite bare and stony, it is mostly overgrown with stunted shrubs and dwarf pines, or with thistles and other prickly plants of a grey, arid aspect. There is no underwood and no turf. In spring some grass and herbage sprout in patches among the thistles and afford pasture to flocks. The niggard soil, where soil exists, is cultivated in a rude, imperfect way, and yields some scanty crops, mostly of wheat and barley. But in the drought of summer

every green blade disappears, and the fields are little more than a bare stony wilderness swept by whirling clouds of dust. This rugged barren quality of the soil was equally characteristic of the Isthmus in antiquity (Strabo, viii. p. 382). It seems to have been customary to gather the stones from the fields before sowing the seed (Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* iii. 20. 5).

In ancient times ships of small burden were regularly dragged on rollers or waggons across the narrowest part of the Isthmus in order to avoid the long voyage round Peloponnese; hence this part of the Isthmus was known as the *Diolkos* or Portage (Strabo, viii. pp. 335, 380; Hesychius, *s.v.* Δίολκος; Mela, ii. 48; Aristophanes, *Thesmoph.* 648, with the Schol.; Pliny, *N. H.* iv. 10). The Portage began on the east at Schoenus (Strabo, viii. p. 380), near the modern *Kalamaki*; its western termination is not mentioned by ancient writers, but was probably near the west end of the modern canal. We read of fleets of warships being transported across the Isthmus (Thucydides, viii. 7; Polybius, iv. 19, v. 101); for example after the battle of Actium Augustus thus conveyed his ships across the Isthmus in pursuit of Antony and Cleopatra (Dio Cassius, li. 5), and in 883 A.D. the Greek admiral Nicetas Oriphas transported a fleet across it to repel an attack of the Saracens (Phrantzes, i. 33, p. 96 *sq.*, ed. Bekker; *Zeitschrift d. Gesell. f. Erdkunde zu Berlin*, 25 (1890), p. 85 *sq.*) Some remains of the ancient portage, which seems to have been a sort of tramway, may still be seen near a guard-house, at the point where the road from *Kalamaki* to Corinth crosses the northern of the two ancient fortification-walls (see below).

The lowest and narrowest part of the Isthmus, through which the Portage went in antiquity and the modern canal now runs, is bounded on the south by a line of low cliffs. Along the crest of these cliffs may be traced the remains of an ancient fortification-wall stretching right across the Isthmus from sea to sea. It is built of large blocks laid in fairly regular courses, and is flanked by square towers which project from the curtain at regular intervals of about 100 yards on the north side, showing that the wall was meant to protect the Corinthian end of the Isthmus against invasion from the north. The wall does not extend in a straight line, but follows the crest of the cliffs, wherever this natural advantage presented itself. The best preserved portion lies immediately to the east of the Isthmian sanctuary (see below); here the wall is about 23 feet high and 8 feet thick. On the west the wall ended in a square fortress, standing on the shore of the Gulf of Corinth about three quarters of a mile to the south of the canal. The foundations of this fortress still remain under masonry of a later date. About a hundred paces north of this fortification-wall there are traces, at least on the eastern side of the Isthmus, of a less massive wall running parallel to the former but on lower ground.

At what period this double line of fortification was constructed across the Isthmus is not known, but from the regular style of masonry the work seems to belong to the best era of Greek history. Herodotus tells us (viii. 71) that at the time of Xerxes's invasion (480 B.C.) the Peloponnesians, on learning of the destruction of Leonidas and his men at

Thermopylae, assembled by thousands at the Isthmus, and working without intermission day and night built a wall right across the Isthmus. But from the haste with which this wall was erected, and the materials (stones, bricks, wood, and sand) of which it was constructed, we may infer with Col. Leake that it was merely a temporary field work such as has often been thrown up in Greek warfare. Neither Thucydides nor Xenophon alludes to any line of defence as having impeded the march of troops across the Isthmus in the wars at the end of the fifth and the beginning of the fourth century B.C. But Diodorus relates (xv. 68) that in 369 B.C. the Athenians, Lacedaemonians, and their allies essayed to bar the Isthmus against Epaminondas and the Boeotians by constructing a palisade and deep trenches from Cenchreae to Lechaeum. But Epaminondas stormed their lines and cut his way through. At the time of the Gallic invasion in 279 B.C. the Peloponnesians seem to have meditated fortifying the Isthmus by a wall (Paus. vii. 6. 7); and in 253 A.D. under the emperor Valerian the project was revived and carried out at a time when an invasion of the northern barbarians was expected (Zosimus, i. 29). The wall was repaired by Justinian towards the close of the sixth century A.D., and again by Manuel Palaeologus in 1415 (Phrantzes, i. 33, p. 96, ed. Bekker).

See Dodwell, *Tour through Greece*, 2. pp. 184, 186 *sq.*; Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, 3. pp. 286-288, 296-305; Boblaye, *Recherches géographiques*, p. 36 *sq.*; Curtius, *Peloponnesos*, 1. pp. 12-15, 27 *sq.*; *id.*, 2. pp. 545-547, 596 *sq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke*, pp. 230-233; Bursian, *Geogr. v. Griech.* 2. p. 18; Monceaux, in *Gazette Archéologique*, 10 (1885), p. 212 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 242 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 200 *sq.*; A. Philippson, 'Der Isthmos von Korinth,' *Zeitschrift d. Gesell. f. Erdkunde zu Berlin*, 25 (1890), pp. 1-98 (an elaborate description of the physical, especially the geological features, of the Isthmus); *id.*, *Peloponnes*, pp. 28-30.

The ancients varied greatly in their estimate of the breadth of the Isthmus. Scylax (*Periplus*, 40), Diodorus (xi. 16), and Strabo (viii. pp. 334, 335) put the breadth at forty Greek furlongs. Lucian at twenty furlongs (*Nero*, 1), Philostratus at twenty-six furlongs (*Vit. Soph.* ii. 1. 10), Pliny (*N. H.* iv. 10) at five Roman miles, Mela (ii. 48) and Solinus (vii. 15, p. 64, ed. Mommsen) at four Roman miles. The estimates of Philostratus, Mela, and Solinus are most nearly correct. According to the French Survey the exact breadth at the narrowest point is 5950 metres (Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 37, note 1). The length of the modern canal is 5857 metres (Philippson, in *Zeitschrift d. Gesell. f. Erdkunde zu Berlin*, 25 (1890), p. 13).

1. 5. **Cenchreae —— Lechaeum.** Cenchreae was the port on the eastern, Lechaeum the port on the western side of the Isthmus. On a bronze coin of Hadrian the two harbours are represented as nymphs turned opposite ways, each holding a rudder. On a bronze coin of Septimius Severus they are personified as reclining male figures, one of them holding a rudder, the other an anchor. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 15, with plates C xl., G cxxxiv.

1. 5. **He who attempted to turn Peloponnese into an island** etc. In antiquity the plan of cutting a canal through the Isthmus of Corinth

was entertained at various times by Periander (Diogenes Laertius, i. 7. 99), Demetrius Poliorcetes (Strabo, i. p. 54; Pliny, *N. H.* iv. 10), Julius Caesar (Pliny, *l.c.*; Suetonius, *Julius*, 44; Plutarch, *Caesar*, 58; Dio Cassius, xliv. 5), Caligula (Pliny, *l.c.*; Suetonius, *Caligula*, 21), and Herodes Atticus (Philostratus, *Vit. Soph.* ii. 1. 10); but the only man who actually set about the work was Nero, to whom Pausanias here alludes without mentioning his name. A great multitude of soldiers and prisoners, including apparently 6000 Jews sent by Vespasian from Judaea, was assembled at the Isthmus, and operations were begun with much solemnity, apparently about the end of 67 A.D. The emperor himself, after chanting hymns in honour of the marine deities, set the example by giving a few strokes with a golden pick-axe, which the governor of Greece formally handed to him. Then the multitude fell to work in earnest, the soldiers turning up the earth and the prisoners hewing at the rocks. A beginning was made on the western side of the Isthmus, but excavations had been carried for a distance of only about four furlongs, when they were suddenly suspended in consequence of evil tidings which Nero received of conspiracies at Rome and disaffection among the armies of the West. See Suetonius, *Nero*, 19; Pliny, *N. H.* iv. 10; Lucian, *Nero*, 1-5; Philostratus, *Vit. Apollon.* iv. 24; Dio Cassius, lxiii. 16; Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* iii. 10. 10; Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenlands unter der Herrschaft der Römer*, 2. pp. 115-119.

Nero's excavations, visible in the time of Pausanias, were still to be seen down to a few years ago, when they were effaced, at least in great part, by the excavations for the new canal, which follows exactly the same line as Nero's. Mr. Gerster, the French engineer who superintended the making of the new canal, has thus described the nature of the soil and the traces of Nero's works.

"At this point the Isthmus of Corinth is composed of three quite distinct parts. (1) On the side of the Gulf of Corinth is a plain composed of sand and alluvial soil for a distance of 1¼ kilometres. (2) Next, for a distance of 4 kilometres, is a hill, the mass of which is composed of sand and tertiary marl, the whole covered by a layer of conglomerate 2 or 3 metres thick. (3) Lastly, on the shores of the Gulf of Aegina, is a small plain, 600 metres wide, where the sand is covered by alluvial soil.

"The works of Nero, which follow a perfectly straight line, consist of two cuttings, the depth of which varies from 3 to 30 metres, and the breadth of which at the two extremities of the line is 40 or 50 metres. The western cutting is 2000 metres long; the eastern 1500.

"In the interval which separates the two cuttings, on the back of the hill, are two rows of shafts, arranged in parallel lines and in the same direction as the length of the canal."

The western cutting was carried first for 1200 metres through the sand; then for about 600 metres the layer of conglomerate had been cleared away. The whole of the western cutting is bordered on both sides by heaps of excavated soil, sometimes 20 metres high and visible from a distance on the plain of the Isthmus. The eastern cutting is carried through the alluvial soil, but stops at the conglomerate schist.

See B. Gerster, in *Bulletin de Corr. Hellénique*, 8 (1884), p. 229 *sq.*; also Monceaux, in *Gazette Archéologique*, 10 (1885), p. 213 *sq.*

Thus Pausanias's statement that Nero's excavations were not prolonged into the rock is true of the eastern but not of the western cutting. This seems to show that he had seen the eastern but not the western side of the Isthmus, and this would be natural enough, since journeying from Megara to Corinth by the Scironian pass (i. 44. 8), Crommyon (ii. 1. 3), and the Isthmian sanctuary (ii. 1. 7 *sqq.*) he must have kept along the shore of the Saronic Gulf. The rock to which he refers is the conglomerate-covered eminence in the centre of the Isthmus. The shafts which were sunk in this central part face each other at a distance of 40 to 45 metres from the axis of the canal. They are about 40 metres (131 feet) deep and were intended, Mr. Gerster thinks, as soundings to determine the slope of the hills. The same authority estimates that the mass of soil displaced must have amounted to 500,000 square metres, and that the work must have occupied 5000 or 6000 men for three or four months. The excavations may have been continued after Nero's departure, perhaps until his death in the following year (68 A.D.) See Mr. B. Gerster, *op. cit.* p. 231 *sq.*; and on the traces of Nero's cutting see also Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, 3. p. 300 *sq.*; Fiedler, *Reise*, 1. p. 235 *sqq.*

The modern canal was begun in 1881 and was opened for navigation in 1893. There are no locks on it. See Baedeker,[3] p. 242; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 201; Philippson, in *Zeitschrift d. Gesell. f. Erdkunde zu Berlin*, 25 (1890), p. 11 *sqq.*

1. 5. **to dig through the promontory of Mimas.** Mimas is a mountainous peninsula in Ionia, to the north of Erythrae. Alexander's design is mentioned by Pliny (*N. H.* v. 116), who says that Alexander intended to cut through a plain seven and a half Roman miles wide, "in order that he might join the two bays and surround Erythrae and Mimas with water." Some modern writers hold that the Isthmus which Alexander proposed to cut through was not the one at Erythrae, but the neck of land further east, from Clazomenae on the north to Teos on the south (Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, i. 1. p. 202; H. Gaebler, *Erythrae* (Berlin, 1892) p. 15, note 2). This was the view also of Chandler, who thought that he discovered here some remains of the canal. He says: "The Isthmus appears as a wide pleasant valley, and the land being mostly level we could discern across it the blue tops of the island Samos . . . Alexander the Great, to render the communication easier, ordered that a navigable cut should be made through the plain here . . . A dike or canal running up the valley is a monument of that attempt, which failed, when the workmen came to the rock. We passed it over a bar of sand at the mouth" (*Travels in Asia Minor*,[2] p. 84). It appears that the people of Erythrae were grateful to Alexander for his good intention: for inscriptions prove that he was worshipped at Erythrae, and that his priesthood was an office of high dignity down to the age of the Antonines. See *Μουσεῖον καὶ βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἐν Σμύρνῃ εὐαγγελικῆς σχολῆς*, 1. (Smyrna, 1875) p. 108; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 370, p. 540 with the note.

1\. 5. **The Cnidians began to dig through their isthmus** etc. This was when the Persians under Harpagus were overruning Ionia. See Herodotus, i. 174.

1\. 6. **Poseidon had a dispute with the Sun** etc. This legend is told also by Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* xxxvii. vol. 2. p. 296 ed. Dindorf), and is alluded to by Lucian (*De saltatione*, 42). Cp. Paus. ii. 4. 6.

1\. 7. **a theatre and a stadium.** The remains of both theatre and stadium may still be seen a short way south of the fortification-wall described above, and very near the sanctuary of Poseidon (see below). The ruins of the theatre, consisting of rough stones, mortar, and a mass of small pebbles, lie in a small ravine or hollow about 150 yards west of the sanctuary. Leake observed the substruction of the *cavea* or *auditorium* and some traces of the stage. The building seems to have been of Roman date. Mr. Monceaux thinks that the Greek theatre was on the slope of the same low hill, but higher up. See Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 286; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. p. 166 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 542; Beulé, *Études sur le Péloponnèse*, p. 411 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 21; *Gazette Archéologique*, 10 (1885), p. 208; Baedeker,[3] p. 242. The stadium occupied a dell between two spurs of a hill to the south of the sanctuary of Poseidon. The torrent which formed the dell and was doubtless diverted or carried underground when the stadium was made, has now resumed its old course and broken through the semicircular end of the stadium. Some foundations of the wall which supported the rectilinear end of the stadium still exist. From this wall to the upper end Leake measured 650 feet. The area of the race-course is filled with broken pieces of pottery and overgrown with tufts of wild thyme, sage, and lentisk. Some of the marble seats to which Pausanias refers are still in their places, hidden under a screen of brushwood. See Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 286; W. G. Clark, *Peloponnesus*, p. 49 *sq.*; Monceaux, in *Gazette Archéologique*, 10 (1885), p. 207 *sq.*

1\. 7. **the sanctuary of the god.** The Isthmian sanctuary or sacred enclosure occupies the angle of a natural plateau situated about half a mile south-west of the eastern end of the canal. It formed a fortification as well as a sanctuary, being enclosed on all sides by a wall flanked with square towers. The walls and towers are in ruins, but enough remains to enable us to trace the plan of the sacred enclosure, which is that of a very irregular pentagon. The western and northern walls are, roughly speaking, straight and at right angles to each other; but the south-eastern wall is in the shape of a crescent curving inwards, and it is joined to the western and northern walls respectively by shorter walls on the south and north-east. The north and north-east walls form part of the great fortification-wall which stretches across the Isthmus (see above, p. 5). The distance for which the Isthmian wall coincides with that of the sanctuary is about 220 yards. The greatest length of the sacred enclosure from south-west to north-east is about 360 yards. The French conducted some excavations on the spot a few years ago and made out three gates, one on the west side, one on the south side, and one at the north-eastern angle. Mr. Monceaux, the French archaeologist to whom we owe an account of these explorations, thinks that the

north-east gate, which he calls the Triumphal Gate, is of the age of Augustus. The style of the architecture, according to him, points to this date. Moreover it is improbable, as he justly remarks, that the Corinthians would have opened one of the gates of the sanctuary on the side of the enemy, outside the line of fortification. A paved road runs through this gateway, and in the pavement the ruts made by the chariot-wheels are deeply marked. Within the sacred enclosure, opposite the north-east gateway, stands the Byzantine chapel of St. John. No foundations or walls of ancient Greek masonry have yet been discovered within the sacred enclosure; so that we cannot say in which parts of it the temples of Poseidon and Palaemon respectively stood. But Mr. Monceaux is inclined to suppose that the temple of Poseidon occupied the site of the chapel of St. John. Pausanias, coming from Cromyon, would naturally enter the sacred enclosure by the north-east gateway, would pass up the paved way, bordered by the row of pine-trees on the one side and of statues on the other, to the temple of Poseidon; and the temple of Palaemon, which he says (c. 2. 1) was on the left, would thus occupy the eastern angle of the sacred enclosure, to the south of the paved way. This arrangement agrees moreover with the position in which the architectural fragments (triglyphs, drums of columns, etc., see below, pp. 11, 14) have been found. For all the fragments of the temple of Palaemon have been discovered to the left of the paved way; but none of the fragments of the temple of Poseidon has been found here, they all lie to the north, the west, and the south. Mr. Monceaux would assign the enclosing walls of the sanctuary, as well as the north-east gate, to the age of Augustus. Leake says that the wall "was of the most regular kind of Hellenic masonry externally, but filled up with rubble between the casings." See Monceaux, 'Fouilles et recherches archéologiques au sanctuaire des jeux Isthmiques,' *Gazette Archéologique*, 9 (1884), pp. 273-285, 352-363; *id.* 10 (1885), pp. 205-214, 402-412; Clarke, *Travels*, 3. p. 751 *sqq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 3. pp. 286-296; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. p. 166; Curtius, *Peloponnesos*, 2. pp. 540-544; Vischer, *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke*, p. 257 *sq.*; W. G. Clark, *Peloponnesus*, pp. 47-49; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 20 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 242 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 198 *sqq.*

1. 7. **a row of pine-trees, most of them shooting straight up into the air.** "To judge by the present condition of the soil, the only conifer which we can conceive to be native to the Isthmus is the *pinus maritima*, whose fresh juicy green is the last remaining ornament of the rocky coasts of Greece. Firs (*Fichten*) are not found south of the Thessalian mountains" (Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 543). This species of pine, where it grows by itself on rocky ground, is generally stunted; but where a number of them grow together in suitable soil, the stems are straight and strong, sometimes 100 feet high and 2 or 3 feet thick (Fiedler, *Reise*, 1. p. 512). Thus, as Curtius has pointed out (*Pelop.* 2. p. 595), Pausanias remarks upon the unusually straight, high growth of this row of pines in the Isthmian sanctuary. His words (τὰ πολλὰ ἐς εὐθὺ αὐτῶν ἀνήκοντα) have sometimes (as by Leake) been interpreted to mean that the pines were "planted for the most part in a straight line."

But against this interpretation it may be said that (1) the words thus interpreted are an otiose repetition of the preceding *πεφευτευμένα ἐπὶ στοίχου*; and (2) the usage of Pausanias is in favour of taking *ἀνήκοντα* of height. Cp. iii. 17. 1 *ὄντων δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει λόφων καὶ ἄλλων, τὸ μάλιστα ἐς μετέωρον ἀνῆκον ὀνομάζουσιν ἀκρόπολιν.* v. 13. 9 *τὸ δὲ ὕψος τοῦ βωμοῦ τὸ σύμπαν ἐς δύο καὶ εἴκοσιν ἀνήκει πόδας.* vi. 21. 6 *λόφος ἐστὶν ἀνήκων ἐς ὀξύ.* viii. 24. 7 *κυπάρισσοι πεφύκασιν ἐς τοσοῦτον ὕψους ἀνήκουσαι ὥστε κτλ.* Cp. also iv. 20. 2 *ἐρινεὸς οὐκ ἐς εὐθὺ ηὔξητο, ἀλλὰ ἔς τε τὸ ῥεῦμα ἐπέστρεφε κτλ.*

On the different kinds of conifers in Greece, see Neumann und Partsch, *Physikalische Geographie von Griechenland*, 366 *sqq.*; and on the pines of the Isthmus in particular see A. Philippson, in *Zeitschrift d. Gesell. f. Erdkunde zu Berlin*, 25 (1890), p. 74 *sq.*, who states that the only species of pine which now grows on the Isthmus is the Aleppo pine or *Pinus halepensis Mill.*

1. 7. **the temple, which is not very large.** The French excavators found a good many fragments of the old Doric temple of Poseidon, including triglyphs (in a very damaged state) and drums of columns. Instead of twenty flutes, which is the usual number for Doric columns, these columns had only sixteen flutes, a mark of high antiquity. The breadth of the flutes varies from .29 metre at the base to .22 metre near the capital. The inferior diameter of the columns was 1.48 metres, the superior diameter 1.23 "which gave to the shafts a decidedly conical form." The height of the drums varies from .80 to .90 metre; seven or eight of them would go to the column. "To judge by the proportions of the flutes and by comparison with the ancient buildings of Sicily and Italy, it may be held that the height of the columns in the temple of Poseidon at the Isthmus was 4½ times the diameter of the base, *i.e.* more than 6½ metres. The erection of the temple should be assigned to the middle of the sixth century B.C.; it is certainly later than the temple of Corinth of which the remains are still standing; but it is older than some of the ancient temples of Sicily." The drums had been sawn from top to bottom and employed in repairing the enclosing wall of the sanctuary. All those now visible were discovered in the foundations of the northern, western, and southern walls, none of them in the eastern. See Monceaux, in *Gazette Archéologique*, 9 (1884), p. 358 *sq.* The temple of Poseidon is represented on coins of Geta, from the evidence of which it may be inferred that the temple "was not peripteral but either prostyle or amphiprostyle; and we may even regard it as probable that the temple was tetrastyle." On these coins Tritons are represented standing over the angles of the gable, in accordance with the description of Pausanias, whose statement that Tritons "stand upon the temple" means that they stood as *acroteria*, *i.e.* over the angles of the gables. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 16 and pl. D xlix., D l.



FIG. 2.—TEMPLE OF POSEIDON AT ISTHMUS (COIN OF CORINTH).

1. 7. **The images —— were dedicated in my time by the**

Athenian Herodes. Stephani (*Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg), for 1870-1871, p. 127) thought that by dedicating at the Isthmian sanctuary a statue of Poseidon, the divine president of the Isthmian games, Herodes Atticus purposely challenged comparison with Phidias's statue of Zeus, the divine president of the Olympic games, at the Olympic sanctuary. This comes out, he holds, in the fact that the statues set up by Herodes Atticus were of the same material (gold and ivory) as Phidias's statue of Zeus, but it is especially proved by the fact that the birth of Aphrodite from the sea was represented on the base of Poseidon's statue as on the base of the Olympic Zeus. See Pausanias, v. 11. 8. Stephani enumerates (*op. cit.* p. 129 *sq.*) the surviving works of ancient art in which he believes that the artists copied the relief on this statue of Poseidon. Philostratus in his life of Herodes Atticus (*Vit. Soph.* ii. 1. 9) mentions the colossal statue of Poseidon, the statue of Amphitrite, and the dolphin of Melicertes among the votive offerings dedicated by Herodes at the Isthmus.

1. 8. the boy Palaemon is erect on a dolphin. On coins of Marcus Aurelius, Antoninus Pius, and Severus, Palaemon is represented standing on a dolphin. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 11, and pl. B ix. Palaemon was the name which Melicertes received when he became a sea-deity (Apollodorus, iii. 4. 3; Hyginus, *Fab.* 2; Ovid, *Metam.* iv. 542).

1. 8. sculptured in relief. The Greek is *ἐπειργαστο*, the verb regularly used by Pausanias in this sense. Cp. Schubart, in *Philologus*, 24 (1866), pp. 581-587; U. Schaarschmidt, *De ἐπὶ praepositionis apud Pausaniam periegetam vi et usu*, p. 26 *sqq.*; Fraenkel, *De verbis potioribus quibus opera statuaria Graeci notabant*, p. 39 *sq.*

1. 8. the Sea holding up the child Aphrodite. On personifications of the sea in ancient art see Adolf Gerber, in Fleckeisen's *Jahrbücher für class. Philol.*, Supplem. 13, pp. 266-269; Roscher's *Lexikon*, 2. pp. 2079-2081. On Aphrodite as sea-born see note on v. 11. 8.

1. 8. the Nereids. The belief in the Nereids still exists in full force among the modern Greeks, though the conception of them has been generalised to include nymphs of all kinds—nymphs of the mountains, trees, springs, etc. as well as sea-nymphs. They are believed to be beautiful and gay, fond of the dance and song. They are clad in white garments, decked with roses and other flowers. They carry off children, and if they find a man sleeping at noon (especially a summer noon) beside a spring or a river, or under the shadow of a tree, they maim him or drive him mad. There are at this day people in Greece who believe themselves to be descended from the Nereids. Offerings are made to the Nereids of milk and honey. In Zacynthus offerings of sweetmeats, etc. are made to them at noon or midnight at spots where three ways meet. In many parts of Greece there are special places where it is customary to deposit offerings for the Nereids; for example, a hollow under the Museum Hill at Athens, the source of the Cephisus at Cephisia in Attica, and a rocky cleft in the bed of the Ismenus at Thebes. See B. Schmidt, *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen*, pp. 98-130;

C. Wachsmuth, *Das alte Griechenland im neuen*, pp. 29-32, 52-55; J. T. Bent, *The Cyclades*, p. 12 *sqq.*; Lucy M. J. Garnett, *The women of Turkey*, 1. p. 131 *sqq.* Cp. note on ix. 3. 7. The root of the word Nereid perhaps survives in the modern Greek name for water, *nero* (cp. Phrynichus, *Ecl.* 29; *Etymol. Magnum*, p. 597 l. 42 *sqq.*), but this is doubtful. See *Classical Review*, 8 (1894), pp. 100 *sq.*, 398 *sq.*

1. 8. **some people have dedicated precincts to them beside harbours** etc. Cp. iii. 26. 7. The connection of Achilles with harbours is shown by the fact that two harbours are known to have derived their names from him, the harbour of Achilles at Taenarum (Pausanias, iii. 25. 4) and the harbour of Achilles at Scyros (Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 391). On Achilles in his relation to the sea cp. Roscher's *Lexikon*, 1. p. 58 *sqq.* Scaliger's view that in the first syllable of Achilles and Achelous we have a root signifying water, as in the Latin *aqua*, is accepted by Welcker (*Griech. Götterlehre*, 3. p. 46), but discountenanced on philological grounds by G. Curtius (*Griech. Etym.*[5] p. 119), who thinks that in Greek this root must have taken the form *ap*, as in *Messapioi* which is equivalent (he thinks) to *Methudrioi*, 'the people over the water.' Cp. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, p. 952; Roscher's *Lexikon*, 1. p. 65.

1. 8. **Doto has a holy sanctuary at Gabala.** Doto was a Nereid (Homer, *Il.* xviii. 43; Hesiod, *Theog.* 248; Apollodorus, i. 2. 6). Gabala was a town on the coast of Syria, mentioned by Hecataeus (Strabo, xvi. p. 753; Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Γάβαλα; Pliny, *N.H.* v. 79). Cp. Reland, *Palaestina*, p. 784 *sq.*

1. 8. **the robe by which —— Eriphyle was bribed** etc. At her marriage Harmonia received from her husband Cadmus the present of a robe and of a necklace, the latter a work of Hephaestus. When the Epigoni were about to march against Thebes they were told by an oracle that they would be victorious if led by Alcmaeon. Alcmaeon was unwilling to go to the war, but his mother Eriphyle was induced by the bribe of the robe which had once been Harmonia's to persuade him to join the expedition. She had, ten years before, been bribed by the present of the necklace to send her husband Amphiaraus to his doom, by obliging him to join the first expedition against Thebes. According to Apollodorus, the fatal robe and necklace were finally dedicated by Alcmaeon's sons at Delphi. See Apollodorus, iii. 4 § 2, 6 § 2, 7 §§ 2, 6. As to the necklace see also Paus. v. 17. 7; viii. 24. 8 *sq.*; ix. 41. 2-5.

1. 9. **saviours of ships.** A marble tablet found at Kertch in the Crimea in 1880 is inscribed with a dedication in Greek "to Poseidon saviour of ships and to Aphrodite mistress of ships" (Ποσειδῶνι σωσίνεῳ καὶ Ἀφροδίτῃ ναυαρχίδι). The dedicator was an admiral Pantaleon. The epithets, as applied to Poseidon and Aphrodite, are not known from other sources. See Stephani, in *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg), 1881, p. 134 *sq.*

"The sons of Tyndareus" are of course Castor and Pollux. Sailors in antiquity gave the name of Castor and Pollux to a double light (of electrical nature) which appeared on the masts or sails of a ship during a storm. The two lights were a sign of safety, but a single light was known by the name of Helen and was regarded as fatal. In the middle

ages and in modern times such lights have been known as the fire of Saint Elmo or Saint Telmo. My friend the late W. Robertson Smith informed me that the name Telmo resembles a Phoenician word meaning "twins." See Pliny, *N. H.* ii. 101; Diodorus, iv. 43; Seneca, *Natur. Quaest.* i. 1. 13; Lucian, *Dial. Deorum*, xxvi. 2; Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 720; Plutarch, *De defect. orac.* 30; Th. Henri Martin, in *Revue Archéologique*, N. S. 13 (1866), pp. 168-174; Sebillot, *Légendes, croyances et superstitions de la mer* (Paris, 1886), 2. pp. 87-109. Similar lights were frequently observed shining on spear-heads in antiquity (Pliny, *l.c.*; Seneca, *N. Q.* i. 1. 14; Martin, *op. cit.* p. 171); and it is said that Cossacks, riding across the steppes on stormy nights, see such lights flickering at their lance-heads (Potocki, *Voyages dans les steps d'Astrakhan et du Caucase*, 1. p. 143).

2. 1. **a temple of Palaemon.** The temple of Palaemon is represented on coins of Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus, Geta and Caracalla.



FIG. 3.—TEMPLE OF PALAEMON (COIN OF CORINTH).

From these representations (Fig. 3) it appears that the temple was circular and of the Ionic order, with dolphins as ornaments on the roof. On the coins Palaemon is sometimes represented lying on a dolphin in the temple. This is probably a copy of the temple-statue. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 11, and plate B xi. xii. xiii.; K. O. Müller, *Handbuch d. Archaeol. d. Kunst* (ed. 1878), p. 323. Near the Roman gate at the north-east corner of the Isthmian sanctuary, the French excavators found many drums of Ionic columns with twenty-four flutes. The height of the drums varies from .72 to 1.05 metre. "The depth of the flutes (.05 metre), but especially the breadth of the fillets (.025 metre), and the form of the capitals recall the most ancient Ionic style." Mr. Monceaux is of opinion that these drums belonged to the temple of Palaemon. He discovered also numerous fragments of very ancient circular architraves and cornices. See *Gazette Archéologique*, 9 (1884), p. 362.

2. 1. **the shrine.** Philostratus says that when Palaemon (Melicertes) was landed on the Isthmus by the dolphin, the earth opened to receive him, at the command of Poseidon. Moreover Poseidon bade Sisyphus sacrifice to Palaemon. Sisyphus obeyed and sacrificed a black bull. See Philostratus, *Imag.* ii. 16.

The sanctuary of Palaemon at the Isthmus is mentioned in an inscription which was copied by Wheler at Corinth (*Journey into Greece*, p. 438), but has since been transferred to Verona. The inscription mentions other buildings which are not mentioned by Pausanias. It records how Publius Licinius Priscus Juventianus, who held the office of high priest for life, erected or repaired various buildings at the Isthmian sanctuary. He built lodgings for the use of the athletes, who assembled from all parts of the world to take part in the Isthmian games. He restored also the following buildings: the sanctuary of Palaemon (τὸ Παλαιμόνιον), with its decorations; the place where sacrifices were

offered to Palaemon (τὸ ἐναγιστήριον), and its sacred entrance; the altars of the Paternal Gods (τῶν πατρίων θεῶν), with their enclosure and fore-temple; the rooms in which the athletes were examined (τοὺς ἐγκριτηρίους οἴκους); and the temple of the Sun, together with its statue, and enclosure. He erected at his own expense the enclosure of the Sacred Grove (τῆς ἱερᾶς Νάπης) and within it the temples of Demeter and Proserpine, Dionysus and Artemis, together with their statues, ornaments, and fore-temples. He repaired the temples of Abundance (*Eueteria*) and Proserpine, the sanctuary of Pluto, and the steps and substructions which had been dilapidated by the effect of earthquakes and time; and he dedicated a colonnade at the stadium, together with arched chambers and their decorations, for the use of the superintendent of the Market. See Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 294 *sq.*; *C. I. G.* No. 1104.

Of the places mentioned in this inscription, the sanctuary of Palaemon is doubtless the temple of Palaemon mentioned by Pausanias, and the stadium referred to is no doubt the one he mentions and in which the Isthmian games were performed. The place of sacrifice (ἐναγιστήριον) with its sacred entrance is most probably the shrine (*adytum*) mentioned by Pausanias (see below). The altars of the Paternal Gods may have included the altar of the Cyclopes which Pausanias mentions. The date of the inscription is uncertain. Boeckh (on *C. I. G.* No. 1104) thinks that it is not earlier than the time of Hadrian or the Antonines. Perhaps then, as Leake inclined to suppose, the works mentioned in it were not executed until after the time of Pausanias.

The word translated 'shrine' in the present passage is *adytum* (ἄδυτον). By *adytum* Pausanias seems generally to have meant, as here, an underground chamber, whether natural or artificial. See vii. 27. 2; ix. 39. 10-13; x. 32. 13-18. In two passages (v. 1. 5; x. 33. 11) there is nothing to show whether the *adytum* was subterranean or not. Robertson Smith thought that "the adytum, or dark inner chamber, found in many temples both among the Semites and in Greece, was almost certainly in its origin a cave" (*Religion of the Semites*,[2] p. 200). He held that the *adytum* was identical with what the Greeks called *megaron*, a word which, as applied to a sacred chamber, he identified with the Semitic *maghar*, 'cave.' Pausanias, however, seems not to use *adytum* and *megaron* as equivalent. See Index, *s.v.* 'megaron.'

To the south of the Isthmian sanctuary, on a hill which dominates the stadium, ten minutes from the road which leads to Old Corinth, are the remains of an ancient town cut in the rock. The plateau where the remains exist has a mean height of 300 to 350 feet. The eastern side of the plateau, for a space of about three quarters of a mile in length by 300 yards in width, is covered with the remains of houses, streets, and staircases, cut out of the rock. Mr. Monceaux thinks that these are the remains of Ephyra, the primitive city of the Isthmus, and the predecessor of Corinth. See *Gazette Archéologique*, 10 (1885), p. 402 *sqq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 198 *sq.*

2. 2. **the graves of Sisyphus and Neleus.** In 1890 there were discovered on the Isthmus of Corinth two prehistoric barrows, which Mr. P. Kastromenos, the discoverer, took to be the tombs of Sisyphus

and Neleus (*American Journal of Archaeology*, 6 (1890), p. 563). The graves of Sisyphus and Neleus may have belonged to the class of secret graves, on the preservation of which the safety of the state was believed to depend. See note on i. 28. 7, 'the tomb of Oedipus.'

2. 2. **The Isthmian games.** They were celebrated every second year in spring, not, as has sometimes been maintained, at midsummer. See Thucydides, viii. 7-9; G. F. Unger, 'Der Isthmientag und die Hyakinthien,' *Philologus*, 37 (1877), pp. 1-42; Nissen, in *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. 42 (1887), p. 46 *sq.*

2. 3. **the Great Eoeae.** This poem was attributed to Hesiod (Pausan. ix. 31. 5). Cp. A. Kalkmann, 'Hesiod's *μεγάλαι* Ἠοῖαι bei Pausanias,' *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. 39 (1884), pp. 561-565. It is a question whether the *Great Eoeae* was or was not identical with, or formed part of, the poem called the *Catalogue of Women*. See Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, 1. p. 382 *sqq.*; W. Christ, *Gesch. d. griech. Litteratur*, p. 74 *sq.*; *Epicorum Graecorum fragmenta*, ed. Kinkel, pp. 90 *sqq.*, 135 *sqq.*

2. 3. **Lechaeum.** Lechaeum was the port of Corinth on the Gulf of Corinth (Pliny, *N. H.* iv. 12, who calls it Lecheae). It was united to Corinth by two walls, each about twelve furlongs long, in which there were gates (Strabo, viii. p. 380; Xenophon, *Hellenica*, iv. 4. 7-12). In 393 B.C. the Lacedaemonians pulled down part of these walls in order to have a free passage for their army northward (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, iv. 4. 13). Lechaeum contained a sanctuary of Aphrodite with a banqueting-hall attached to it (Plutarch, *Sept. Sap. Conviv.* 2), and there were ship-sheds beside the harbour (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, iv. 4. 12). At the beginning of our era the population was small (Strabo, *l.c.*) Travellers from Rome to Athens seem to have landed in Lechaeum, crossed the Isthmus on foot, and then taken boat to Piraeus; at least this was the way by which the love-sick Propertius proposed to journey to Athens, hoping there in the study of art or literature to forget his love (Propertius, iv. 21. 19 *sqq.*) Lechaeum has now wholly disappeared. Its harbour is nothing but a shallow lagoon surrounded by dreary sand dunes. But traces of the long walls which united the port town to Corinth can still be discerned; and there are remains of three moles running out into the sea, at one of which Bursian found the pedestal of the statue of a Roman proconsul, Flavius Hermogenes. See Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 234; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 37 *sq.*; Curtius, *Peloponnesos*, 2. p. 536 *sq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke*, p. 266; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 18 *sq.*; Meliarakes, Γεωγραφία Ἀργολίδος, p. 112. The existing traces of the Long Walls to Lechaeum are described by Mr. Skias in Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρίας for 1892, p. 116.

2. 3. **a temple of Artemis.** The image of Artemis in this temple appears to be represented on bronze coins of Septimius Severus and Plautilla. The goddess is portrayed as a huntress in a temple. But the image thus represented is clearly not the archaic wooden image mentioned by Pausanias, but a later statue such as the Greeks from the fifth century onwards sometimes set up in temples in place of older images, which were, however, retained in the background. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 18, with pl. D lxviii.

2. 3. **Cenchreae.** Cenchreae, the port of Corinth on the eastern side of the Isthmus (Strabo, viii. p. 380), retains its ancient name in the form *Cechriais*, though the place has shrunk to two poor cottages. Even in Strabo's time it was merely a village beside the harbour. The spacious bay is protected on the north and south by projecting headlands; on the east it is open. The boundary on the south is a line of steep heights; on the north the hills recede further, leaving a stretch of flat land between them and the sea. On the landward side rises a broad ridge; the numerous foundation-walls on it prove that here stood the port-town. Beside the bay there are many remains of antiquity, including a long row of massive blocks of stone, the remnant of a quay which ran along the inner side of the harbour. On the other sides of the bay moles jut out into the water; they seem to have been intended partly to divide the harbour into separate basins, partly to serve as breakwaters sheltering it seaward. Pausanias's brief description of the port-town is well illustrated by a coin of Antoninus Pius. On the obverse the port of Cenchreae is represented as a semicircular basin enclosed between two promontories; on the extremity of each of these promontories is a temple; and in the sea at the entrance of the harbour there is a statue of Poseidon standing with a dolphin in one hand and a trident in the other. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 17, with pl. D lx. Combining the information derived from this coin with Pausanias's description we infer that at one extremity of the harbour there was a temple of Aphrodite, and at the other extremity sanctuaries of Aesculapius and Isis, and that at some intermediate point a mole running out into the harbour supported an image of Poseidon. See Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 194 *sq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 234 *sq.*; Curtius, *Peloponnesos*, 2. p. 537 *sq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke*, p. 266 *sq.*; Philippson, in *Zeitschrift d. Gesell. f. Erdkunde zu Berlin*, 25 (1890), p. 95.



FIG. 4. — CENCHREAE WITH STATUE OF POSEIDON (CORINTHIAN COIN).

2. 3. **a bronze image of Poseidon.** On some Corinthian coins (Fig. 5) Poseidon is represented standing naked with a dolphin in one hand and a trident in the other, "a figure well adapted for execution in bronze and for a statue of great size." As Poseidon appears in exactly the same attitude on the Corinthian coin which represents the harbour of Cenchreae (see preceding note), we may safely infer that the image of Poseidon on all these coins is a copy of the one at Cenchreae, which Pausanias mentions. The image would seem to have been of colossal size, and was therefore probably set up after the restoration of Corinth in 44 B.C.; for if it had belonged to the old city, the rapacious Mummius would hardly have spared such a mass of metal. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 17, with pl. D lxi. lxii. lxiii.



FIG. 5. — POSEIDON AT CENCHREAE (CORINTHIAN COIN).

2. 3. **the bath of Helen.** "The bath of Helene is found at a mile to the southward of the port of *Kekhriés* [Cenchreae], near a cape forming the termination of the ridge which borders the Isthmus on the south, and which, at the western end, is separated from the Acrocorinthus by a ravine watered by a small river. The cape separates the bay of *Kekhriés* from that which takes its name of *Galatáki* from a village near the shore. The water of the bath of Helene rises at such a height and distance above the sea, that it serves to turn a mill in its passage. The water is tepid as Pausanias has remarked" (Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 235 *sq.*) "The stream that issues from the rock forms a deep bath several yards above the level of the sea; the water is beautifully clear, rather saline, and in a small degree tepid. Instead of falling immediately into the sea, which, according to Pausanias, was originally the case, it is diverted from its original course by ditches, and a large mill is turned by the rapidity of its current, which, after a course of a few hundred yards, enters the sea near a round promontory" (Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 195). The neighbourhood is hence called *Muli*, 'the mill' (Curtius, *Peloponnesos*, 2. p. 538). Cp. Clarke, *Travels*, 3. p. 760: Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 39. Fiedler (*Reise*, 1. p. 245 *sq.*) found the temperature of the water only 2 Réaumur, and therefore denies that the water can be called warm. On the other hand he testifies to the brackish character of the water; for he observed sea-anemones growing in it, such as he never observed in any other spring. Mr. Philippson describes the spring as both salt and tepid (*Peloponnes*, p. 32 *sq.*)

2. 4. **a grove of cypresses named Craneum.** In this grove there was a gymnasium, which was frequented by Diogenes the Cynic: it was here that Diogenes was visited by Alexander the Great, whom he requested to stand out of the sun (Diogenes Laertius, vi. 2. 77: Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* vi. vol. 1. p. 66, ed. Dindorf; *id.*, *Or.* viii. vol. 1. p. 144; *id.*, *Or.* ix. vol. 1. p. 152; Lucian, *Quomodo hist. conscrib.* 3: Timaeus, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* Κρανίον; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 14). It seems to have been the favourite suburb of Corinth (Plutarch, *De exilio* 6), and was famed for the serenity and purity of its air (Theophrastus, *De causis plant.* v. 14. 2). Crowds of fashionable loungers assembled here about noon, and the place swarmed with women hawking fruit and cake (Alciphron, *Epist.* iii. 60). The suburb is mentioned also by Xenophon (*Hellenica*, iv. 4. 4). Göttling was disposed to place the "park-like suburb" of Craneum (the name of which he derives from κρήνη a fountain or water-basin) in the neighbourhood of the spring called 'the bath of Aphrodite' (see below, note on Pirene, 3. 2). See C. Göttling, 'Die Quelle Pirene auf Akrokorinth und das Kraneion unterhalb Korinth,' *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 2 (1844), pp. 326-330.



FIG. 6.—BELLEROPHON AND PEGASUS (CORINTHIAN COIN).

2. 4. **a precinct of Bellerophon.** On copper coins of Corinth we find Bellerophon and his steed Pegasus represented in various ways. One of them may perhaps reproduce a statue which stood in the precinct. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.*

p. 13, with pl. C xxv-xxx. One of these coins (Fig. 6) shows Bellerophon watering Pegasus at the foot of the acropolis.

2. 4. **Black Aphrodite.** The Black Aphrodite of Corinth is mentioned by Athenaeus (xiii. p. 588 c). See also Pausanias, viii. 6. 5; ix. 27. 5. At Delphi there was a small image of the Sepulchral Aphrodite (Ἀφροδίτη Ἐπιτυμβία), beside which the dead were invoked to come and partake of the libations offered to them (Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 23). Holwerda is inclined to regard the Black Aphrodite as a goddess of the grave, like the Venus Libitina of the Romans, and he regards as probable the view of Engel that there was an Aphrodite Fury, like the Demeter Fury of Thelpusa (Paus. viii. 25. 4), comparing Hesychius, Ἐρινύς· δαίμων καταχθόνιος ἢ Ἀφροδίτης εἴδωλον (Holwerda, *Die alten Kyprier in Kunst und Cultus*, p. 56 *sq.*)

2. 4. **the grave of Lais** etc. Polemo is the authority for the statement that Lais was buried in Thessaly. According to him her grave was beside the Peneus and was surmounted by a water-pot carved in stone, the symbol which marked the grave of an unmarried woman. See Athenaeus, xiii. p. 589 a b; Schol. on Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 179; Plutarch, *Amatorius*, 21; Polemo, *Frag.* 44, ed. Preller. The name of her Thessalian lover is variously given as Pausanias (Athenaeus, *l.c.*), Eurylochus or Aristonicus (Schol. on Aristophanes, *l.c.*), and Hippolochus (Plutarch, *l.c.*) The authority for the statement that Lais was buried at Corinth seems to have been Timaeus; cp. Preller on Polemo, *Frag.* 44. Of the two epitaphs of Lais which have been preserved (see next note) the one recorded by Suidas would seem to be more appropriate to her tomb at Corinth. On Corinthian bronze coins belonging to the period of independence and also to the age of Septimius Severus and Geta, the monument of Lais is represented as a lioness standing over a prostrate ram on the top of a Doric column (Fig. 7). The head on the obverse of the coins may be either Aphrodite or Lais herself. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 19, with pl. E lxxiv. lxxv. lxxvi.

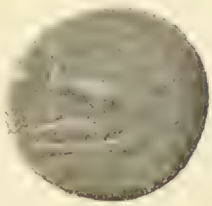


FIG. 7. — MONUMENT OF LAIS (CORINTHIAN COIN).

2. 5. **another tomb —— which claims** etc. The verb is φάμενον. Cp. i. 27. 4; vi. 19. 6. In Greek sepulchral and dedicatory inscriptions the dead person or the thing dedicated is often represented speaking in the first person, "I am so and so," "So and so dedicated me." Examples are too common to be cited. Often also in sepulchral inscriptions the tomb itself or the headstone is introduced as speaking, "I am the tomb of Myrrina, who died of the plague," "I am a headstone on the tomb of Xenareus, the son of Mixis," etc. See Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, Nos. 11, 181, 474, 574, *603, 625, *648, 665, 679, 843; Roehl, *I. G. A.* No. 344; Cauer, *Delectus Inscr. Graec.*[2] No. 426; Roberts, *Greek Epigraphy*, Nos. 49, 96, 100, 127 c, 158 d, 237 b. A Greek elegiac inscription at Rome, which marked the grave of a race-horse, is composed in the form of a dialogue between the headstone and a passer-by. "Marble headstone, whose grave are you?" "The grave of a fleet horse" etc. (Kaibel, *op. cit.* No. 625).

The inscription of the Thessalian tomb of Lais is given by Athenaeus (xiii. p. 589 b). It is not written in the first person; but on the other hand in the epitaph of Lais which Suidas (*s.v.* Πειρήνη) has preserved, the tomb is represented speaking in the first person—

Λαΐδ' ἔχω πολιῆτιν ἐυζώνοιο Κορίνθου
Πειρήνης λευκῶν φαιδροτέραν λιβάδων.

"I contain Lais, a citizeness of well-girt Corinth, a woman brighter than Pirene's limpid drops."

2. 6. **the city.** Strabo visited Corinth soon after it had been rebuilt by the Romans, and he described its situation and extent. He says that it occupied a level tableland close to the northern foot of the Acro-Corinth, the mountain-citadel of Corinth. The city was 40 Greek furlongs or about 4½ miles in circumference, and was surrounded by a wall wherever it was not protected by the Acro-Corinth. The Acro-Corinth was also encompassed by the wall, except where the mountain was too steep to admit of it. The entire circuit of the city and the Acro-Corinth together was about 85 Greek furlongs or about 9½ miles (Strabo, viii. p. 379). The number of slaves at Corinth is said to have been 460,000 (Athenaeus, vi. p. 272 b). Diogenes the Cynic praised the summer climate of Corinth; the breezes from the sea on both sides cooled the air, and the mighty shadow of the Acro-Corinth was a protection from the glare of the sun (Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* vi. vol. 1. p. 96, ed. Dindorf). The account which Mr. Philippson gives of the climate of Corinth is less favourable. He says: "In summer the sea winds, which sweep freely over the Isthmus, bring some refreshment. On the whole the atmosphere here is almost never at rest, neither in summer nor in winter. In winter frightful storms rage from the west, creating a surf on the shore of the Isthmus hardly less heavy than on coasts that face the open sea. In summer the sea wind blows for days together so strongly, especially in New Corinth, that it becomes a regular plague. It drives before it whirls of dust and clouds of sharp sea-sand, covering everything with a yellow layer" (*Zeitschrift d. Ges. f. Erdkunde zu Berlin*, 25 (1890), p. 64 *sq.*)

The site of ancient Corinth is a spacious rocky plateau, about 200 feet above the level of the sea, at the northern foot of the Acro-Corinth. On its northern edge this plateau falls away steeply to a second lower terrace, which extends towards the sea. Some remains of the ancient city-walls may still be seen. See Curtius, *Peloponnesos*, 2. p. 523 *sq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke*, pp. 257, 262.

2. 6. **adorned with red paint.** Painted statues are mentioned by Pausanias elsewhere. Thus he describes two images of Dionysus both painted vermilion (vii. 26. 11; viii. 39. 6); a statue of Dionysus, made of gypsum and painted (ix. 32. 1); and a wooden image of Athena adorned with paint and gilding (viii. 26. 4). See Schubart, in *Neue Jahrbücher f. Philol. und Paedagog.* 100 (1874), p. 28 *sq.* The face of the statue of Jupiter on the Capitol at Rome was painted vermilion on festival days, and one of the first duties of the censors was to contract for the painting of Jupiter's face. Roman generals in celebrating their

triumph had their faces reddened with vermilion in imitation of the red-faced statue of Jupiter. Pliny says that in Ethiopia the chiefs and the images of the gods were painted red. See Pliny, *N. H.* xxxiii. 111 *sq.*, xxxv. 157; Servius on Virgil, *Ecl.* vi. 22, x. 27; Isidore, *Origines*, xviii. 2. 6. The stone gods of the Gonds were smeared day and night with red ochre by the priests (*Panjab Notes and Queries*, 2 (1885), p. 127). The images of Hanumān are always smeared with vermilion and oil (Monier Williams, *Religious thought and life in India*, p. 221). Amongst the Marias of the Mardian hills the stone which represents the goddess of small-pox is dabbed with red paint (*Proceed. R. Geogr. Soc.* N. S. 1 (1879), p. 380). On the Loango Coast (Africa) the idol Chikokko was painted red by the priests, when they desired inspiration. "The emblem of Kissongo by which oaths are taken among the Kimbunda is (according to Magyar) smeared with red paint instead of with blood, just as in India and elsewhere the idols are often smeared with red paint instead of with blood" (Bastian, *Die deutsche Expedition an der Loango-Küste*, 1. p. 270). It is a very common custom among peoples of many lands to smear the blood of a sacrifice upon the idol. See *Tijdschrift v. Indische Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde*, 26 (1880), p. 152; A. Bastian, *Allerlei aus Volks- und Menschenkunde*, 1. p. 213 *sq.*; Blumentritt, 'Der Ahnencultus und die religiösen Anschauungen der Malaien des Philippinen-Archipels,' *Mittheilungen d. Wiener geogr. Gesell.* 1882, p. 174 (cp. p. 203); Jessen, *De Finnorum Lapponumque Norwegicorum religione pagana*, p. 47 (bound with Leemius, *De Lapponibus Finmarchiae*, etc. Copenhagen, 1767); Yule, *Cathay and the way thither*, 2. p. 555 note; Gmelin, *Reise durch Sibirien*, 2. p. 214 *sq.*; Moura, *Royaume du Cambodge*, 1. p. 431; Bouche, *La côte des Esclaves*, pp. 100, 120; E. Rae, *The White Sea peninsula*, p. 142; Fr. Kunstmann, 'Valentin Ferdinand's Beschreibung der Serra Leoa,' *Abhandl. d. histor. Classe d. kön. Bayer. Akad. d. Wissen.* 9 (Munich, 1866), p. 133; Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, Pt. i. bk. i. ch. 11; Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentumes*, pp. 50, 113; A. B. Ellis, *Tshi-speaking peoples of the Gold Coast*, pp. 23, 50, 51, 52; Cieza de Leon, *Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru* (Hakluyt Society, 1883), p. 95. Sometimes the blood of the victim is specially smeared on the idol's face. See Kunstmann, *op. cit.* p. 131; Rae, *op. cit.* p. 150; Labat, *L'Éthiopie Occidentale*, 1. p. 250. Sometimes again the blood is applied specially to the idol's mouth. See Sahagun, *Histoire générale des choses de la Nouvelle Espagne*, p. 185; *Voyages au Nord*, 8 (Amsterdam, 1727), p. 414 *sq.*; Gmelin, *op. cit.* 2. p. 476. Again, savages often smear their own bodies, and especially their faces, with the blood of their slain or wounded enemies. See *Journ. Royal Geogr. Soc.* 27 (1857), p. 305; Ross Cox, *The Columbia River*, 2. p. 336; Lafitau, *Moeurs des sauvages Amériquains*, 2. pp. 277, 288, 304; Chateaubriand, *Voyage en Amérique* (Paris, Michel Levy, 1870), p. 213; Junghuhn, *Die Battaländer auf Sumatra*, 2. p. 332; Labat, *op. cit.* 2. p. 292. There are various other occasions on which savages smear themselves with human or animal blood. Thus the blood of the sacrifice is sometimes smeared on the worshippers as well as on the

idol; sometimes the worshippers also drink the blood. See Bourien, *op. cit.* p. 100; *Voyages au Nord, l.c.*; Labat, *op. cit.* 1. p. 250; *id.*, 2. p. 242; Spencer St. John, *Life in the forests of the far East*, 1. p. 179. For other occasions on which savages smear themselves with blood see Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, p. 310; Acosta, *History of the Indies* (Hakluyt Society), 2. p. 373; W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and marriage in early Arabia*, p. 152 *sq.*; Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, 1. p. 290; Edmund Spenser, *View of the State of Ireland*, p. 101 (in Morley's *Ireland under Elizabeth and James I.*); *Asiatick Researches*, 4. pp. 77, 78, 79; Azara, *Voyages dans l'Amérique Méridionale*, 2. p. 136. The red paint with which savages often stain their bodies may sometimes be a substitute for blood, though oftener perhaps it is merely ornamental. Cp. Herodotus, iv. 191; Valerius Maximus, ii. 1. 5; Scheffer, *Lapponia*, p. 235 *sq.*; S. Hearne, *Journey to the Northern Ocean*, p. 235. The red paint with which images of the gods are often smeared (see above) may in many cases be a substitute for blood.

2. 7. **getting up into a tree.** According to Euripides (*Bacchae*, 1064 *sq.*) and Philostratus (*Imag.* i. 17) the tree was a pine-tree; according to Theocritus (xxvi. 11) it was a mastich-tree. The pine-tree was especially sacred to Dionysus (Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* v. 3).

2. 8. **a sanctuary of all the gods.** There was a pantheon at Athens, built by Hadrian (i. 5. 5; i. 18. 8); another at Orneae in Argolis (ii. 25. 6); another at Marius in Laconia (iii. 22. 8); and another at Messene (iv. 32. 1).

2. 8. **a water-basin.** The Greek is *κρήνη*, which in Pausanias appears generally to mean a conduit, cistern, or artificial water-basin, sometimes open and sometimes roofed. See i. 40. 1 *ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει κρήνη, καί σφισιν ᾠκοδόμησε Θεαγένης . . . τὴν κρήνην μεγέθους ἕνεκα καὶ κόσμου καὶ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν κιόνων θέας ἀξίαν· καὶ ὕδωρ ἐς αὐτὴν ῥεῖ.* ii. 3. 3 *κεκόσμηται δὲ ἡ πηγὴ λίθῳ λευκῷ, καὶ πεποιημένα ἐστὶν οἰκήματα σπηλαίοις κατὰ ταὐτά, ἐξ ὧν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐς κρήνην ὕπαιθρον ῥεῖ.* ii. 3. 5 *κρῆναι δὲ πολλαὶ μὲν ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν πεποίηνται πᾶσαν, ἅτε ἀφθόνου ῥέοντός σφισιν ὕδατος . . . θέας δὲ μάλιστα ἀξία ἡ παρὰ τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, καὶ ὁ Βελλεροφόντης ἔπεστι. καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ οἱ δι' ὁπλῆς ἵππου ῥεῖ τοῦ Πηγάσου.* ii. 27. 5 *κρήνη τῷ τε ὀρόφῳ καὶ κόσμῳ τῷ λοιπῷ θέας ἀξία.* ii. 27. 7 *ἔλυτρον κρήνης ἐς ὃ τὸ ὕδωρ συλλέγεταί σφισι τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ.* ii. 35. 3 *κρήνας δὲ τὴν μὲν σφόδρα ἔχουσιν ἀρχαίαν, ἐς δὲ αὐτὴν οὐ φανερῶς τὸ ὕδωρ κάτεισιν. ἐπιλείποι δὲ οὐκ ἄν ποτε, οὐδ' εἰ πάντες καταβάντες ὑδρεύονται ἐξ αὐτῆς· τὴν δ' ἐφ' ἡμῶν πεποιήκασιν, ὄνομα δέ ἐστι τῷ χωρίῳ Λειμών, ὅθεν ῥεῖ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐς αὐτήν.* x. 4. 1 and x. 12. 6 *ὕδωρ κατερχόμενον ἐς κρήνην.* However he seems occasionally to use *κρήνη* as equivalent to *πηγή* 'a spring.' See viii. 16. 1; ix. 10. 5. But perhaps even in these cases he really distinguished between the spring and the masonry which enclosed it.

2. 8. **Apollo surnamed Clarian.** Cp. vii. 5. 4.

2. 8. **Hermogenes of Cythera.** This artist appears not to be mentioned elsewhere. Brunn (*Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 522)

is inclined to assign Hermogenes to the period of Greek freedom; but one of his grounds for so doing seems to rest on a misunderstanding of the words of Pausanias, ii. 2. 6 τὰ δὲ πολλὰ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκμῆς ἐποιήθη τῆς ὕστερον, which Brunn appears to understand of the period previous to the destruction of Corinth by Mummius.

3. 1. **a temple of Octavia.** On Corinthian coins of Augustus, Livia, and Tiberius there are representations of the façade of a temple which bears on the frieze the inscription CAESAR, AUGUSTUS, or GENT. IULI. Again, on Corinthian coins of Tiberius and Agrippa, Julia, Livia, or Octavia is represented seated, holding sceptre and patera. "It would seem probable from comparison of the coins that the temple described by Pausanias as that of Octavia was really of the Gens Julia. The seated lady holding sceptre and patera may be copied from the statue in this temple. In details it exactly resembles the figure on the coins of Tiberius commonly called Livia, but more probably standing for a personification of the Gens Julia. Such a personification would naturally take the features of one of the imperial ladies, Livia or Julia or Octavia. If in the Corinthian temple the cultus-statue represented the Gens Julia in the likeness of Octavia, then it would be very natural for any visitor to suppose that the temple was dedicated to Octavia" (Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 22, with pl. E xciv.) In the collection of Baron Roger there is a fine cameo portrait of Octavia engraved on a sardonyx. It is figured in *Gazette Archéologique*, 1 (1875), pl. 31; cp. the remarks of De Witte on it, pp. 121-124.



FIG. 8.—TEMPLE OF OCTAVIA (CORINTHIAN COIN).

3. 2. **the road that leads to Lechaeum.** In 1892 Mr. Skias, conducting excavations at Corinth on behalf of the Greek Archaeological Society, found two ancient roads leading north from the site of ancient Corinth to Lechaeum. Both roads retain many pieces of the ancient pavement, composed of large quadrangular blocks of stone, and are lined on both sides by countless graves both of the Greek and Roman periods. One of these roads is probably the one which, as we learn from Pausanias, led from the market-place to Lechaeum. Mr. Skias thinks that here and in § 4 Pausanias is speaking of two separate roads both leading from Corinth to Lechaeum; but this seems to be a mistake. See Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρίας for 1892, p. 112 *sqq.*



FIG. 9.—PORTAL OF MARKET-PLACE (CORINTHIAN COIN).

3. 2. **a portal** etc. On copper Corinthian coins of Domitian, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Commodus, and Marcus Aurelius a gateway is represented surmounted by a four-horse chariot; it is probably the portal described by Pausanias. On the coins of the three latter emperors the gateway is triple, that is, there are three openings in it. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 22, with pl. F xcvii. xcviii. xcix. c. On other Corinthian copper coins of Imperial date

the Sun is represented driving in a four-horse chariot (Fig. 10). This may be a copy of the chariot of the Sun mentioned by Pausanias. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 22, with pl. F ci. cii.


FIG. 10.—SUN IN CHARIOT (CORINTHIAN COIN).

3. 2. **Pirene.** Pausanias differs from Strabo in his identification of the spring Pirene. For whereas Pausanias places Pirene on the road leading from the market-place to Lechaeum, Strabo (viii. p. 379) places it on the Acro-Corinth, just under the summit. This latter spring is described by Pausanias below (ii. 5. 1), where he mentions that some people regarded it as the true Pirene. The lower spring which he himself took to be Pirene is now known as 'the bath of Aphrodite.' It issues just below the steep northern edge of the broad terrace on which the old city of Corinth stood. Here the rocks curve round in a semicircle and overhang so as to form grottos under their beetling brows. From these rocks, overgrown with moss and rank creepers, the clear water bubbles and trickles in copious rills, which nourish a rich vegetation in the open ground through which they flow. The grotto, which is always fresh and cool, commands an uninterrupted view over the Gulf to the mountains beyond. Here in the days of the Turkish dominion the bey of Corinth had his gardens, where he led a life of Asiatic luxury. A marble staircase still leads from the grotto to the terrace above, on the edge of which stood his seraglio. All is now ruin and desolation. A few pieces of ancient columns of green and white streaked marble mark the site of the seraglio. The spring is frequented only by washerwomen, and its streams water only vegetable gardens and orchards. But the water is as sweet as in Pausanias's time, and the grottos under the overhanging ledge of rock are doubtless "the chambers made like grottos" of which he makes mention. See Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 242 *sq.*; Fiedler, *Reise*, 1. p. 241 *sq.*; Göttling, 'Die Quelle Pirene auf Akrokorinth und das Kraneion unterhalb Korinth,' *Archäologische Zeitung*, 2 (1844), pp. 326-330; Vischer, *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke*, p. 263; Curtius, *Peloponnesos*, 2. p. 526 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 16. According to Göttling (*l.c.*) the water of the spring leaves an ochre-like deposit, and he suggested that this may have given a colour to the bronze which, as Pausanias remarks immediately, used to be tempered by being plunged into the spring.


FIG. 11.—PIRENE (CORINTHIAN COIN).


FIG. 12.—PIRENE (CORINTHIAN COIN).

On Corinthian coins of the empire Pirene is portrayed as a seated nymph, her left hand resting on the rock, her right hand holding a pitcher; on some of them (Fig. 11) a snake is represented standing erect behind her; on others (Fig. 12) Pegasus is

represented drinking at the fountain in front of her. As the figure of Pirene is repeated without variation on the coins of several reigns, it is probably copied from a statue which adorned the spring. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 23, with pl. F cv. cvi. cvii. cviii. On the mythical connexion of serpents with water see note on ix. 10. 5.

3. 3. **gets its colour.** The Greek is *βάπτεσθαι*. The addition of ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος τούτου shows that *βάπτεσθαι* cannot mean merely "is dipped in" the water, as Prof. Curtius (*Pelop.* 2. p. 530) appears to take it. On the colouring of bronze in antiquity see K. O. Müller, *Archäol. d. Kunst*, § 306, and cp. the preceding note.

3. 3. **Corinth has no bronze of its own.** "Some will have it that there was copper ore in the neighbourhood of Corinth, and that from this ore the Corinthian bronze was prepared. The ancients, however, only mention that here copper was coloured and bronze manufactured; they do not say that copper was here smelted from the ore. There is no slag found in the neighbourhood of Corinth, and no ancient mines are here known to exist. Yet they could hardly have vanished without leaving a trace" (Fiedler, *Reise*, 1. p. 242).

3. 4. **a seated figure of Hermes in bronze: beside him stands a ram.** This group is represented on Corinthian copper coins of the reigns of Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus, Caracalla, and Severus Alexander. Hermes appears (Fig. 12) seated on a rock, holding the caduceus in his left hand, while his right rests upon a ram which stands beside him. On a coin of the reign of Antoninus Pius the same group is represented, but enclosed within a distyle temple. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 23, with pl. F cx. cxi.



FIG. 13.—HERMES AND RAM (CORINTHIAN COIN).

3. 4. **Homer says in the Iliad.** See *Il.* xiv. 490 *sq.*

3. 4. **a story told of Hermes and the ram.** The story is perhaps the one mentioned by Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* ii. 15, p. 13, ed. Potter.

3. 5. **Eurycles, a Spartan.** This is probably the Eurycles whom Strabo mentions (viii. p. 363) as a contemporary of his own and the leading man of Lacedaemon. He appears to have been a person of profuse and extravagant habits, and of a turbulent and dangerous character, smooth, supple, and insinuating in address, but false and treacherous at heart. After enriching himself by false accusations at the court of Herod in Judaea, he used his ill-gotten gains to stir up sedition at Lacedaemon, on account of which he was finally driven into exile. See Josephus, *Antiquit.* xvi. 10. 1; *id.*, *Bell. Jud.* i. 26; Strabo, viii. p. 366. A statue of his son Gaius Julius Lacon was set up by the confederacy of the Free Laconians (*C. I. G.* No. 1389, cp. No. 1390).

3. 5. **the stone which is quarried at Croceae.** See iii. 21. 4 note. The stone is green porphyry.

3. 5. **the water which the Emperor Hadrian brought from Lake Stymphalus.** As to Hadrian's aqueduct see viii. 22. 3 note.

3. 5. **Artemis —— Bellerophon** etc. On a Corinthian coin of Caracalla's reign, Artemis is represented seated on a rock, holding a bow; in front of her, Bellerophon mounted on Pegasus is slaying the Chimaera (Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 24).

3. 6. **Glauce.** When Jason was about to wed Glauce, Medea, jealous of her rival, sent by the hands of her children a wedding-robe (or, according to Hyginus, a golden crown) as a wedding present to Glauce. But she had previously smeared the robe with baleful drugs: and when the bride put it on, she burst into flames and perished (Euripides, *Medea*, 1136 *sqq.*; Apollodorus, i. 9. 28; Diodorus, iv. 54; Hyginus, *Fab.* 25). So in the German folk-tale of 'Faithful John' there is a bridal garment that looks as if it were woven of silver and gold, but really it is nothing but sulphur and pitch, and if the royal bridegroom were to put it on, it would burn him to the marrow (Grimm, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, No. 6). There are many other folk-tale elements in the story of Medea. For example, in order to win the golden fleece Jason has to yoke two fire-breathing bulls and with them to plough a field and to sow it with dragon's teeth (Apollodorus, i. 9. 23). So in the Finnish epic poem, the *Kalevala*, the smith Ilmarinen has to plough a field of serpents before he may win his bride (*Kalevala*, Rune 19). The same story is also current in Finnland as a popular tale (E. Schreck, *Finnische Märchen*, p. 3 *sqq.*)

3. 6. **the Music Hall.** This may perhaps have been the roofed theatre which Herodes Atticus built at Corinth (Philostratus, *Vit. Sophist.* ii. 1. 9).

3. 6. **stoned to death by the Corinthians** etc. The following is the account given by the Scholiast on Euripides, *Medea*, 273: "Parmeniscus writes word for word as follows. The Corinthian women, loth to be ruled by a woman who was both a foreigner and a witch, laid a plot against her and slew her children, four males and four females. But Euripides says that she had only two children. Being pursued the children fled to the sanctuary of Hera of the Height and sat down in it. But even this did not protect them, for the Corinthians slew them all upon the altar. Now a pestilence fell upon the city and many people sickened and died. So the Corinthians inquired of the oracle, and the god bade them expiate the pollution caused by the murder of Medea's children. Wherefore the Corinthians annually celebrate the following rites down to this day. Seven boys and seven girls of the most distinguished families spend a year in the sanctuary of the goddess, and with sacrifices appease the anger of the murdered children and the wrath which their murder excited in the breast of the goddess. Didymus, however, controverts this account and quotes the story told by Creophilus, which runs thus. When Medea resided in Corinth, she killed by her spells Creon, the ruler of the city. So fearing the vengeance of his friends and kindred she fled to Athens; but her children being too young to accompany her, she seated them upon the altar of Hera of the Height, thinking that their father would look to their safety. But Creon's kinsmen slew the children and spread a report that Medea had slain not only Creon but also her own children. A similar myth is

told about Adonis." Cp. also the Scholiast on Euripides, *Medea*, 9. The story that the children of Medea were slain by the Corinthians is mentioned by other writers (Apollodorus, i. 9; Philostratus, *Heroica*, xx. 24; Aelian, *Var. Hist.* v. 21). According to a tradition mentioned by Aelian (*l.c.*) the other version, namely that Medea herself slew her children, was first started by Euripides at the request of the Corinthians, and it was only through the poet's influence that this version prevailed over the earlier one. Indeed, there are some lines in Euripides's play (1378 *sqq.*) which fit better with the story that Medea's children were murdered by the Corinthians than with the story, adopted by Euripides in the play, that Medea murdered them herself. The children, however slain, were said to have been buried in the sanctuary of Hera of the Height; the sanctuary, according to the Scholiast on Euripides, stood upon the acropolis (Euripides, *Medea*, 1378 *sq.*, with the Scholiast's note; Diodorus, iv. 55). Various ancient writers refer to the annual rites performed by the Corinthians for the supposed purpose of appeasing the angry spirits of the murdered children. The rites are described as of a wild, mystic, and mournful character (Philostratus, *l.c.*; Aelian, *l.c.*; Scholiast on Euripides, *Medea*, 1379). The Argives seem to have celebrated similar rites in honour of Medea's children (Schol. on Euripides, *l.c.*) At an annual sacrifice offered by the Corinthians to Hera of the Height a goat was sacrificed with peculiar rites; the sacrificial knife was brought and concealed by some hired persons, and the goat which was to be sacrificed was in some way made to discover the knife and thus to be, in a manner, guilty of its own death (Zenobius, i. 27; Apostolius, i. 60; *Proverb. e cod. Bodl.* 29 (*Paroemiog. Gr.*, ed. Gaisford, p. 4); Diogenianus, i. 52; Suidas, *s.v.* αἶξ αἰγός; Hesychius, *s.v.* αἶξ αἶγα). We may conjecture that this annual sacrifice of the goat formed part of the expiatory rites in honour of Medea's children. The children who, according to Pausanias, used to poll their hair and wear black clothing in memory of Medea's murdered offspring are doubtless the seven boys and seven girls who dwelt for a year in the sanctuary of Hera. See above, and K. O. Müller, *Orchomenos und die Minyer*,[2] p. 264 *sq.* On representations in art of Medea murdering her children, see K. Dilthey, in *Annali dell' Instituto di Corrisp. Archeol.* 41 (1869), pp. 5-69; *id.*, in *Archäologische Zeitung*, 1876, pp. 63-72. On the Corinthian legends of Medea see Maxim. Groeger, *De Argonauticarum fabularum historia quaestiones selectae* (Warsaw, 1889), pp. 22-32.

3. 8. **caused the people to be called Medes.** The tradition that Media and the Medes were named after Medea is mentioned by Herodotus (vii. 62). According to another story it was her son Medus who gave his name to Media (Strabo, xi. p. 526; Diodorus, iv. 55. 7; Apollodorus, i. 9. 28; Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Μηδία; Eusebius, *Chron.* i. vol. 1. p. 62, ed. Schoene).

3. 8. **Hellanicus calls him Polyxenus.** The statement probably occurred in Hellanicus's work on Thessaly. See *Frag. Hist. Graec.* ed. Müller, 1. p. 49. On Hellanicus and his writings see Preller, *Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, pp. 23-68. The life of Hellanicus seems to have

extended over the greater part of the fifth century B.C. He survived the battle of Arginusae (406 B.C.)

3. 9. the Naupactia. See x. 38. 11 note.

3. 9. Cinaethon, the Lacedaemonian. Cp. ii. 18. 6; iv. 2. 1; viii. 53. 5. Various epics were by some people attributed to this poet, such as the *Telegonia*, the *Oedipodia*, the *Heraclia*, and the *Little Iliad*. See *Epicorum Graecorum fragmenta*, ed. Kinkel, p. 196; Welcker, *Der epische Cyclus*, 1. p. 241 *sqq.*; W. Christ, *Gesch. d. griech. Litteratur*, p. 79. As to the *Oedipodia* see ix. 5. 11 note; as to the *Little Iliad* see x. 26. 2 note.

3. 10. Eumelus says. Some of the verses of Eumelus here referred to by Pausanias have been preserved by the Scholiast on Pindar, *Olymp.* xiii. 74, and Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 174. The verses preserved are eight in number, and record the mythical events mentioned by Pausanias down to the departure of Aeetes for Colchis. Cp. *Epicorum Graecorum fragmenta*, ed. Kinkel, p. 188 *sq.*

4. 1. Athena the Bridler. On a Corinthian copper coin of Hadrian's time Athena is represented holding in her right hand a bridle, in her left a spear and a shield. It is probably a copy of the temple-statue. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 25, with pl. F cxvi. In the *Annali dell' Inst. di Corrisp. Arch.* 30 (1858), Tav. d' agg. E, there is figured a bronze female head with a horse's bridle in the mouth, the bridle being fastened with straps over the brow and under the ears. The head is joined back to back with another female head. See De Witte's remarks on the subject, p. 85 *sqq.* In his catalogue of the Durand collection, Lenormant gave the bridled head the name of Hippa. De Witte identifies Hippa with Demeter Fury (see Pausanias, viii. 25. 4 *sq.*); and supposes that the bridled head in question is Demeter Fury and that the unbridled head is Proserpine.

4. 1. Bellerophon. For lists of ancient works of art illustrative of the Bellerophon legend see R. Engelmann, 'Bellerofonte e Pegaso,' in *Annali dell' Instituto*, 46 (1874), pp. 5-37; Stephani, in *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg), 1881, pp. 8-42.

4. 1. Pegasus. On Pegasus see especially Stephani in *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg), 1864, pp. 24-49. According to Stephani the horse Pegasus, which in later times was always represented with wings, was originally conceived as wingless and is so represented on some of the oldest monuments. For examples of such representations see Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, 1. pl. xiv. Nos. 51, 52; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 301; Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, 1. p. 685; Roscher's *Lexikon*, 1. p. 770.

4. 2. Homer. The reference is to *Iliad*, vi. 159, which, however, scarcely proves Pausanias's point.

4. 2. brigaded with the Mycenaean and other troops. See Homer, *Il.* ii. 569 *sqq.*

4. 4. the Bacchids, or Bacchiads, as they are called by other writers, reigned for about two hundred years (Strabo, viii. p. 378). For the story of their fall see Herodotus, v. 92; E. Wilisch, 'Der Sturz des Bakchiadenkönigtums in Korinth,' *Neue Jahrbücher*, 113 (1876).

pp. 585-594. Cypselus began to reign in 657 B.C. (Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*,[2] 1. p. 638).

4. 4. **presidents.** These presidents (*prytanes*) are mentioned also by Diodorus (vii. 9), who states that the Bacchids from year to year elected one of their own number president, and in his year of office the president enjoyed the state and power of a king. Cp. G. Gilbert, *Griech. Staatsalterthümer*, 2. p. 88 *sq.*; G. Busolt, 'Die korinthischen Prytanen,' *Hermes*, 28 (1893), pp. 312-320.

4. 5. **the theatre.** In the theatre Aratus addressed the Corinthians after he had delivered the city from the Macedonian garrison (Plutarch, *Aratus*, 23).

4. 5. **Lerna.** This spring is mentioned by Athenaeus (iv. p. 156 e) and Lucian (*Quomodo hist. conscrib.* 29).

4. 5. **images of Aesculapius and Health.** Aesculapius and Health are represented, together or separately, on Corinthian coins of the Imperial age. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 25, with pl. F cxvii.

4. 7. **the sanctuary of Bunaean Hera.** This is supposed by Prof. Curtius (*Peloponnesos*, 2. p. 533) to be identical with the sanctuary of Hera on the Height (see note on ii. 3. 6). Bunaean Hera seems to mean Hera on the Hill. Against the identification it has to be said that the temple of Hera on the Height is placed by the scholiast on Euripides (*Med.* 1378) upon Acro-Corinth; whereas from Pausanias's description it appears that the sanctuary of Bunaean Hera was on the way up to Acro-Corinth. There was a temple of Hera outside the walls in the direction of Sicyon (Plutarch, *Aratus*, 21 *sq.*)

5. 1. **Acro-Corinth.** Acro-Corinth, the citadel of ancient Corinth, is a rugged mountain of imposing aspect which rises almost sheer from the plain at the southern end of the Isthmus of Corinth to a height of 575 metres or 1886 feet. It is, though not the loftiest, certainly the grandest acropolis in Greece. Mure observes that the Acro-Corinth "is by far the most striking object of its class that I have ever seen, either abroad or at home. Neither the Acropolis of Athens, nor the Larissa of Argos, nor any of the more celebrated mountain fortresses of western Europe—not even Gibraltar—can enter into the remotest competition with this gigantic citadel." The greater part of this splendid natural fortress is a precipitous crag of grey limestone towering up abruptly on every side, but at the northern foot of the precipices the descent to the plain is broken by a succession of steep slopes, which are kept green with grass till late in the summer by the springs that ooze from under the crags. The ascent is from the west. On this side the Acro-Corinth is connected by a saddle with a lower, but still rugged and rocky, height, and through the depression or gully which intervenes between the two mountains the path ascends to the summit. The entrance to the citadel is through a triple line of fortification; the traveller passes through three gateways, one after the other. The summit on which he finds himself after passing through these gates is of great extent, measuring not less than a mile and a half in circumference; but its surface is broken and indented by many minor heights

and hollows, and the whole is encircled by a winding battlemented wall of mediaeval construction which follows the slope of the ground, ascending and descending, turning and doubling back on itself, shining white in contrast to the green sward and grey rock, and suggesting the simile of a necklace carelessly flung on." Within this spacious enclosure, the most sheltered part of which is filled with the ruins of a Turkish village, rise two chief peaks, the lower on the west, the higher on the east. The latter rises close to the precipitous northern edge of the mountain, and is crowned with a ruined Turkish oratory, which itself is built on the ruins of a Byzantine church. To the west of it some large well-jointed blocks are probably the scanty remains of the temple of Aphrodite (see below). Further, it may be mentioned that in the circuit walls of the citadel Mr. Skias has recently discovered some pieces of the rude ancient masonry known as Cyclopean. The best preserved piece is on the inaccessible summit of the most precipitous slope above the bridge which leads to the first gate, on the right as you approach from below (Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχ. Ἑταιρ. for 1892, p. 117 *sq.*)

The view from the summit of Acro-Corinth has been famous since the days of Strabo, who has accurately described it (viii. p. 379 *sq.*) The brilliant foreground, indeed, on which he looked down has vanished. The stately city with its temples, its terraced gardens, its colonnades, its fountains, is no more. In its place there is spread out at our feet the flat yellowish expanse of the Isthmus, stretching like a bridge across the sea to the point where the Geranian mountains, their slopes clothed with the sombre green of the pine-forests, rise abruptly like a massive barrier at its further end, sending out on their western side a long promontory, which cuts far into the blue waters of the Corinthian Gulf. Across the Gulf tower on the north the bold sharp peaks of Cithaeron and Helicon in Boeotia. On the north-west Parnassus lifts its mighty head, glistering with snow into late spring, but grey and bare in summer. In the far west loom the Locrian and Aetolian mountains, seeming to unite with the mountains of Peloponnese on the south, and thus apparently converting the Gulf of Corinth into an inland, mountain-girdled lake. To the south-west, above ranges of grey limestone hills dotted with dark pines, soar the snowy peaks of Cyllene and Aroania in Arcadia. On the south the prospect is shut in by the high tablelands and hills of Argolis, range beyond range, the lower slopes of the valleys covered in spring with cornfields, their upper slopes with tracts of brushwood. Eastward Salamis and the sharp-peaked Aegina are conspicuous. In this direction the view is bounded by the hills of Attica—the long ridge of Hymettus and the more pointed summits of Pentelicon and Parnes, while below them in clear weather the Parthenon is distinctly visible on the Acropolis nearly fifty miles away, the pinnacle of Lycabettus rising over it crowned with its white far-gleaming chapel.

See Wheler, *Journey*, pp. 440-443; E. D. Clarke, *Travels*, 3. pp. 746-750; Dodwell, *Tour through Greece*, 2. p. 189 *sq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 3. pp. 257-260; Fiedler, *Reise*, 1. p. 243 *sq.*; W. Mure, *Journal of a tour in Greece*, 2. pp. 137-139; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. pp. 169-171; L. Ross, *Wanderungen*, 1. pp. 233-235; E. Curtius, *Peloponnesos*, 2. pp. 524, 533-535; Beulé, *Études sur le*

Péloponnèse, pp. 401-408; W. G. Clark, *Peloponnesus*, pp. 55-60; Vischer, *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke*, pp. 257-262; Mahaffy, *Rambles and Studies*,[3] p. 343 *sq.*; Belle, *Trois années en Grèce*, pp. 257-261; Philippson, in *Zeitschrift. d. Gesell. f. Erdkunde zu Berlin*, 25 (1890), p. 41 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 196 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 240 *sq.* Strabo (viii. p. 379) estimated the height of the Acro-Corinth at three and a half Greek furlongs (620 metres), which is nearly correct, the actual height being, as we have seen, 575 metres.

5. 1. **a temple of Aphrodite.** It was said to have been founded by Medea (Plutarch, *De Herodoti malignitate*, 39; Schol. on Pindar, *Olymp.* xiii. 32). The temple was a small one (*ναΐδιον*) and stood on the summit of the Acro-Corinth (Strabo, viii. p. 379). As to its exact site see the preceding note. The temple is represented (Fig. 13) on Corinthian coins of the Imperial age; on them it appears "sometimes as tetrastyle, sometimes as hexastyle, sometimes as prostyle, and sometimes as peripetal: all of which proves that in matters of architectural detail coins are not trustworthy." See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 27, with pl. G cxxvi. cxxviii. cxxix. cxxx. cxxxi. cxxxii. The goddess of the temple—the armed Aphrodite—is represented on a long series of Imperial coins. On these she is uniformly represented (Fig. 14) as naked to the waist and holding a shield, sometimes with a winged Love beside her. "This important series of coins furnishes complete proof . . . of the type of the statue of Aphrodite which stood on the Corinthian Acropolis. The figure of armed Aphrodite which existed there under the Empire was no archaic figure of an armed goddess, such as the Syrian Astarte, but an unmistakable Greek Aphrodite, using the shield of Ares as a mirror. This is a motive natural to Roman rather than to Greek art, and we may be almost sure that the statue does not date from an earlier period than that of Julius Caesar. Indeed to his time it would be peculiarly appropriate, considering his birth and pretensions" (Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 26). On the other, or oriental, type of the armed Aphrodite see note on iii. 15. 10. Crowds of courtesans took part in the service of Aphrodite's sanctuary at Corinth. For it was an ancient custom that whenever the state offered solemn prayers to the goddess, the courtesans should join in the prayers and afterwards be present at the sacrifice. For example, when the Persians invaded Greece, these women flocked to the temple of Aphrodite and prayed for the deliverance of their country. Hence bronze statues of them, inscribed with an epigram by Simonides, were set up in the temple. Moreover, when private persons made vows to the goddess they promised that, if their prayers were answered, they would bring courtesans to the temple. See Athenaeus, xiii. p. 573 *sq.*; Plutarch, *De Herodoti malignitate*, 39; Schol. on Pindar, *Olymp.* xiii. 32. The prayer of the Corinthian



FIG. 14.—TEMPLE ON ACRO-CORINTH (CORINTHIAN COIN).



FIG. 15.—APHRODITE (CORINTHIAN COIN).

courtesans for the freedom of Greece is referred to by the rhetorician Choricius in a composition which has been recently published for the first time (*Jahrbuch d. arch. Instituts*, 9 (1894), p. 185).

5. 1. **The spring behind the temple.** This, and not the spring at the foot of the Acro-Corinth (see above, ii. 3. 2 note) is the one which Strabo (viii. p. 379) identified as Pirene. He says: "Under the summit is the water-basin (κρήνη) of Pirene; it has no outlet, but is always full of sweet and limpid water. They say that the water-basin at the foot of the mountain is fed from this one and from other subterranean sources." The Pirene of Strabo is now identified with the Dragon Well (*Dragonera*), situated on a small terrace, a little to the east of and below the highest point of the Acro-Corinth. The entrance is close to the outside stair of a long ruined barrack about fifteen paces from the south wall of the citadel. The water is contained in a subterranean well-house, which is reached by an arched passage lined on both sides with polygonal walls. A staircase formerly led down into this passage, but it is now ruinous, and we descend by a wooden ladder. In the well-house, which is covered in by a vaulted roof of Roman date, the water is 12 or 14 feet deep, and runs back for a distance of 25 feet or so. Out of the water rises a small column, which with two pilasters at the sides supports a tiny temple-like gable or pediment. The water is so clear that in the dim light it is not easy to distinguish the water-line on the rock-cut steps. A traveller has been known to walk down the steps into the water before he was aware of it. See C. Göttling, 'Die Quelle Pirene auf Akrokorinth und das Kraneion unterhalb Korinth,' *Archäologische Zeitung*, 2 (1844), pp. 326-330, with sketch; Curtius, *Peloponnesos*, 2. p. 525; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 259 *sq.*; Mahaffy, *Rambles*, p. 344 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 241.

5. 1. **a gift of Asopus to Sisyphus.** Another account of the origin of Pirene was that Pegasus had struck the rock with his hoof and that the water gushed out (Dio Chrysostom, *Orat.* xxxvi. vol. 2. p. 62, ed. Dindorf; Statius, *Theb.* iv. 60 *sq.*) A similar origin was attributed to Hippocrene ('the Horse's Fount') on Helicon (see ix. 31. 3) and to Hippocrene at Troezen (see ii. 31. 9). On the mythical connexion of horses with water cp. Stephani in *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg), 1864, p. 24 *sqq.* The statue of Pegasus, from the hoof of which the water of a fountain gushed (above, ii. 3. 5), had reference of course to such stories. Another story which connected Pegasus with Pirene was that Pegasus was drinking at the spring when he was caught by Bellerophon (Strabo, viii. p. 379; Pindar, *Olymp.* xiii. 63 *sqq.*) On a marble relief, preserved in the Spada palace at Rome, and often figured in the books, Bellerophon is represented watering Pegasus at a spring (probably Pirene) which gushes from a rock. See Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 300; Roscher's *Lexikon*, 1. p. 762. On a coin of Septimius Severus there is a representation of Bellerophon watering Pegasus, with Acro-Corinth in the background (Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 13, with pl. C xxix.; see above, p. 18 *sq.*)

The story that Pegasus caused water to gush from the ground by

striking it with his hoof has its parallels in modern folk-lore. St. Milborough's Well at Stoke St. Milborough (Shropshire) is said to have originated in much the same way. A horse, at the bidding of St. Milburga, struck his hoof into the ground and immediately a spring of water gushed out (Burne and Jackson, *Shropshire Folk-lore*, p. 418). When the Frisians were building a dyke to keep out the sea at the spot where St. Boniface suffered martyrdom, they wished to build a church and a monastery at the place, but found there was no spring of fresh water in the neighbourhood. However, one of their horses sank with his front paws into the ground, and when it was pulled out, a stream of clear water gushed out and formed a brook (J. W. Wolf, *Niederländische Sagen*, No. 19, p. 28 *sq.*) In the north-east of Scotland "one mode of discovering where water was to be found was to keep from water a mare having a foal, and to tether her on the place where it was wished to dig for water; the mare, in her desire to quench her thirst, pawed over the spot under which the spring lay. If she did not paw, there was no spring within the circuit of her tether" (W. Gregor, *Folk-lore of the North-east of Scotland*, p. 131).

5. 1. **Sisyphus.** On the Acro-Corinth, but lower down than Pirene, there was a white marble structure called the Sisypheum; in Strabo's time only ruins of it remained, and he was uncertain whether the building had been a temple or a palace (Strabo, viii. p. 379). The Sisypheum must have been a strong position; for Demetrius had much difficulty in carrying it by storm, and after its capture the garrison in Acro-Corinth surrendered (Diodorus, xx. 103). The punishment which Sisyphus suffered in hell for betraying Zeus was to push a large stone up hill; as soon as the stone had almost reached the top, it rolled down again (Homer, *Od.* xi. 593 *sqq.*; Apollodorus, i. 9. 3). This formed one of the subjects of Polygnotus's great series of paintings in the Club-room at Delphi. See x. 31. 10. The name Sisyphus is said to be formed by reduplication from σοφός, with the Aeolic substitution of υ for ο (Curtius, *Griech. Etymol.*[5] p. 512; Merry on Homer, *Od.* xi. 593; Vaniček, *Griech.-Lat. Etymol. Wörterbuch*, p. 592). Thus Sisyphus means the Wise, Wise One; and the traditional character of Sisyphus answered to his name, for he was reputed the craftiest of men (Homer, *Il.* vi. 153). One of the stories told to illustrate his craftiness is repeated in the folk-tales of many lands. It is said that when Death came to carry him off, Sisyphus chained him up. So Death being chained, nobody died till Ares came and released Death. See Eustathius on Homer, *Il.* vi. 153. Similarly in an Italian story an innkeeper, grown old, is visited by Death, but having persuaded Death to enter a bottle, he corks him up and keeps him a prisoner. "While Death was shut up no one died; and everywhere you might see old men with such long white beards that it was a sight." At last the Lord himself came and expostulated with the innkeeper, saying, "There you have kept Death shut up so many years, and the people are falling down from old age without dying!" The innkeeper stipulates for a place in Paradise, and when his request is granted, he releases Death. See T. F. Crane, *Italian Popular Tales*, No. 63. In another Italian story (Crane, *op. cit.*

No. 64) Brother Giovannone shuts up Death in a pouch and keeps him there, and for forty years nobody dies. In another Italian story (Crane, *op. cit.* No. 66) Death comes to fetch the aged Beppo. But Beppo tied up Death in a sack and did not let him out for a year and a half. Great and universal was the joy; the doctors especially were in high feather, for none of their patients died. "Then Death begged so humbly and represented so forcibly what would be the consequences of this disorder, that Beppo agreed to let him out, on condition that Death should not come back for him unless he was willing. Death departed and sought by means of a few wars and pestilences to make up for lost time." Cp. also Crane, *op. cit.* No. 65. In the commonest of this class of stories the hero is a cunning smith who is allowed three wishes by the Lord. He wishes that whoever climbs up a fruit-tree in his garden may be compelled to stay there till he (the smith) lets him come down; that whoever sits down in his easy chair, may be obliged to sit there till he (the smith) lets him get up; and lastly that whoever creeps into his purse, may have to stay in it till he (the smith) lets him out. By means of these three booby-traps he thrice catches Death (or the Devil) who comes to carry him off; and each time he extorts a promise from Death (or the Devil) to leave him unmolested for a while longer. In particular when he gets the Devil into his purse he mauls and belabours him so terribly with his hammer, that when at last the smith dies and comes to hell-gate, the Devil will not let him into hell at any price. So he is obliged to try heaven: here also he is refused admission, but he at last succeeds in getting in by force or craft. This tale is told, with slight modifications, in many parts of Europe. See Asbjörnsen og Moe, *Norske Folke-Eventyr*, No. 21 (= Dasent, *Popular tales from the Norse*, 'The Master-smith,' p. 108 *sqq.*); Kuhn, *Märkische Sagen und Märchen*, No. 88 of the *Sagen*; Zingerle, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen aus Tirol*, 5; Panzer, *Beitrag zur deutschen Mythologie*, 1. p. 94 *sqq.*; Colshorn, *Märchen und Sagen*, p. 248 *sqq.*; Bechstein, *Deutsches Märchenbuch*, p. 44 *sqq.* (cp. p. 42); Schleicher, *Litauische Märchen*, etc. p. 108 *sqq.*; Krauss, *Sagen und Märchen der Südslaven*, 2. Nos. 125, 126; Blade, *Contes populaires de la Gascogne*, 2. p. 225 *sqq.*; Arnaudin, *Contes populaires recueillis dans la Grande-Lande*, No. 1. In the corresponding story in Grimm's collection (*Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, No. 82) the hero is not a smith, but a gambler. The bottling up of Death occurs also in a Magyar folk-tale (*The Folk-tales of the Magyars*, trans. by W. H. Jones and L. L. Kropf, p. 82 *sq.*) To return to Sisyphus. Another way in which he cheated Death was this. Before he died he told his wife to leave his corpse unburied. She did so, and accordingly when Sisyphus was dead and in hell he complained to Pluto that his wife had neglected to bury his body, and asked leave to return and punish her. He was allowed to do so, but once back on earth he refused to return to hell, and had to be forcibly dragged back by Hermes. See Schol. on Sophocles, *Ajax*, 625; Schol. on Pindar, *Olymp.* 1. 97; cp. Theognis, 703 *sq.* This may be compared with an incident in one of the Slavonic stories of the cunning smith. In this story the smith, before he is at last carried off by the devil, tells

his son that when he is dead he (the son) must build a church. So the smith dies and goes in due course to hell. But now his son begins to build a church, as his father bade him; and as soon as the cross is set up before the door of the church, the devils are only too glad to let the smith out of hell. He returns to earth and lives two hundred years more. See Krauss, *op. cit.* 2. No. 126.

Pausanias has now completed his description of Corinth. Here then is the fit place to notice the few remains of ancient Corinth which are either not mentioned by him or at least cannot be identified with buildings described by him. Foremost among these remains are the seven Doric columns of an ancient temple which stand at the village of Old Corinth, not far from the northern foot of Acro-Corinth. The columns formed part of the peristyle of the temple. Five columns stand on the western front and, immediately adjoining them, three columns (reckoning the corner column twice over) on the southern front. The three columns on the southern side and the two adjoining columns on the western side still support portions of the architrave; but the fourth and fifth columns on the western side have lost their architrave. The fourth column has lost its capital also. The columns have twenty flutes, and they are monoliths, that is each is hewn out of a single block of stone. The material is a rough limestone, coated with a reddish-yellow stucco. The proportions of the columns are more massive than those of any other existing Doric columns (height 23½ feet; diameter at the base 5 ft. 8 in., at the top 4 ft. 3 in.); it has therefore been commonly supposed (as by Leake, Curtius, and Vischer) that this is the most ancient Doric temple in existence. See Leake, *Morea*, 3. pp. 245 *sq.*, 249 *sq.*, 268 *sqq.*; Curtius, *Peloponnesos*, 2. p. 525 *sq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 264; Baedeker,[3] p. 240; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 196.

In January and February 1886 Dr. Dörpfeld examined the temple with care and made a number of excavations for the purpose of determining its ground-plan, and of bringing to light additional fragments of the structure. His results are given in a paper in the *Mittheilungen des arch. Instituts in Athen*, 11 (1886), pp. 297-308, with plates vii. and viii. The following is a summary of his conclusions.

He found that there is not one single foundation for the whole temple, but that each row of columns and each wall had its own separate foundation reaching down to the rock and quite unconnected with all the rest. The surface of the rock was not merely smoothed to receive the foundations; but grooves, of the breadth of the wall and from 5 to 30 centimetres deep, were sunk in it.

On the west side, to the north of the existing fifth column, there was found a cutting in the rock, in which had plainly rested the foundation of a sixth column. Further to the north the rock had not been worked; so the west front of the temple can have had only six columns. In other words, it was hexastyle.

At the S.E. extremity of the temple the corner of the stylobate was discovered. This gave the length of the temple, which, measured on the stylobate, was about 53.30 metres (174 ft. 10 in.) Calculating

from the intercolumniation of the existing columns, Dr. Dörpfeld concluded that the temple had fifteen columns at each of the long sides. This proportion of the number of the end columns to the side columns (viz. 6 : 15) is not uncommon; it occurs also in the temple at Bassae and in the temple R at Selinus.

The interior of the temple had two inner rows of columns, one row on each side; and it was divided by a cross-wall into two compartments, a western and an eastern, of which the eastern compartment was the larger. The length of the western compartment was about 9.60 metres (31 ft. 6 in.), that of the eastern about 16 metres (52 ft. 6 in.) The western compartment was nearly square. Each compartment was a temple *in antis*, not prostyle. Dr. Dörpfeld thinks it probable that each row of columns in the western chamber contained two columns and that each row of columns in the eastern chamber contained four columns. In the western chamber were discovered the remains of a foundation which probably supported the base of a temple-statue.

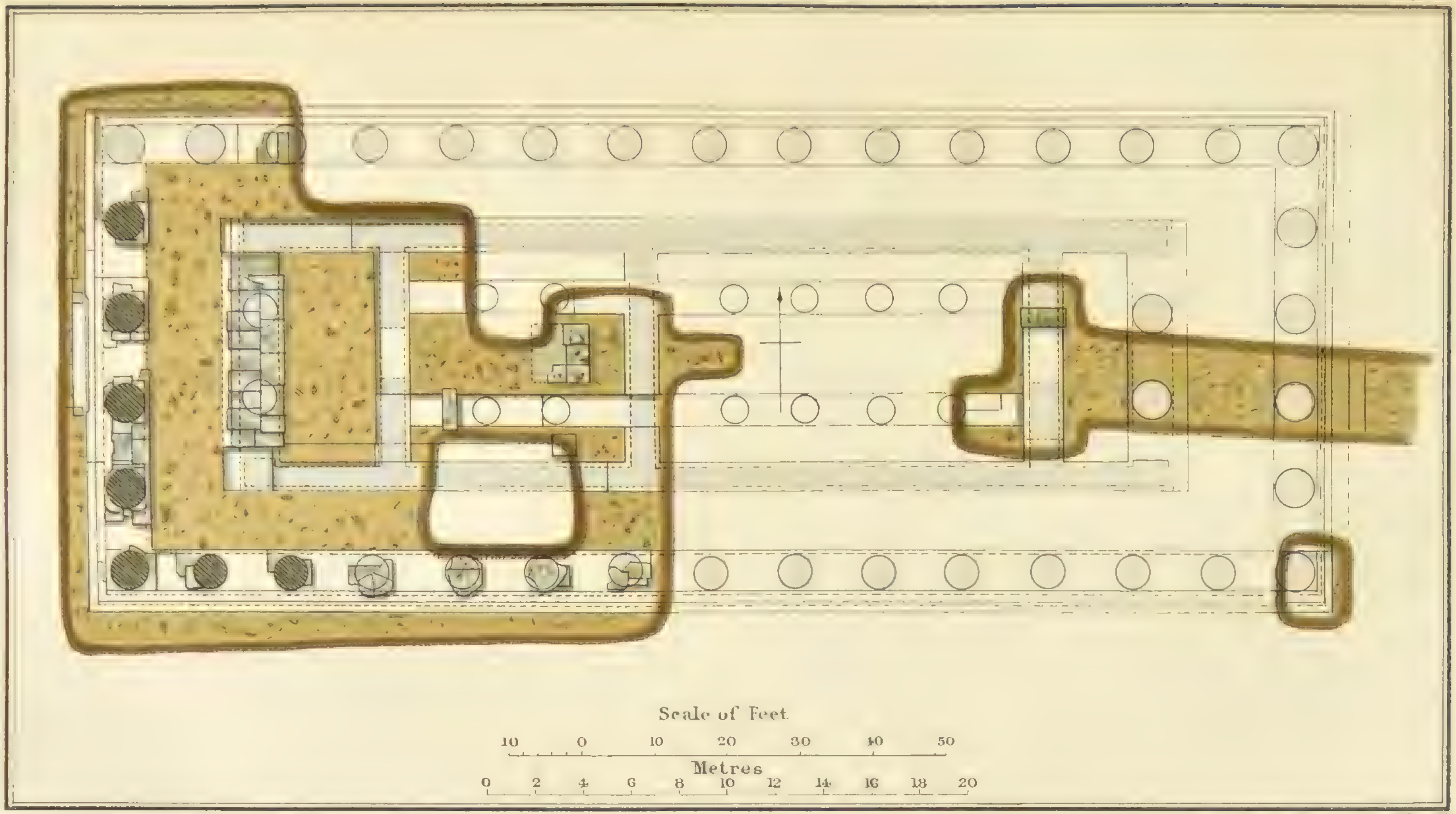
It may be asked, was the temple really a double temple? or was the western compartment merely a treasure-chamber (as in the Parthenon at Athens), or an inner sanctuary (as in the temple at Selinus)? The foundation for the base of a statue, discovered in the western compartment, furnishes an answer to these questions. For considering the size and position of the base, it can scarcely be doubted that it once supported a temple-statue, and that the compartment in which the statue stood opened to the west. For if there had been a door in the cross-wall between the compartments, the base of the statue would have been so close to it that it would have blocked the passage. The western compartment, therefore, was neither simply a treasure-chamber opening from the west, nor an inner sanctuary (*adytum*) opening from the east into the *cella*. It was itself a *cella*, with a separate entrance and a separate image.

The threshold, made of Pentelic marble, of the chief door of the eastern chamber was discovered, but not quite in its original place.

On the west front Dr. Dörpfeld discovered a small but regular curvature, the two middle columns standing about 2 centimetres higher than the corner columns. This cannot be explained by sinking, for the lowest of the three steps of the temple is hewn out of the rock.

The diameter of the columns on the short fronts was greater than the diameter of the columns on the long sides. The average diameter of the former is 1.72 metres; the diameter of the latter is 1.63 metres. The distances between the axes of the columns on the short side is also correspondingly greater than the distances between the axes of the columns on the long sides (4 metres on the short sides, against 3.7 metres on the long sides). This difference of diameter and of axal distances between the columns on the short sides and the columns on the long sides occurs not uncommonly in the more ancient Greek temples. It is found, *e.g.*, in the Heraeum at Olympia and in the pre-Persian temple on the Acropolis at Athens. As the height of the columns is 7.21 metres (about 23½ feet), the proportion between the lower diameter and the height of the column is 1 : 4.2

THE TEMPLE IN CORINTH.



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for the columns on the fronts and 1 : 4.4 for the columns at the sides; and the proportion of the axal distance to the height of the column is 1 : 1.8 on the fronts and 1 : 1.95 on the sides. Since such proportions are frequently appealed to as determining the age of a Doric building, the fact that they are found to differ so much from each other on two sides of the same building ought (as Dr. Dörpfeld observes) to warn us against laying too much stress on them as evidence of the date of a building.

There is absolutely no evidence to what deity or rather deities the temple was dedicated.

With regard to the history of the temple, Dr. Dörpfeld thinks it was built in the sixth century, or perhaps earlier. Leake was disposed to date it earlier. He says of the columns, "We not only find in them the narrow intercolumniation, tapering shafts, projecting capitals, and lofty architraves, which are the attributes of the early Doric, and which were perpetuated in the architecture of the western colonies of Greece, but we find also that the chief characteristic of those buildings is still stronger in the Corinthian temple than in any of them, its shaft being shorter in proportion to the diameter than in any known example of the Doric order, and, unlike that of any other Doric column of large dimensions, being composed of a single block of stone." Leake concludes that the latest date to which the temple can be attributed is the middle of the seventh century B.C., but that it may be a good deal earlier (*Morea*, 3. p. 250 *sq.*)

When Corinth was rebuilt under Julius Caesar, the temple seems to have had a new roof put on it, for Roman tiles (bearing the stamp PONTI) have been discovered in plenty, but no Greek ones. It also received a new coating of stucco. For great pieces of Roman stucco may still be easily distinguished on the columns over the Greek stucco. See Dörpfeld, *op. cit.* pp. 394, 395; Curtius, *Peloponnesos*, 2. p. 526.

When Spon and Wheler visited Corinth in 1676, there were twelve of the columns standing, eleven of them belonging to the peristyle, and the twelfth being one of the interior columns towards the west end (Spon, *Voyage*, 2. p. 173; Wheler, *Journey*, p. 440). In the eighteenth century when Chandler visited the temple, and when Stuart drew it, the twelve columns were still standing, but between 1785 and 1795 the number was reduced to seven, as at present (1895). See Chandler, *Travels in Greece*, p. 239 *sq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 246 *sq.* For a sketch and a plan of the temple as it appeared with the twelve columns still standing, see Stuart and Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens*, 3. ch. vi. plates i. ii.

At a short distance to the north of the ruin which has just been described, on the brow of the cliffs overlooking the plain and bay of Lechaeum, there is an artificial level, on which Leake remarked the foundations of a large building and some fragments of Doric columns. Excavations directed by Dr. Dörpfeld on this spot revealed three parallel walls, the style and material of which proved them to have formed part, not of a Greek temple, but of a great Byzantine church or of some

building of Roman times. In the most northerly of the three walls is the drum of a Doric column and also a fragment of a large Doric architrave. These must have formed part of a large Doric temple, larger probably than the one of which the seven columns are standing. For the diameter of the drum (which Leake thought to be not from the lowest part of the shaft) measures 6 ft. 3 in., and the architrave is exactly the height of the architrave of the great temple of Zeus at Olympia. Dr. Dörpfeld thinks that the temple in question must have stood not far from the later building in which the fragments are found: and he, like Leake, conjectures that the temple was no other than the temple of Apollo described by Pausanias (ii. 3. 6) which stood on the right of the road leading from the market-place to Sicyon. The conjecture is somewhat confirmed by a Latin inscription found on or near the spot by Wheler and Spon in 1676; the inscription mentions "[illegible] *et statuam Apollinis Augusti et tabernas deorum*." The inscription is probably from a chapel within the sacred enclosure of Apollo. See Wheler, *Journey*, p. 444; Spon, *Voyage*, 2. p. 179; Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 247 *sq.*; *id.*, *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 393 *sq.*; Dörpfeld, in *Mittheilungen d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 11 (1886), p. 306 *sqq.*

Among the few surviving monuments of ancient Corinth are the remains of a Roman amphitheatre excavated in the rock on the eastern side of the village of Old Corinth, not far from the left bank of the torrent which separates Acro-Corinth from the heights to the eastward. The area below is 290 ft. by 190. Under the seats are chambers in the rock, in which doubtless the wild beasts were kept. On the north side a broad passage, now open but probably at one time covered, leads down to the arena. It must have been the entrance for the gladiators or wild beasts. As Pausanias does not mention this amphitheatre, it was perhaps not yet made in his time. Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* xxxi. vol. 1. p. 385 *sq.* ed. Dindorf) describes the Corinthians watching the combats of gladiators outside of the city in a gully large enough to contain a multitude, but so dreary that no respectable person would consent to be buried in it. This describes the situation of the amphitheatre well enough, but whether the amphitheatre had been actually made at the time when Dio wrote, must be doubtful. It is first mentioned by a geographer of the age of Constantius. See Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 244 *sq.*; *id.*, *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 393; Curtius, *Peloponnesos*, 2. pp. 527, 591; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 264 *sq.*; *Mittheilungen d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 2 (1877), pp. 282-288 (with plan). A plan of the amphitheatre is also given in *Expédition Scientifique de Morée*, 3. pl. 77.

In 1892 some excavations were made by Mr. Skias on the site of ancient Corinth at the intersection of the roads from Lechaeum and Cenchreae. Here, in addition to remains of later date, he found the square courtyard of a building of the fifth or sixth century B.C. The courtyard measures about 20 feet square, and the ancient pavement, constructed in a neat and solid style, is preserved throughout. See Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολ. Ἑταιρ. for 1892, pp. 111-136.

5. 1. **Zeus had carried off —— Aegina.** On representations of the rape of Aegina in ancient art see Jahn, *Archaeologische Beiträge*, p. 31 *sq.*

5. 3. **they say that the Maeander** etc. Ibycus held that the Sicyonian Asopus rose in Phrygia (Strabo, vi. p. 271). As to the derivation of the Inopus from the Nile see Strabo, *l.c.*; Callimachus, *Hymn. Dian.* 171; *id., Hymn. Del.* 206 *sqq.*; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophr.* 575. The water of the Inopus was said to rise and fall simultaneously with that of the Nile; hence the fable of their connexion (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* ii. 229; Callimachus, *Del. l.c.*) The fable of the union of the Euphrates and Nile is repeated by Philostratus, *Vit. Apollon.* i. 20. 2.

5. 4. **Tenea.** Stephanus Byzantius (*s.v.* Τενέα) tells us that Tenea was a village which belonged to Corinth and was situated between that city and Mycenae. Combining this statement with Pausanias's statement that Tenea was distant 60 Greek furlongs (a little under seven miles) from Corinth along the mountain road, we infer that Tenea was situated somewhere in the valley which opens on the east side of Acro-Corinth and through which the highroad and the railway now run from Corinth to Argos. The exact site was first discovered by the late H. G. Lolling. It is on a flat projecting spur of the mountains which close the valley on the south, a little below and to the north of the twin villages of Upper and Lower *Klenia*. The spot is about a mile and a quarter south of *Chiliomodi*, a village which lies in the opener part of the valley, and is a station on the railway line between Corinth and Argos. Its distance from Acro-Corinth is about seven miles, which agrees closely with Pausanias's statement that Tenea was 60 Greek furlongs (6⅘ miles) from Corinth. The neighbouring villages of *Klenia* have preserved with little alteration the ancient name of Cleonae. The architectural remains of Tenea are scanty, consisting of a few foundations and pieces of walls. Further evidence of an ancient settlement here is furnished by the number of potsherds, both of the finer and coarser kind, lying about, and by the rock-hewn graves on the northern slope of the hill toward *Chiliomodi.* These graves are found both separately and in groups. The valley, of which a complete view is obtained from the site of the ancient town, is bounded on the north and south by heights of some elevation and on the east by lower hills partially wooded with pine. On the west the valley opens gradually into the plain of Cleonae. A stream traverses it from south to north, and after skirting the eastern foot of Acro-Corinth falls into the Gulf of Corinth. The bottom of the valley is cultivated and produces corn, wine, oil, and some currants; the western portion of it serves as a winter pasture. But the hills which enclose it and stretch eastward to the sea are for the most part utterly barren and naked except where they are overgrown with arid shrubs or pinewood. Their sides are cleft by many dismal little gullies and ravines. On the whole the valley is unattractive and inhospitable, though its position on the main route from Corinth to Argos and the south must have given it a certain commercial and political importance.

According to Aristotle, the Teneans were related to the people of Tenedos through Tennus, son of Cycnus (Strabo, viii. p. 380). It was at Tenea that the youthful Oedipus was brought up by Polybus, and the little town sent out most of the emigrants who followed Archias

to found Syracuse (Strabo, *l.c.*) In 393 B.C. Agesilaus led a Spartan army from Argos to Corinth by Tenea (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, iv. 4. 19). In the war which the Romans waged on the Achaean League Tenea sided with Rome, and hence escaped the fate which befel Corinth (Strabo, *l.c.*) An Asiatic Greek who contemplated migrating to Corinth received an oracle to the effect that "Blest is Corinth, but Tenea for me!" (Strabo, *l.c.*) That there was a sanctuary of Apollo at Tenea might be inferred from Pausanias and is expressly affirmed by Strabo (*l.c.*)

See Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 320 *sq.*; *id.*, *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 400 *sq.*; Curtius, *Peloponnesos*, 2. pp. 549-551, 557; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 39; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 22; H. G. Lolling, in Steffen's *Karten von Mykenai*, *Erläuternder Text*, p. 46 *sq.*; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 34 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 247.

At the village of *Athikia*, situated among the hills about four miles north-east of Tenea, was found the statue known as the Apollo of Tenea. It is one of a class of archaic statues which represent a long-haired youth, naked, standing in a stiff constrained attitude. They were formerly called Apollos on account of their long hair. But according to Prof. Milchhöfer the discovery of bronze statuettes in recent years has proved that in the older art votive figures generally represented, not the god, but the persons who dedicated them. Other examples of this class of statues are the so-called Apollo of Thera and the Apollo of Orchomenus. Of the three statues mentioned the Apollo of Thera is the rudest, and the Apollo of Tenea the most advanced. The class to which they belong is believed by some critics to exhibit traces of Egyptian influence. Several of these statues were found in recent years at the sanctuary of the Ptoan Apollo, on Mt. Ptous, in Boeotia (as to which see Pausanias, ix. 24. 6), and still more recently another was discovered by the French archaeologists at Delphi. See A. Milchhöfer, in *Archäolog. Zeitung*, 39 (1881), p. 54 *sq.*; Max. Collignon, 'L'Apollon d'Orchomène,' *Bulletin de Corresp. Hellénique*, 5 (1881), pp. 319-322; *id.*, *Histoire de la Sculpture Grecque*, 1. pp. 113 *sqq.*, 195 *sqq.*; M. Holleaux, in *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* 10 (1886), pp. 66-80; A. H. Smith, *Catalogue of Sculpture in the British Museum*, 1. p. 82 *sqq.*; M. Holleaux, 'Statue archaïque trouvée à Milos,' *Bull. de Corr. Hellén.* 16 (1892), pp. 560-567; Friederich-Wolters, *Gipsabgüsse*, pp. 9 *sqq.*, 25; Murray, *Hist. of Greek Sculpture*, 1.[2] p. 170 *sqq.*; Lucy M. Mitchell, *Hist. of Ancient Sculpture*, p. 204 *sq.*; Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. pp. 114-121; Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, p. 712 *sqq.*; Cavvadias, Γλυπτὰ τοῦ Ἐθνικοῦ Μουσείου, 1. Nos. 8-14, 20, 68-72; Th. Homolle, in *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, December, 1894, p. 444 *sqq.* When I was at Phigalia in 1890 one of these archaic statues had recently been discovered there. The head was wanting, but the ends of curls remained on either side of the neck. The arms were also wanting from the shoulders; to judge from what remained of them, they must have adhered closely to the sides. The waist was narrow, the legs apart. But perhaps the most remarkable feature of the statue was that it bore an inscription on the front, just beneath the

neck. The inscription consisted of a few letters, which I could not read with certainty. They looked like ΕΥΝΑΙΑΔ. The inscription was, I think, archaic, and is, so far as I know, the first instance of an inscription found on this class of statues. The inscription is probably a man's name; and this favours the view that such statues represent mortals, not gods. Most of the statues of this series are preserved in the National Museum at Athens. They well exhibit the gradual progress of statuary from its rude beginnings up to the time when it approached its most perfect development.

5. 5. **the road that leads from Corinth —— to Sicyon.** The road from Corinth to Sicyon traverses the plain which lies between the Gulf of Corinth and the hills which extend parallel to the coast. This plain, the western part of which was called Asopia by the ancients (Strabo, viii. p. 382, ix. p. 408) and is named *Vocha* by the moderns, is extremely fertile. Villages are numerous, and the level expanse is covered with the stunted currant-trees, above which an olive-tree rises here and there. The fertility of the plain, which was famous in antiquity (Livy, xxvii. 31. 1; Cicero, *De lege agraria*, i. 2. 5; Lucian, *Icaromenippus*, 18; *id.*, *Navigium*, 20; Zenobius, iii. 57; *Proverb. e Cod. Bodleiano*, 396 (*Paroemiographi Graeci*, ed. Gaisford, p. 45); Athenaeus, v. p. 219 a; Suidas, *s.v.* *εἰ τὸ μέσον κτήσαιο*; Schol. on Aristophanes, *Birds*, 968) is largely due to the numerous streams which, issuing from glens among the hills, intersect it in deeply worn beds. The soil, a whitish marl, is heavy and slippery after rain. See Clarke, *Travels*, 3. p. 729; Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 292 *sq.*; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 2. p. 299 *sq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 227 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 482 *sq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke*, p. 268 *sq.*; W. G. Clark, *Peloponnesus*, p. 344; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 118 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 243.

5. 6. **Aegialeus** etc. According to Eusebius the annals of Sicyon and its kings extended back further than any other written records in Greece. Hence he begins his chronology of Greece with a list of the kings of Sicyon. His list differs in some points from that of Pausanias. Aegialeus, first king of Sicyon, was, according to Eusebius, a contemporary of Bel and Ninus, the first kings of Assyria. The chronicles of the kings of Sicyon were written by a historian named Castor; he first wrote a large work and then published an epitome of it. According to him the kings of Sicyon reigned altogether 959 years. See Eusebius, *Chronic.* i. vol. 1. p. 171 *sqq.*, ed. Schoene.

5. 6. **the portion of Peloponnese which is still called Aegialus.** Aegialus was the old name of Achaia (v. 5. 1; vii. 1. 1-4; Strabo, viii. p. 383). Pausanias speaks as if the old name was still in use in his time. The name means simply 'coast-land' (cp. vii. 1. 1); king Aegialeus is an etymological fiction.

5. 6. **the city of Aegialea.** Afterwards it was called Mecone, 'the poppy town,' because Demeter first discovered the poppy (*μήκων*) there (Strabo, viii. p. 382; Stephan. Byz. *s.v.* *Σικυών*; *Etymol. Magn.* p. 583, 55; Schol. on Pindar, *Nem.* ix. 123). At the present day poppies "are scattered over the plateau upon which the old city was built" (*American Journal of Archaeology*, 5 (1889), p. 268). But these

flowers are so common all over Greece, where they turn many a field into a blaze of scarlet, that they can hardly be said to be distinctive of any one place. It was at Sicyon, then called Mecone, that the gods were said to have had a dispute with men, and it was on this occasion that Prometheus tricked Zeus into choosing the bones and fat of the victim instead of the flesh and inwards (Hesiod, *Theog.* 535 *sqq.*) The name Sicyon seems to mean 'the cucumber town,' from *sikua*, 'a cucumber,' or perhaps 'a melon.'

5. 6. **Telchis.** An old name of Sicyon was Telchinia (Stephanus Byz. *s.v.* Σικυών).

5. 7. **was called Apia after him.** According to another tradition, followed by the poet Rhianus (in Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Ἀπία) and Apollodorus (ii. 1. 1), the Apis after whom Peloponnese was called Apia was a son of Phoroneus. The name Apia seems sometimes to have been limited to Argos (Strabo, viii. p. 371 ; Stephanus Byzantius, *l.c.*), and it is in this narrower sense that the Attic tragedians appear to use the name (Aeschylus, *Suppl.* 117, 260 ; *id.*, *Agam.* 256 ; Sophocles, *Oed. Col.* 1303). Stephanus Byzantius, however, recognises the wider as well as the narrower application of the name, for he says (*l.c.*) that the adjective 'Apian' was used in the sense of 'Peloponnesian.'

5. 7. **Peratus.** In Eusebius and the chronologists the name of this king appears as Eratus, Heratus, or Aratus. See Eusebius, *Chron.* ed. Schoene, vol. 1. pp. 175, 176, Appendix, pp. 86, 216. Between king Leucippus and king Eratus (Peratus) the chronologists interpose a king Messapus or Mesapus (Eusebius, *ll.cc.*)

5. 8. **Coronus.** Instead of Coronus, Eusebius and the chronologists (*ll.cc.*) mention a king Marathonius (Marathius, Marathus). After him and before Corax they interpose two kings not mentioned by Pausanias, namely Marathus (Marathon, Maratheus) and Echyreus (Echireus, Echyrus, Chytreus).

6. 1. **The cause of the invasion was this.** With the following legend of a war between Sicyon and Thebes compare Apollodorus, iii. 5. 5. ; Hyginus, *Fab.* 8.

6. 1. **Antiope, daughter of Nycteus** etc. Cp. i. 38. 9 note.

6. 3. **olive oil flowed** etc. The olives and olive-oil of Sicyon were famous. See x. 32. 19 ; Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 519 ; Statius, *Theb.* iv. 50.

6. 3. **Lamedon.** In Eusebius and the chronologists his name is given as Laomedon or Laomedus (Eusebius, *Chron.* vol. 1. p. 176 ; Appendix, pp. 86, 216, ed. Schoene).

6. 4. **Asius.** This early epic poet was a native of Samos. See vii. 4. 1 and Index ; *Epicorum Graecorum fragmenta*, ed. Kinkel, p. 202 *sqq.* He is supposed to have flourished about Ol. 35-40 (640-617 B.C.) (W. Christ, *Gesch. d. griech. Litteratur*, p. 80).

6. 6. **Polybus** etc. In Eusebius and the chronologists (Eusebius, *Chron.* vol. 1. p. 176, Appendix, pp. 86, 216 *sq.*, ed. Schoene) the order of kings is Polybus, Inachus, Phaestus, Adrastus, Polyphides, Pelasgus, Zeuxippus. According to Castor, quoted by Eusebius (*Chron.* vol. 1. p. 174, ed. Schoene), who herein differs from Pausanias, Zeuxippus was the last of the kings, and after him the government was

carried on by the priests of the Carnean Apollo, six of whom held rule in a space of thirty-three years. Then a seventh priest, Charidemus, succeeded; but being unable to support the expenses of his office he retired into exile. Pausanias, on the other hand, says that after Zeuxippus there reigned two kings, Hippolytus and Lacestades; and he states that in the reign of the former king Sicyon was forced to acknowledge the supremacy of Argos. To explain this divergence of the authorities Mr. Frick has invented a somewhat elaborate hypothesis. He supposes that the annals of the kings of Sicyon were redacted in the reign of the tyrant Clisthenes, about 600-570 B.C., and that the redactors purposely omitted the names of Hippolytus and Lacestades, in order to blot out the fact that Sicyon had once been subject to Argos. The seven priests of the Carnean Apollo were a mere figment of the redactors, inserted in the annals to fill up the blank caused by the omission of two kings. But the truth was preserved, Mr. Frick thinks, in oral tradition, and Pausanias ascertained it by inquiries on the spot. See C. Frick, 'Der tyrann Kleisthenes und die ἈΝΑΓΡΑΦΗ von Sikyon,' *Neue Jahrbücher*, 107 (*Fleckeisen's Jahrbucher*, 19) (1873), pp. 707-712. It seems certainly true that Clisthenes (in whose days Sicyon appears to have reached the height of its power) was very jealous of Argos; for he forbade the bards to recite the poems of Homer, because these poems told of the glories of Argos; and he tried to abolish a shrine (*heroum*) of Adrastus which stood in the market-place of Sicyon, on the ground that Adrastus was an Argive (Herodotus, v. 67).

7. 1. **The city in the plain —— was demolished by Demetrius** etc. Diodorus Siculus tells us (xx. 102) that in 303 B.C. Demetrius Poliorcetes "razed to the ground that part of the city of Sicyon which adjoined the harbour, because the place was utterly without natural strength; and he transferred the population to the acropolis. And because he helped the people to build and restored them their freedom they bestowed on him divine honours for his benefits. For they named the city Demetrias, and voted to perform sacrifices and hold a festival and games every year and to assign him all the other honours as their founder. These resolutions have fallen into abeyance through lapse of time and the vicissitudes of affairs; but the people of Sicyon, finding the new situation far better than the old one, continued to dwell in it down to my time. For the acropolis, a spacious and level expanse, is surrounded on every side by inaccessible cliffs, so that siege-engines cannot be brought up against the walls; and it has abundance of water, whence the people have constructed many gardens; and thus by providing both for peaceful enjoyment and safety in war the king's foresight has been justified by the result." Compare Plutarch, *Demetrius*, 25. Strabo says (viii. p. 382) that the site to which Demetrius transferred Sicyon was "a strong hill distant twenty or, according to others, twelve furlongs from the sea."

The site to which Demetrius removed Sicyon, and which the city thenceforward occupied through the rest of the classical ages, is a remarkably fine one. The mountains at this part of the coast "fall down towards the sea not in a continuous slope, but in a succession of abrupt

descents and level terraces—a series of land-slips, as it were, so that green smooth pastures alternate with white steep scaurs. These are severed at intervals by deep rents and gorges, down which the mountain torrents make their way to the sea, spreading the spoils of the hills over the flat plain two miles in breadth which lies between the lowest cliffs and the shore" (W. G. Clark). Between two such deep gorges, on a spacious and fertile tableland overlooking the plain and distant about two miles from the sea, stood the new city. The tableland is roughly triangular in shape, with its apex turned towards the hills on the south, and its base fronting the sea on the north. It is between three and four miles in circumference. On every side it is defended by a natural wall of precipices, which admit only of one or two narrow ascents into it from the plain below. Even at its southern extremity—the apex of the triangle—it falls steeply away and is connected only by a narrow ridge with the higher hills to the south. The ancient walls ran all round the tableland, and remains of them may be seen at intervals along the edge of the cliffs on all sides. The river which, issuing from a dark, narrow glen, flows through the gorge on the eastern side of the tableland is the Asopus (the modern *Vasilikopotamos*); the much smaller stream which traverses the gorge on the western side of the tableland is probably the Helisson (Paus. ii. 12. 2). The tableland itself is divided into two terraces by a low ledge of rocks which extends quite across it from east to west, forming an abrupt separation between the two levels. The upper terrace, which occupies the apex or southern part of the triangle, is only about half the size of the lower or northern terrace. This upper terrace doubtless formed the acropolis of the new city, while the city itself was spread over the lower terrace. At present the village of *Vasiliko* stands on the lower terrace, near the northern edge of the tableland; at this point the line of cliffs is broken by a gully, down which a steep and narrow path leads from the plateau to the plain below. Here doubtless was one of the city-gates.

The ruins of ancient Sicyon, that is of the city founded by Demetrius, are very considerable and are scattered over a wide area. Portions of the circuit-wall, as already remarked, still exist in many places: they are regularly and solidly built and measure 8 feet in thickness. In the ledge of rocks which divides the upper from the lower terrace may be seen, near the western edge of the tableland, the remains of a theatre and a stadium (see below). On the lower terrace—the site of the city of Sicyon as distinct from its acropolis—many foundations of houses and larger buildings are scattered among the fields. With such exactness do these foundations extend in straight lines from north-east to south-west, or from north-west to south-east, that it is clear the city was built on a regular plan, with broad streets crossing each other at right angles. And so numerous are the remains that even now a careful survey would probably enable us to restore the plan of the city, in its main outlines, with tolerable certainty. The best preserved of the ruins, apart from those of the theatre, are the remains of a large building of Roman date which stand on the lower terrace a little to the north-east of the theatre. The walls of this edifice, which are standing to a height of 8 or 9 feet, are

built partly of bricks alone, partly of bricks and hewn stones in alternate courses, but they rest on foundations of ashlar masonry. In the walls there are small arched doorways and large quadrangular windows. The building contains many small chambers, some of which have semicircular ends. Leake supposed that this edifice was the Praetorium or residence of the Roman governor. More probably it contained public baths. Not far from it Dodwell observed what he took to be "the remains of the gymnasium, supported by strong walls of polygonal construction." Some dilapidated churches probably occupy the sites of ancient temples. In particular we may note a small church, containing some Byzantine paintings, which stands near the edge of the cliff, at the north-eastern extremity of the ancient city, to the east of the village of *Vasiliko*. In and about this church are remains of antiquity, including part of a shaft of a large Doric column, some triglyphs, and an architrave of white marble. Hard by, a tunnel in the rock, wide enough for one man to pass, leads down through the cliffs to a gully in which there is a spring. The tunnel was probably a postern, constructed to allow the townspeople access to the spring in case of a siege. There are massive foundations of walls round its upper outlet.

On the upper terrace, the acropolis of Sicyon, the ruins are less numerous, but some ancient foundations may be seen near the theatre. There seem to be no traces of a wall dividing the acropolis from the lower city.

In the rocky slope which divides the upper from the lower terrace, to the east of the theatre, are the mouths of several subterranean aqueducts, which have been cut through the soft rock. It is possible to penetrate through some of these rock-hewn passages for considerable distances. They are lit at intervals by perpendicular shafts. Water was brought to Sicyon from the hills by an aqueduct and distributed through the city by these subterranean channels. Arches and pillars of the aqueduct which conveyed the water from the hills are still to be seen on the narrow ridge which unites the extreme point of the acropolis with the heights to the south.

Few ancient cities were more advantageously or beautifully situated than Sicyon. Built on a spacious and level tableland, defended on every side by cliffs, abundantly supplied with water, at a distance both safe and convenient from the sea, from which it was divided only by a strip of fertile plain, across which blew the cool refreshing breezes from the water to temper the summer heat, the city possessed a site secure, wholesome, and adapted both for agriculture and commerce. Nor are the natural beauties of the site less remarkable than its more material advantages. Behind it rise wooded mountains, and in front of it, across the narrow plain, is stretched the wonderful panorama of the Corinthian Gulf, with Helicon, Cithaeron, and Parnassus towering beyond it to the north, and the mighty rock of Acro-Corinth barring the prospect on the east. At sunrise and sunset especially the scene is said to be one of indescribable loveliness. The ancients themselves were not insensible to the charms of Sicyon. "A lovely and fruitful city, adapted to every recreation," says a scholiast on Homer (*Il.* ii.

572), and Diodorus (xx. 102) speaks of Sicyon as a place "for peaceful enjoyment."

Of the older city of Sicyon, which stood in the plain between the tableland and the sea, the remains are very scanty. The plain is now covered with vineyards, but there seem to be some vestiges of antiquity at the village of *Moulki* on the right bank of the Helisson; and near the church of St. Nicholas, which stands below *Vasiliko*, and not far from the Asopus, Vischer observed some pieces of columns and an ancient altar; in the church itself he saw the capital of a Corinthian column.

See Clarke, *Travels*, 3. pp. 719-729; Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. pp. 293-297; Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 15 *sq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 3. pp. 355-373; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 30 *sq.*; L. Ross, *Reisen und Reiserouten durch Griechenland*, pp. 46-48; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 2. pp. 300-306; Curtius, *Peloponnesos*, 2. pp. [illegible]; Beulé, *Études sur le Péloponnèse*, pp. 316-327; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, pp. 271-278; W. G. Clark, *Peloponnesus*, pp. 338-344; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. pp. 25-[illegible]; Baedeker,[3] p. 244; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 400 *sqq.*; W. J. McMurtry, in *American Journal of Archaeology*, 5 (1889), pp. 269-271.

7. 1. **an earthquake, which nearly depopulated the city** etc. The date of this earthquake is somewhat uncertain. Bursian suggested (*Geogr.* 2. p. 26) that it may have been the earthquake of 23 A.D., which was felt both in Greece and in Asia Minor (Tacitus, *Annales*, iv. 13). Loewy would place it in 141 or 142 A.D. Cp. *Archäolog. epigraph. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn*, 13 (1890), p. 191. Hertzberg understands the earthquake to be the fearful one of the middle of the second century A.D., which totally destroyed the city of Rhodes (*Geschichte Griechenlands unter der Herrschaft der Römer*, 2. p. 364). See viii. 43. 4 note.

7. 1. **the Sibylline oracle touching Rhodes.** This may be the oracle which is still preserved in our collection of Sibylline oracles (vii. 1-3, ed. Rzach): it declares that Rhodes will perish and be void of men and destitute of the means of life.

7. 2. **build a basement of stone** etc. This description of the Sicyonian sepulchral monuments is confirmed and illustrated by the evidence of Sicyonian coins, on some of which tombs are figured. On these coins (Fig. 15) we see a basement or pedestal, apparently round, supporting four pillars, which in turn support a gable or pediment. On each side of the tomb stands a stiff figure and a cypress tree. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 28, with pl. H i. ii. Two fragmentary epitaphs were found by Mr. Earle at *Vasiliko*, on the site of Sicyon, in 1891. So far as they go they agree with Pausanias's account of the Sicyonian epitaphs. See *Classical Review*, 6 (1892), p. 134 *sq.* The inscription 'Farewell' (χαῖρε) is very common on Greek tombs, being by no means confined to those of Sicyon.



FIG. 16.—A SICYONIAN TOMB (COIN OF SICYON).

7. 3. **the painting.** Elsewhere (vii. 22. 6) Pausanias mentions a remarkable painting upon a tomb. The discoveries of recent years have

brought to light several ancient Greek paintings upon tombs. The best known of these is the tombstone of Lyseas, a tall narrow slab, discovered in 1839 at *Velanideza* in Attica, on which the deceased is depicted holding a branch in his raised left hand and a two-handled cup in his right. Underneath is painted a small picture representing a man galloping on horseback. The tombstone and painting seem to date from the sixth century B.C. See Loeschcke, 'Altattische Grabstelen,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 4 (1879), pp. 36-44; Milchhöfer, 'Gemalte Grabstelen,' *ib.*, 5 (1880), pp. 164-194; Michaelis, 'Polychromie der Grabstelen,' *Berichte über die Verhandl. d. k. sächs. Gesell. d. Wissen zu Leipzig*, Philog. histor. Classe, 19 (1867), pp. 113-119; L. Gurlitt, 'Bemalten Marmorplatten in Athen,' in *Aufsätze Ernst Curtius gewidmet*, p. 151 *sqq.*; Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, pp. 852-854, 866-868. When Pausanias says that the tomb was specially adapted to suit the painting, he probably means that a square or oblong compartment had been sunk in the surface of the tombstone, and that the picture was painted on this sunken compartment in order to protect it from the weather. Many Greek sepulchral reliefs are similarly carved on a sunken compartment in the tombstone, as *e.g.* is the case with many of the sculptured tombstones found outside the Dipylum at Athens. And in fact Mr. Gurlitt has detected the faint remains of a painting on the sunken compartment of one of these very tombstones. See his essay (cited above), p. 165. In its architectural arrangement the tombstone in question (which is represented in Curtius and Kaupert's *Atlas von Athen*, pl. iv. fig. viii.) probably resembled the one described by Pausanias. The literary evidence for the custom, as practised by the ancient Greeks, of painting upon stone is discussed by G. Hermann in a paper 'De veterum Graecorum pictura parietum conjecturae,' reprinted in his *Opuscula*, 5. pp. 206-229.

Sicyon was famous for its painters. It was long, says Pliny, the native home (*patria*) of painting. Some people thought that the art of drawing was invented at Sicyon. It was at Sicyon that painting was first taught in schools as an element of liberal education. Three great Greek schools or styles of painting were distinguished, the Ionic school, the Attic school, and the Sicyonian. Of the last the most prominent masters were Eupompus, Pamphilus, and Pausias. See Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxv. §§ 15, 75-77, 123-127. A characteristic specimen of the art of Pausias is described by Pausanias later on (ii. 27. 3). So high did the reputation of the Sicyonian academy stand that the great Apelles himself studied under Sicyonian masters, more, however, for the sake of profiting in his professional career by the reputation of the school than because he had any sympathy with its aims and methods. For the methods of the Sicyonian school of painting appear to have been of a purely formal and technical character. It tried to reduce the art of painting to a science, and by an exact study of the principles of proportion and perspective to lay down a set of inflexible rules, by following which any one gifted with sufficient manual dexterity might become a painter. The higher qualities of feeling and imagination, as they cannot be reduced to rules and taught in the lecture-room and the studio,

would seem to have been of small account at Sicyon. The school was a school or academy in the strict sense of the word. Its principles were taught by a succession of masters and expounded in manuals and handbooks on painting. In its main characteristic—technical correctness of execution—the Sicyonian school of painting closely resembles, as Brunn has happily pointed out, the Argive school of sculpture, by which it was probably influenced. The works of Polyclitus, the great master of the Argive school of sculpture, rigidly correct in their proportions, strike us, in their existing copies, as somewhat cold and hard, with little of the generous fire which softens, warms, and animates with an ineffable charm whatever can be traced, directly or indirectly, to the hand of Praxiteles or Scopas. Wustmann has well suggested that in the Sicyonian school of painting, as in the Argive school of sculpture, we may detect the hard realism of the Dorian stock as contrasted with the sweet and noble idealism which inspired the art and literature of the Ionian race. See Brunn, *Geschichte der griech. Künstler*, 2. pp. 130-158, and an article by G. Wustmann, 'Die Sikyonische Malerschule,' *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. 23 (1868), pp. 454-479. See also C. T. Michaelis, 'Bemerkungen zur Sicyonischen Malerschule,' *Archäolog. Zeitung*, 33 (1876), pp. 30-39; W. Klein, 'Studien zur griechischen Malergeschichte, I. Die Sikyonische Schule,' *Archäolog.-epigraph. Mittheil. aus Oesterreich-Ungarn*, 11 (1887), pp. 193-223; Beulé, *Études sur le Péloponnèse*, pp. 328-346; Murray, *Handbook of Greek Archaeology*, p. 388 *sqq.* The passages of ancient writers bearing on the subject are collected by Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, §§ 1745-1770.

7. 4. **the Sicyonians who fell at Pellene** etc. See ii. 8. 5; ii. 9. 1 *sq.*

7. 4. **At the gate is a spring in a grotto.** As Pausanias approached Sicyon from Corinth, this gate was probably on the north-eastern side of Sicyon. Now we have seen (p. 44) that near the north-eastern extremity of the tableland on which Sicyon stood there is a natural opening in the line of cliffs up which a steep narrow path leads to the site of the ancient city. It is almost certain that there must have been a gate here; and if so, it may very well have been the gate here mentioned by Pausanias. At the head of the ascent is the modern village of *Vasiliko*. A little to the east of this point, there is a fine spring in a gully at the foot of the line of cliffs; a tunnel leads down to it from the tableland (above, p. 45). This may perhaps have been the Dripping Spring described by Pausanias. It is true that at present the spring is not in a grotto, but, as Prof. Curtius suggests, the rocks which once formed the roof of the grotto may have fallen in. See Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 295; Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 372; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 488; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 274; W. G. Clark, *Peloponnesus*, p. 343 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 27. Mr. M. L. Earle thinks that the Dripping Spring was probably the one now called *Mikre Brysis* ('small spring'), the most northerly fountain of *Vasiliko*, situated north of the village in the gorge through which the ordinary road to *Moulki* passes. The fountain is at present concealed by a Turkish wall, but the dropping can be heard through a small square opening in the wall. There are ancient tombs

above and below the fountain. See *American Journal of Archaeology*, 5 (1889), p. 287 *sq.*

7. 5. **the present acropolis.** The site of this, the second or later acropolis, is determined by the statement of Pausanias that the theatre lay under the acropolis. For the theatre, though ruined, still exists (see below) and is situated on the rocky slope which divides the lower level of the tableland from the higher (see above). It follows, therefore, that the upper level was the acropolis in Pausanias's time. Cp. Leake, *Morea*, 3. pp. 368 *sq.*, 370.

7. 5. **Fortune of the Height.** On Sicyonian coins of Imperial times this goddess is represented standing and holding a bowl and a horn of plenty (Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 28, with pl. H iii.)

7. 5. **The theatre.** The theatre, which of all the buildings mentioned by Pausanias is the only one that can now be identified, is partly hollowed out of the rocky declivity which separates the upper level of the tableland from the lower. It is near the western cliffs, and faces north-east. It has been often described. See Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 368 *sq.*; Clarke, *Travels*, 3. p. 723 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 490; W. G. Clark, *Pelop.* p. 342; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 2. p. 302; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 27 *sq.*; Beulé, *Études sur le Péloponnèse*, p. 320 *sqq.* In 1886, 1887, and 1891 it was partially excavated under the direction of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. The results of the excavations are reported in *The American Journal of Archaeology*, 5 (1889), pp. 267-303; *id.*, 7 (1891), p. 281 *sq.*; *id.*, 8 (1893), pp. 388-409.

The total breadth of the theatre was about 400 feet. The tiers of seats are mostly cut out of the rock; but at the wings the seats were prolonged out from the rock, being supported on masses of fine masonry. The American excavations laid bare five parallel foundation-walls belonging to the stage structure. Of these only one wall and part of another are Greek, the rest are Roman. The front and back walls are both Roman, and the similarity of their dimensions and construction "makes it probable that both were built at the same time, when the stage of the theatre was altered and probably enlarged to conform with the Roman standard." The length of the front wall is 23.60 metres, its average height about 0.55 metres, its thickness 0.65 metres. There are three doorways in it, and in front of the base of the wall a marble step or plinth extends almost the entire length.

The orchestra comprised somewhat more than half the circumference of a not entirely perfect circle, the diameter of which was about 20 metres (65 ft. 7 in.) If carried up to the front (Roman) wall of the stage, the orchestra would still fall considerably short of a complete circle. The floor of the orchestra, like that of the theatre at Epidaurus, consists simply of stamped earth. A carefully constructed drain, about 1.25 m. wide and 1 m. deep, ran round the orchestra, like the drain in the Dionysiac theatre at Athens. Opposite each of the stairs which gave access to the seats, the drain is bridged by a slab of stone. Another cutting extends right across the centre of the orchestra at right angles to the stage walls, under which it is carried; whether it was a drain or

not is doubtful. Another drain crossed the orchestra at right angles to the last-mentioned cutting and parallel to the stage walls, starting from the termination of the seats at each side of the theatre.

The Paroduses (entrances to the orchestra from the sides of the theatre) were laid bare by the excavations. It was found that in each Parodus one wall (the one supporting the ends of the seats of the theatre) was composed of large rectangular blocks; while the opposite wall of the Parodus was formed of the native rock, on which traces of stucco appear.

Of the seats, the Americans excavated only a small portion of the northern half, including three tiers of seats and the front of another tier. The entire number of rows of seats seems to have been about forty: the uppermost tiers of seats, though cut out of the natural rock, are very incomplete. The seats were divided into fifteen sections by fourteen staircases. "Accordingly, a line drawn from the middle point of the stage through the centre of the orchestra passes through the middle of the eighth section of seats, and does not coincide, as in some theatres, with one of the stairways. This, at least, is the method of division in the lower section of seats." The seats in the front tier are superior to the others, resembling in this respect the stone chairs in the front tier of the Dionysiac theatre at Athens and of the great theatre at Epidaurus. They were doubtless intended for the accommodation of priests or other officials. They are not of marble, but are of the same common stone as the ordinary seats. These front seats have backs and arms: each seat is cut from two blocks, which are joined at the middle. Some of the arms show remains of ornamental scroll-work on the outer side. The ordinary seats "are divided into two parts by a longitudinal depression. The front part, or seat proper, is 0.35 m. wide; while the back part, upon which the persons sitting behind placed their feet, is 0.20 m. wide." The rock-cut seats still remaining in the upper part of the theatre "differ in form from the lower ones. The feet of the row of the persons behind were not on the same level as the surface on which the persons in front sat, but rested on an elevation which was 0.35 m. above the seat and the same in width."

Two vaulted passages, one on the northern, the other on the southern side of the theatre, give access to the seats from without. The original length of the southern passage was about 16 metres, the breadth is 2.55 m. The walls and vault are composed of rectangular blocks put together without any cement. The vault is formed of six courses of stones on either side, exclusive of the keystone course. These vaults or arches are very important as specimens of true Greek arches. They "belong unquestionably to the best Hellenic period—the best, that is, in a masonic point of view. There is every probability that they were erected by Demetrius, the benefactor of Sicyon, if indeed they be not of a still remoter date: so that we find that the Greeks were acquainted with the mystery of throwing an arch at least as early as the end of the fourth century B.C." (W. G. Clark, *Pelop.* p. 342 *sq.*)

Lastly, the American excavations revealed the foundations of two structures situated at the opposite ends of the stage. At the southern

end of the stage was a square chamber, apparently of Greek construction. Around the inner walls of this chamber there is a continuous rock-cutting in the form of a bench or seat. At the other end of the stage are the remains of what must have been an ornamental fountain of Roman times. The back of it is semicircular. Both the square chamber and the fountain opened outwards from the theatre.

A little to the west of the theatre are the remains of the stadium, which is not mentioned by Pausanias. The upper or semicircular end of it occupies a fold or recess in the same rocky slope against which the theatre is built. The recess is partly natural, partly excavated. "The stadium resembles that of Messene, in having had seats which were not continued through the whole length of the sides. About 80 feet of the rectilinear extremity [*i.e.* of the straight sides as distinguished from the semicircular end] had no seats, and this part, instead of being excavated out of the hill like the rest, is formed of factitious ground, supported at the end by a wall of polygonal masonry, which still exists. The total length, including the seats at the circular end, is about 680 feet, which, deducting the radius of the semicircle, seems hardly to leave a length of 600 Greek feet for the line between the two metae [turning-posts]. It is very possible, however, that an excavation would correct this idea; for it is difficult to believe that there was any difference in the length of the δρόμος, or course, in the several stadia of Greece. . . . If the length of the course had ever varied, it must, I think, have been alluded to in some of the ancient authors" (Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 370). Cp. Clarke, *Travels*, 3. p. 725; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 490; W. G. Clark, *Pelop.* p. 342; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 2. p. 303 *sq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 276; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 28; Beulé, *Études sur le Péloponnèse*, p. 322 *sq.*

7. 5. **a temple of Dionysus.** Just below the theatre Leake found "the basis of a column, together with that of one of the antae, of a small temple; the column was two feet seven inches and a half in diameter." He thinks that this may have been part of the temple of Dionysus, which we know from Pausanias must have been near the theatre (Leake, *Morea*, 3. pp. 369, 371). On coins of Sicyon of Imperial times Dionysus is represented standing, holding a goblet (*cantharus*) and a thyrsus, with a panther at his feet (Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 28, with pl. H iv. v.) Bursian (*Geogr.* 2. p. 28) conjectured that the Dionysus of this temple may have been really Adrastus, because we know from Herodotus (v. 67) that there was a shrine (*heroum*) of Adrastus at Sicyon and that the Sicyonians celebrated his sufferings in tragic choruses. But Bursian has overlooked the fact, mentioned by Herodotus, that the shrine of Adrastus stood on the market-place; and this market-place, being that of the old city, must have been in the plain; whereas the temple of Dionysus, being near the theatre, must have stood on the plateau which was the citadel of the old, and the site of the new, city.

7. 5. **Bacchantes in white marble.** On some coins of Sicyon a Bacchante or Maenad is represented in an attitude of rapture, holding a knife (Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 29, with pl. H vi. vii.)

7. 6. **mistaking the meaning of the oracle** etc. Hyllus son of Hercules inquired of the Delphic oracle in what manner the banished Heraclids might return to Peloponnese. The oracle told him that they should "wait for the third fruit and then return." By "the third fruit" the god meant the third generation. But Hyllus understood it of the third year; so having waited that space of time he led an army into Peloponnese. But he was defeated by the Peloponnesians: and Aristomachus, one of the Heraclids, fell in the battle. See Apollodorus, ii. 8. 2.

7. 6. **Artemis of the Lake.** "The worship of Artemis, as Curtius has observed, was peculiarly associated with low-lying land and reed-covered marshes. The reeds shared with men in the worship of the goddess, and moved to the sound of the music in her festivals, or, as Strabo says, the baskets danced, or in Laconia maidens crowned with reeds danced" (Prof. W. M. Ramsay, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 4 (1883), p. 36). A Greek inscription discovered at Gondane in Pisidia, near the large double lake *Egerdir Göl* and *Hoiran Göl*, proves that Artemis was the great goddess of this lake district (Ramsay, *l.c.*; cp. Index *s.v.* 'Artemis'; K. O. Müller, *Die Dorier*,[2] 1. p. 378 *sqq.*; Roscher's *Lexikon*, 1. p. 560). For the juxtaposition here at Sicyon of Artemis with Dionysus the Deliverer and Dionysus Bacchius, Stephani (*Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg) for 1865, p. 29) compares the similar collocation of deities at Corinth (Paus. ii. 2. 6). At Sicyon, indeed, Artemis is the goddess of the Lake, and at Corinth she is the Ephesian goddess; but, as Prof. W. M. Ramsay has remarked, "with slight local modifications the cultus of Artemis Tauropolus, Limnatis [*i.e.* Artemis of the Lake], Orthia, Orthosia, etc., is essentially the same as that of the Lydian [Ephesian] Artemis; and few will now try to maintain that the strict separation which prevailed in Hellenic polytheism between the different goddesses had any counterpart in the primitive cultus" (*Journ. Hellen. Stud.* 3 (1882), p. 55).

7. 7. **the market-place.** Not far below the theatre and stadium, near the centre of the lower level of the tableland, are the remains of a Roman building with several chambers; there are also some traces of the street which led from this quarter to the theatre. From the position of this Roman building about the centre of the later Sicyon, Leake thought that it probably stood on the market-place: and he conjectured that the building was the palace of the Roman governor in the interval between the destruction of Corinth by Mummius and its restoration by Julius Caesar; for during this period the greater part of the Corinthian territory was attached to Sicyon, which was the capital of the surrounding country. See Leake, *Morea*, 3. pp. 369, 370 *sq.* But the Roman building in question was probably the public baths. See above, p. 44 *sq.*

7. 7. **Aegialea.** This was, as we have seen (ii. 6. 5), an old name of Sicyon. But there is an island of the same name (Aegialia or Aegilia) midway between Crete and Cythera. In 1880 excavations conducted in this little island by the Greek Government revealed the foundations of an ancient Greek building, which from an inscription found near it seems to have been a sanctuary of Apollo Aegileus. Mr. Staes, who directed

the excavations, has hence conjectured that the Aegialia to which Apollo and Artemis went after slaying the Python was the island of that name, and not Sicyon, to which, through a confusion of names, the tradition was afterwards attached. It was more natural, he observes, that Apollo and Artemis should have gone to Crete from the neighbouring island of Aegialia than from the distant Sicyon. See Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον, November 1889, p. 240 *sq.*

7. 7. to be purified. The slaughter of the dragon Python by Apollo and the subsequent purification of the god from the taint of blood-guiltiness were represented every eighth year at Delphi in a solemn festival, which drew great crowds of spectators, especially from the north of Greece. The festival was called the Festival of Crowning (τὸ Στεπτήριον), and is thus described by Plutarch (*Quaest. Graec.* 12): "The Festival of Crowning seems to be an imitation of the god's battle with the Python and of the flight and pursuit to Tempe after the battle. For some say that after the fight Apollo fled because he desired to be purified. But others say that the Python was hurt and fled away along the road which they now call the Sacred Road; but Apollo pursued after it and came up with it soon after it expired. For he found that the monster had died of its hurt and had been buried by a boy whose name was Goat." In another passage (*De defectu orac.* 15) he describes more fully one of the scenes of the sacred drama. When the eighth year came round a temporary shed was erected upon 'the threshing-floor.' This 'threshing-floor' was no doubt one of those large circular spaces paved with stones and in the open air, which are still to be seen everywhere in Greece and on which the horses tread out the corn. This house represented the abode of the dragon; but with the usual neglect of scenic propriety the shed, says Plutarch, bore much more resemblance to a lordly palace than to a dragon's den. A formal attack was then made upon the dragon's house by persons who bore blazing torches in their hands and led with them a lad whose father and mother were both alive. The lad probably represented Apollo, and shot an arrow at the dragon who was supposed to be lurking in the shed. This, however, is not expressly said by Plutarch, perhaps because he thought it impious to describe the deed of blood. But after the dragon may be supposed to have received his deadly wound, the persons who carried lighted torches set fire to the shed, upset the table, and fled away without turning to look behind them. Last of all, the boy who represented Apollo wandered away, served as a menial, and was purified at Tempe. The last part of the ceremony, namely the wanderings of Apollo's representative and his final purification at Tempe, are described by Aelian (*Var. Hist.* iii. 1), whose account explains why this festival was called the Festival of Crowning. After describing in high-wrought language the beauty of the Vale of Tempe, he proceeds: "Here the Thessalians say that the Pythian Apollo purified himself by command of Zeus, after he had shot to death with his arrows the Python, the dragon that guarded Delphi in the days when the oracle was in the hands of Earth. So Apollo made himself a crown from the laurel tree at Tempe, and taking in his right hand a branch from the same laurel tree he came

to Delphi and took over the charge of the oracle. An altar stands on the very spot where the god twined himself a crown and broke the branch. And still, when the eighth year comes round, the Delphians send a procession of high-born boys, with one of the boys as leader. They come to Tempe, and after offering a splendid sacrifice they return again, but not until they have plaited crowns from the same laurel tree from which on the memorable occasion the god himself wreathed his brows. The procession goes by the road which is called the Pythian road; it leads through Thessalia and Pelasgia and Oete and the land of the Aenianes and of the Melians and of the Dorians and of the Western Locrians. All these peoples escort the procession with as much reverence and honour as is accorded to those who bring to the same god the sacred things from the land of the Hyperboreans. And at the Pythian games the crowns given to the victors are made from this laurel." On his return from Tempe the boy who carried the laurel branch stopped at Dipnias, a village near Larissa, to dine; because according to the legend Apollo first broke his fast there on his return from being purified at Tempe (Stephanus Byzant. *s.v.* Δειπνιάς). Probably therefore the boy fasted more or less strictly during the pilgrimage from Delphi to Tempe and back to Dipnias.

The burning of 'the Python's shed,' mentioned by Strabo (ix. p. 422) on the authority of Ephorus, makes certain, what otherwise would be only a matter of inference from Plutarch, that the shed which was burned at the festival really represented the dwelling of the dragon. The menial service which the boy who played the part of Apollo was obliged to take is probably to be explained, as K. O. Müller saw, by the story that Apollo had been forced to serve Admetus, king of Pherae, for a year as a punishment for killing the Cyclopes (Apollodorus, iii. 10. 4; Servius on Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 761; Diodorus, iv. 71, vi. 7; Preller, *Griech. Mythol.*[4] i. p. 287). Such a legend seems to point to an old custom of obliging a manslayer to expiate his offence by doing menial service for a certain time among strangers. (Similarly Hercules was sold into slavery for three years as an expiation for the murder of Iphitus. See Apollodorus, ii. 6. And Cadmus served Ares eight years for killing the dragon which guarded the spring at Thebes. See note on ix. 10. 1.) Probably the procession to Tempe passed through Pherae, and the boy who acted Apollo went through some pretence of servitude at the very place where the god himself was said to have served Admetus. See K. O. Müller, *Die Dorier*,[2] i. pp. 203 *sqq.*, 321-324 (English trans. vol. i. p. 230 *sqq.*, 336 *sqq.*); Aug. Mommsen, *Delphika*, p. 206 *sqq.* (Mommsen *l.c.* and Preller *l.c.* give the name of the festival as Septerion. The sole authority for this seems to be Hesychius, *σεπτηρία· καθαρμός· ἔκθεσις*. There appears to be no variation in the MSS. of Plutarch). Probably there was a local Sicyonian legend that Apollo had killed the Python at Sicyon. For according to Hesychius (*s.v.* Τοξίου *βουνός*) there was at Sicyon a hill of the archer Apollo, and the legend of the slaying of the Python seems to have been attached to this hill. See Th. Schreiber, *Apollon Pythoktonos* (Leipzig, 1879), p. 43 *sqq.*

The legend of the purification of Apollo for killing the dragon Python seems to carry us back to the days of primitive Greek savagery, when the killing of certain animals was supposed to need expiation, and the slayer was deemed unclean until he had performed some purificatory or expiatory rites. Examples of similar ideas and customs are to be found among savages to this day. For instance in Dahomey, if a man has killed a fetish snake, he is treated as follows. A hut is made of dry faggots thatched with dry grass. The culprit is drenched with palm oil; a dog, a kid, and two fowls are fastened on his back; and in this condition he has to crawl into the hut by a very low entrance. The hut is then set fire to, and the man has to make his escape through the flames as best he can to the nearest running water. During his passage thither he has to run the gauntlet, the mob pelting him with sticks and clods. Reaching the water, he plunges into it, and is then "considered to be cleansed of all the sin or crime of the snake murder." Thirteen days afterwards a 'custom' or holy day is held for the dead snake. See John Duncan, *Travels in Western Africa*, I. p. 195 *sq.*; cp. F. E. Forbes, *Dahomey and the Dahomans*, I. p. 107; Bouche, *La Côte des Esclaves*, p. 397. But it is not only for the slaughter of sacred or deified animals that expiation or purification is required on savage principles. Amongst the Kafirs "the slaughter of a lion, however honourable it is esteemed, is nevertheless associated with an idea of moral uncleanness, and is followed by a very strange ceremony. When the hunters approach the village on their return, the man who gave the lion the first wound is hidden from every eye by the shields which his comrades hold up before him. One of the hunters steps forward and leaping and bounding in a strange manner praises the courage of the lion-killer. Then he rejoins the band, and the same performance is repeated by another. All the rest meanwhile keep up a ceaseless shouting, rattling with their clubs on their shields. This goes on till they have reached the village. Then a mean hut is run up not far from the village; and in this hut the lion-killer, because he is unclean, must remain four days, cut off from all association with the tribe. There he dyes his body all over with white paint; and lads who have not yet been circumcised, and are therefore, in respect to uncleanness, in the same state as himself, bring him a calf to eat and wait upon him. When the four days are over, the unclean man washes himself, paints himself with red paint in the usual manner, and is escorted back to the village by the head chief, attended with a guard of honour. Lastly, a second calf is killed; and, the uncleanness being now at an end, every one is free to eat of the calf with him" (L. Alberti, *De Kaffers aan de Zuidkust van Afrika*, p. 158 *sq.*) Cp. Lichtenstein, *Reisen im südlichen Africa*, I. p. 419. Again, among the Kafirs a man who happened to kill a boa-constrictor "was formerly required to lie in a running stream of water during the day for several weeks together; and no beast whatever was allowed to be slaughtered at the hamlet to which he belonged, until this duty had been fully performed. The body of the snake was then taken and carefully buried in a trench, dug close to the cattle-fold, where its remains, like those of a chief, were henceforward kept perfectly undis-

turbed" (S. Kay, *Travels and Researches in Caffraria*, p. 341 *sq.*) Among the Hottentots when a man has killed a lion, leopard, elephant, rhinoceros, or elk, he is esteemed a great hero, but he is deluged with wine by the medicine-man and has to remain at home quite idle for three days, during which his wife must not come near him: she is also enjoined to eat no more than is absolutely necessary. On the evening of the third day the hero kills a fat sheep and calls all his neighbours to the feast. See Kolbe, *Present State of the Cape of Good Hope*, 1. pp. 251-254. Similarly the Lapps deem it the height of glory to kill a bear. Nevertheless all the men who take part in the slaughter are regarded as unclean, and have to live by themselves for three days in a hut made specially for them; during the three days none of them may visit his wife. At the expiry of three days they run thrice round the fire: this is regarded as a purification, and they are then allowed to rejoin their wives. See Scheffer, *Lapponia*, pp. 235-243; Leemius, *De Lapponibus Finmarchiae*, p. 502 *sq.*; Jessen, *De Finnorum Lapponumque Norvegicorum Religione Pagana* (bound up with Leemius's work), p. 64 *sq.* Among the Kaniagmuts of Alaska the men who attacked the whale were considered, during the fishing season, as unclean, though otherwise they were held in high honour (W. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources*, p. 404). Amongst their neighbours the Aleutians, when a hunter had struck a whale with his spear, "he would not throw again, but would proceed at once to his home, separate himself from his people in a specially constructed hovel, where he remained three days without food or drink, and without touching or looking upon a female. During this time of seclusion he snorted occasionally in imitation of the wounded and dying whale, in order to prevent the whale struck by him leaving the coast. On the fourth day he emerged from his seclusion and bathed in the sea, shrieking in a hoarse voice and beating the water with his hands. Then, taking with him a companion, he proceeded to the shore, where he presumed the whale had lodged, and if the animal was dead he commenced at once to cut out the place where the death-wound had been inflicted. If the whale was not dead the hunter returned to his home and continued washing himself until the whale died" (Petroff, *Report on Alaska*, p. 154 *sq.*) The Central Eskimo think that all sea animals were originally made from the severed fingers of the goddess Sedna: hence the Eskimo must make an atonement for every animal he kills. When a seal is brought into the hut, the women must stop working until it is cut up. After the capture of a ground seal, walrus, or whale, they must rest for three days. See Franz Boas, 'The Central Eskimo,' *Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1888), p. 595; *id.*, *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 5 (Montreal, 1888), section ii. p. 36; *id.*, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 17 (1885), Verhandl. der Berl. Ges. fur Anthrop. Ethnol. u. Urgesch. p. 162 *sq.*; C. F. Hall, *Life with the Esquimaux*, 2. p. 321 *sq.*; *id.*, *Narrative of the Second Arctic Expedition made by Charles F. Hall*, edited by Prof. J. E. Nourse, p. 191 *sq.* When the Hidatsa Indians are out hunting eagles, they pitch a small 'medicine'-hut, where certain ceremonies are performed. On returning from sitting beside the

eagle-trap the hunter is avoided by every one, for no one may see him till he enters the 'medicine'-lodge. His trapping lasts four days, during which he must see none of his family and speak to none of his friends except those who are engaged in the trapping. See Washington Matthews, *The Hidatsa Indians*, p. 58 *sqq.* Among the Damaras of South Africa when a hunter returns from a successful hunt, he takes water in his mouth, and ejects it three times over his feet, and also into the fire on his own hearth (C. J. Andersson, *Lake Ngami*, p. 224). When a Catauxi Indian returns successful from the chase, he smears his face with soot as he approaches his house (R. Spruce, in *Travels of Cieza de Leon*, trans. by C. R. Markham, p. 342). Some Indian hunters after killing an animal used to purify themselves in water as a religious rite (Adair, *History of the American Indians*, p. 118). Amongst the Wagandas of Central Africa it is a rule that the hunter shall return from the chase by a path different from that by which he went (R. W. Felkin, 'Notes on the Waganda tribe of Central Africa,' *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, 13 (1884-1886), p. 735). All these customs may be explained by a desire to elude the angry spirit of the slain or wounded animal. The original object of rules of ceremonial purity, as Porphyry long ago observed, is not to bring man into relation with God, but to keep evil spirits at a distance (Porphyry, quoted by Eusebius, *Praepar. Evang.* iv. 23).

7. 7. **to Carmanor in Crete.** Carmanor lived at Tarrha, on the southern coast of Crete, towards the western end. See x. 16. 5; cp. x. 7. 2; ii. 30. 3; K. O. Müller, *Dorier*,[2] 1. p. 208 (1. p. 236, Engl. Trans.) We have seen, in the preceding note, that the Delphian legend fixed on Tempe in Thessaly, not Tarrha in Crete, as the place where Apollo was purified. The Scholiast on Pindar (Introd. to *Pyth.* p. 298, ed. Boeckh) combines the two legends by saying that Apollo went first to Crete and afterwards to Tempe. In the early days of Greece the Cretans seem to have had a high reputation as exorcisers and cleansers of religious pollution. It was from Crete that Epimenides came to purge Athens from the plague (see note on i. 14. 4); and it was by the Dactyls of Mount Ida in Crete that Pythagoras was purified. "He was purified," says Porphyry (*Vit. Pythag.* 17), "with the thunder-stone, in the morning lying on his face beside the sea, and at night lying beside the river, crowned with the wool of a black lamb." There were certain Cretan diviners called Cretids (Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* Κρητίδαι).

7. 8. **the children go to the Sythas** etc. The ceremony may have resembled, as K. O. Müller suggested, the Attic festival of the Delphinia, when maidens went as suppliants in procession to the Delphinium, or temple of the Delphian Apollo, bearing a branch or branches of the sacred olive-tree wreathed with white wool. See Plutarch, *Theseus*, 18; K. O. Müller, *Dorier*,[2] 1. p. 330 *sq.* (vol. 1. p. 346 *sq.* Eng. Trans.); Aug. Mommsen, *Heortologie*, p. 398 *sqq.* The river Sythas to which the children went in procession from Sicyon has been identified with the modern river of *Xylokastro* or *Trikkalas*, the only considerable river in this neighbourhood (Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 498). But as the *Xylokastro* is about 10 miles by road from Sicyon, Leake

(*Peloponnesica*, p. 404 *sq.*) objects that the children could hardly have gone in procession there and back. See note on vii. 27. 12. The Sythas was at all events to the west of Sicyon. See ii. 12. 2.

The Sicyonian ceremony implies that Apollo and Artemis were supposed to absent themselves annually for a time from their temple. So Apollo was supposed to spend the six summer months at Delos and then to depart to Patara in Lycia for the winter (Servius on Virgil, *Aen.* iv. 144; cp. Horace, *Odes*, iii. 4. 65). It seems to have been thought that Apollo was absent from Delphi for the three winter months: for during this period the Paean was not sung, and Dionysus was invoked instead of Apollo (Plutarch, *De EI apud Delphos*, 9; cp. Pindar, *Pyth.* iv. 5 οὐκ ἀποδάμου Ἀπόλλωνος τυχόντος). At the temple of Aphrodite at Mt. Eryx in Sicily the goddess was supposed to go to Africa every year for nine days. This period of nine days was called the *Anagogia*, because the goddess was believed at this time to go to sea (*anagesthai*). During these days the sacred doves disappeared, having gone with the goddess to Africa. But at the end of the nine days a solitary dove used to be seen flying from across the sea; it alighted on the temple and was soon followed by all the other doves. This was a signal for a general outburst of joy; all the people who were well-to-do feasted, all the people who were not well-to-do played castanets with great joy: and all the neighbourhood smelt of cow's cheese, which was a sign that the goddess had returned. See Athenaeus, ix. pp. 394 f-395 a. In the twelfth month of every year the Aztecs celebrated a festival which they called 'The Return of the Gods,' *teotleco*. It fell in October, the loveliest season of the year on the high plateau of Mexico; for then the rain is over, the sky is blue, and all the land is fresh and green. On the 15th of the month the altars were adorned with green branches or reeds, tied in bundles of three. On the 18th the gods began to come. The first to arrive was Telpochtli or Tezcatlipoca, for being young and nimble he outstripped the other gods, who did not arrive till the last day of the month. At midnight on that day a little heap of maize flour, in the form of a cheese, was made upon a mat. A priest watched the heap of maize, and when he saw upon it the print of a tiny foot, he cried, "His Majesty has arrived!" At these words all the priests and ministers of the idols rose up briskly and blew upon their horns and conches in all the temples and in all quarters of the town. So all the people were apprised of the return of the gods and flocked to the temples to present their offerings to the newly arrived deities. See Sahagun, *Histoire générale des choses de la Nouvelle-Espagne* (Paris, 1880), p. 139 *sq.*; Clavigero, *History of Mexico*, 1. p. 308, trans. by Cullen; Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Histoire des nations civilisées du Mexique et de l'Amérique-Centrale*, 3. p. 526 *sq.*; J. G. Müller, *Geschichte der amerikanischen Urreligionen*, p. 618 *sq.*; Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States*, 2. p. 332 *sq.*; Reville, *Les Religions du Mexique, de l'Amérique Centrale et du Pérou*, p. 139 *sq.*

7. 8. **the temple of Apollo.** Beside this temple there was a colossal statue of King Attalus, 10 cubits high, which the Sicyonians set up out of gratitude, because he had ransomed for them the sacred land of Apollo

at a great price. On a subsequent occasion they voted him a golden statue and an annual sacrifice. See Polybius, xvii. (xviii.) 16.

7. 8. **Proetus.** On Proetus and his daughters see ii. 18. 4; viii. 18. 7 note, and Index.

7. 9. **the spear wherewith he despatched the boar.** On ancient representations of Meleager and the hunt of the Calydonian boar, and of hunting in general, see Stephani, in *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg) for 1867, pp. 58-159. In this paper, marked by his usual exhaustive learning, Stephani has shown that on the monuments the instrument of the boar's death is generally a spear, not an arrow. On the François vase, indeed, the boar is depicted pierced with many arrows, and several archers are represented kneeling (see Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, vol. 3. Tafel 74); and the Greeks certainly used bows and arrows in hunting (Oppian, *Cyneg.* i. 153, iv. 54; *id.*, *Halieut.* i. 238; *AnthＯlog. Palat.* vi. 296. 3; Pollux, v. 19, v. 20, x. 141). But they seem to have used them comparatively seldom. Apart from representations of Artemis and Atalanta and of barbarians hunting, bows and arrows seldom appear as weapons of the chase on ancient works of art. For representations of Meleager slaying the boar with a spear see Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, 2. figures 990, 992. The skin of the Calydonian boar was shown in the great temple of Athena Alea at Tegea (Paus. viii. 47. 2). One of its tusks was preserved in the Imperial Gardens at Rome; the other had unfortunately been broken (Paus. viii. 46. 5). The subject of the boar-hunt was represented in the eastern gable of the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea (Paus. viii. 45. 6 *sq.*)

7. 9. **the flutes of Marsyas** etc. Marsyas was a Phrygian satyr or Silenus (sometimes he is called the one and sometimes the other), who finding the flutes which Athena had thrown away (see i. 24. 1) picked them up and practised on them. At last he challenged Apollo to a musical contest, he to play on his flutes and Apollo to play on his lyre. Being vanquished, Marsyas was tied up to a pine-tree and flayed alive, or cut limb from limb either by Apollo himself or by a Scythian slave. See Apollodorus, i. 4. 2; Hyginus, *Fab.* 165. The skin of Marsyas was to be seen in historical times at Celaenae in Phrygia; and it was said that whenever one of his native Phrygian airs was played near it, the skin of the dead satyr vibrated; but if the musician struck up an air in praise of Apollo, the skin remained motionless (Herodotus, vii. 26; Xenophon, *Anab.* i. 2. 8; Aelian, *Var. Hist.* xiii. 21). The river Marsyas, which was said to have sprung from the blood of Marsyas (Hyginus, *l.c.*), is a small tributary of the Maeander in Phrygia. The ancient authorities seem to differ as to the source of the river, but their statements may be reconciled by supposing that it rose in the little reedy lake on the mountain above Celaenae, and that after disappearing underground it issued from the rock under the citadel of Celaenae, where it fell with the roar of a cataract into a rocky basin in the market-place. Besides Herodotus and Xenophon, *ll.cc.*, see Quintus Curtius, iii. 1; Strabo, xii. 8. 5; Pliny, *N. H.* v. §§ 106, 113; Pauly's *Real-Encyclopädie* and Smith's *Dict. of Geography*, *s.v.* 'Marsyas.'

"The myth of Marsyas and Apollo implies as its scene a place where

reeds abounded. The basis of the legend is undoubtedly the contrast between the music of the lyre employed in the worship of the Ionian Apollo Citharoedos and of the flute used in the religion of southern Phrygia. The Ionian Greeks were in direct communication with southern Phrygia by the Lycus valley route, and Celaenae was therefore a natural place in which to localise the mythical contest. The myth was placed where the reeds from which the earliest simplest kind of flute was made abounded. The actual course of the river Marsyas does not and could not in ancient time have afforded such a scene, but the lake from which it was believed to rise is not much more than a reedy marsh. Here therefore the scene was laid" (Prof. W. M. Ramsay, in *Journ. of Hellen. Studies*, 4 (1883), p. 71). For representations in ancient art of the contest of Marsyas with Apollo and the punishment of the former, see Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, 2. pl. xiv.; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, 2. p. 887 *sqq.* The well-known statue at Florence called 'the Grinder,' representing a man with up-turned face, kneeling and sharpening a knife upon a stone (Baumeister, fig. 964), can be shown, by a comparison of monuments, to have been one of a group representing the flaying of Marsyas, the kneeling man being the Scythian slave who is sharpening his knife to do the dreadful deed. See Sir Gardner Wilkinson, 'The listening slave and the flaying of Marsyas,' *Transact. Royal Soc. of Literature*, 2nd Series, 11 (1878), pp. 263-272, with the note by Mr. Vaux, pp. 273-279. The attitude and look of 'the Grinder' agree with the description which Philostratus Junior (*Imag.* 3) gives of the barbarian who is about to flay Marsyas. 'The grinder' is probably an original work of the Pergamene school of sculpture, which excelled in the representation of barbarian types, the irruption of barbarians into Greece about 288 B.C. having furnished Greek artists with plenty of opportunities of studying barbarians from the life. Cp. *Archäolog. epigraph. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn*, 13 (1890), p. 55 sq. The works of ancient art on which the musical contest between Apollo and Marsyas is represented are enumerated and described by Overbeck, *Griech. Kunstmythologie*, Besonderer Theil, 3. pp. 420-482.

7. 9. **Pythocles.** This may be the sculptor mentioned by Pliny (*N. H.* xxxiv. 52) in the list of respectable artists who revived the art of sculpture after Olympiad 156 (156-153 B.C.)

8. 1. **Clisthenes.** See note on ii. 6. 6. For his date see Pausanias, x. 7. 6. As to Myron see vi. 19. 2.

8. 1. **a shrine of the hero Aratus.** Aratus died at Aegium: and in order to bury him in Sicyon it was necessary to get leave from the Delphic oracle, since an ancient law, backed by a strong superstitious feeling, forbade the Sicyonians to bury a corpse inside the walls. The shrine of Aratus (the Arateum) was situated in a conspicuous spot, and here he was laid with all the honours due to "the founder and saviour of the city." Two annual sacrifices were offered to him; one was offered on the anniversary of the day on which he freed Sicyon from the tyrant, being the fifth day of the month Daesius (= the Athenian Anthesterion = Feb.-March); the other was offered on his birthday. The former sacrifice was begun by the priest of Zeus the Saviour: the

second by the priest of Aratus, who wore a white headband with a purple stripe. The association called 'the artists of Dionysus' (see Foucart, *De collegiis scenicorum artificum apud Graecos*; O. Lüders, *Die Dionysische Künstler*) accompanied the sacrifices with hymns and the music of the lyre; the master of the gymnasium led a procession of boys and youths; and the senators followed wearing wreaths. Most of these rites had fallen into disuse when Plutarch wrote. See Plutarch, *Aratus*, 53.

8. 2. **After the tyranny of Cleon** etc. According to Plutarch (*Aratus*, 2) the tyrant Cleon was slain, and after his death the people chose as their rulers Timoclidas and Clinias, two citizens of reputation and influence. Timoclidas died, and Clinias was murdered by Abantidas who raised himself to the tyranny. Abantidas sought also to slay Aratus, the youthful son of Clinias; but in the confusion the boy escaped, and being protected by Soso, sister of Abantidas, was sent secretly by night to Argos. On the history of Aratus see Plutarch's life of him, and Polybius. The delivery of Sicyon by Aratus occurred in 251 B.C. (Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, 3. p. 18).

8. 4. **Corinth was held by Antigonus** etc. Cp. vii. 8. 3. The story of the capture of Corinth by Aratus has been told by Plutarch with a wealth of picturesque details which he doubtless took from the Memoirs written by Aratus himself. The city, and especially the lofty and precipitous acropolis of Corinth, was held for King Antigonus by a Macedonian garrison. Aratus resolved to take the place by a night surprise. For this perilous service he picked out four hundred men, and led them to one of the city-gates. It was midsummer: a full moon rode in a cloudless sky, and the assailants feared that its bright beams, reflected from so many helmets and spears, might betray their approach to the sentinels on the walls. But just as the head of the column neared the gate, a heavy bank of clouds came scudding up from the sea and veiled the moon, blotting out the line of walls and shrouding the storming-party in darkness. Favoured by the gloom eight men, in the guise of travellers, crept up to the gate and put the sentinels to the sword. Ordering the rest of his men to follow him at the best speed they could make, Aratus now advanced at the head of a forlorn hope of one hundred men, planted the ladders, scaled the wall, and descended into the city. Not a soul was stirring in the streets, and Aratus hurried along in the direction of the acropolis, congratulating himself on escaping observation, when a patrol of four men was seen coming down the street with flaring torches. The moon shone full on them, but Aratus and his men were in shadow. Aratus whispered his men to stand close in the shadow of the houses. The unsuspecting patrol came on: in a minute three of them were cut down, and the fourth escaped with a gash on his head, crying out that the enemy were within the walls. A few moments more and the trumpets rang out and the whole city was up. The streets, lately silent and deserted, were thronged with crowds hurrying to and fro: lights glanced at the windows; and high above the city a line of twinkling points of fire marked the summit of the acropolis. At the same time a confused hum of voices broke on the ear from all sides. Undeterred by these symptoms of the gathering storm, Aratus pressed

up the winding path towards the acropolis as fast as the steep and rugged nature of the ground allowed.

Meantime the three hundred men whom he had left behind, bewildered by the sudden uproar, the flashing of multitudinous lights, and all the tumult of the rudely awakened city, missed the path up the acropolis and, knowing not whither to turn, halted under an overhanging crag at the foot of the mountain. Here they remained in a state of the utmost anxiety and alarm. For by this time Aratus was hotly engaged with the garrison on the summit, and the noise of battle and of distant cheering came floating down to them, but so faint with distance, so broken and distorted by the reverberation of the cliffs, that the men below, listening intently, could not tell from which direction the sounds proceeded. While they were still crouching under the shadow of the precipice, they were startled by a loud peal of trumpets close at hand, and peering through the gloom they perceived a large body of men marching past them up the slope. It was the king's troops hastening to the relief of the garrison on the acropolis. Instantly the three hundred charged out from their lurking-place, and taking the enemy completely by surprise, broke them and drove them in confusion towards the city. They were still flushed with victory, when a messenger came hurrying down at break-neck speed from the citadel, telling them that Aratus was at it, cut and thrust, with the garrison, who stood bravely to their arms, and imploring them to hasten to his assistance. They bade him lead the way; and as they toiled upwards they shouted to let their comrades know that help was at hand. By this time the clouds had passed over and the sky was again clear; and so all up the weary ascent they could see the weapons of friend and foe glittering in the moonlight, as the fight swayed this way and that, and could hear their hoarse cries, multiplied apparently a thousandfold as they rolled down on the night air from crag to crag. At last they reached the top, and charging side by side with their friends, forced the enemy from the walls. Day was beginning to break when Aratus and his men stood victorious on the summit. See Plutarch, *Aratus*, 21 *sq.*; cp. Polyaenus, vi. 5. These events took place in 243 B.C. (Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, 3. p. 24).

8. 5. **the coast of Argolis.** The Greek is τὴν Ἀργολίδα Ἀκτήν. Here *Acte* ('coast') is used as a proper name to designate the eastern seaboard of Argolis, including the territory of Epidaurus and Troezen. It is similarly used by Plutarch, *Demetrius*, 25; Polybius, v. 91; Diodorus, xii. 43, xv. 31.

8. 5. **the Lacedaemonians —— captured Pellene** etc. Cp. vii. 7. 3; viii. 27. 14.

8. 6. **he bribed Diogenes** etc. See Plutarch, *Aratus*, 34. The withdrawal of the Macedonian garrisons from Athens, etc., took place in 229 B.C. Diogenes seems to have been a soldier of fortune. So grateful were the Athenians to him that they dedicated a sacred enclosure (the Diogenium) to him and established a festival in his honour, at which the Athenian lads (*ephebi*) sacrificed a bull to 'Diogenes the Benefactor.' The Diogenium became "the centre of what may be called the academic life of Athens under the empire": in it the youths of Athens attended

lectures on grammar, geometry, rhetoric, and music. The name of 'Diogenes the Benefactor' is inscribed on one of the marble seats in the theatre of Dionysus at Athens (fourth row behind the seat of the priest of Dionysus Eleuthereus). See Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* ix. 1. 1; Köhler, in *Hermes*, 7 (1873), pp. 1-6; *C. I. A.* ii. No. 379, iii. No. 299; Hicks, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, No. 181; Dittenberger, *Sylloge inscr. Graec.* No. 180.

8. 6. **Aristomachus, tyrant of Argos** etc. After joining the Achaean confederacy Aristomachus abandoned it again for an alliance with Cleomenes, tyrant of Sparta; and being taken prisoner by Antigonus he was conveyed to Cenchreae and there put to death, either by drowning or the rack (Polybius, ii. 44 and 59 *sq.*)

8. 6. **he captured Mantinea.** Cp. Droysen, *Gesch. d. Hellenismus*, iii. 2. p. 38 note; Dittenberger, in *Hermes*, 16 (1881), p. 177.

9. 1. **Cleomenes —— having succeeded to the kingdom.** There is some difference of opinion as to the year of Cleomenes's accession to the throne. Prof. G. F. Unger (in *Philologus*, 46 (1888), pp. 766-770) shows some grounds for regarding 227 B.C. as the year of his accession; and he would accordingly correct ἑκκαίδεκα in Plutarch (*Cleomenes*, 38) into ἓξ καὶ ἥμισυ; for Cleomenes died in exile in 220 or 219 B.C., and could not therefore have reigned sixteen years, if Unger is right as to the date of his accession. Prof. Unger's views are combated by Mr. Max Klatt, who defends the traditional reading ἑκκαίδεκα in Plutarch. See *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. 45 (1890), pp. 335-360.

9. 2. **Dyme, beyond Patrae.** On the battle of Dyme see Polybius, ii. 51; Plutarch, *Cleomenes*, 14. Dyme was situated to the west of, and hence beyond (ὑπὲρ) Patrae, considered from Sicyon, the place which Pausanias is at present describing. See E. Reitz, *De praepositionis* ΥΠΕΡ *apud Pausaniam periegetam usu locali*, p. 9 *sq.*

9. 2. **Sellasia.** As to the battle of Sellasia see iii. 10. 7 note.

9. 3. **fell by his own hand.** On the death of Cleomenes see Polybius, v. 39; Plutarch, *Cleomenes*, 37.

9. 4. **by administering poison.** A slow poison was administered to Aratus by Taurion, a tool of Philip. See Polybius, viii. 14; Plutarch, *Aratus*, 52. On Philip as a poisoner cp. vii. 7. 5.

9. 4. **Euryclides and Micon.** Cp. Polybius, v. 106; Plutarch, *Aratus*, 41. Their names occur in inscriptions and on coins of Athens. See Grotefende in *Philologus*, 28 (1868), pp. 70-85.

9. 5. **his younger son, Perseus.** This is a mistake. Perseus was older than Demetrius (Polybius, xxiv. 7; Livy, xxxix. 35 and 53). Perseus was jealous of his younger brother, who was a favourite of the people and of the Romans; accordingly Perseus feared that on the death of their father his younger brother might succeed to the throne instead of himself.

9. 5. **the inspired saying of Hesiod.** See Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 265.

9. 6. **that of Zeus resembles a pyramid.** No such representation of Zeus in ancient art has survived. But on a vase, representing the oath of Pelops and Oenomaus, Zeus appears as a column resting upon

a basis; the name ΔΙΟΣ is inscribed on the column. See Overbeck, *Griech. Kunstmythologie*, 2 (Besonderer Theil, 1), p. 5 *sq.*; *Annali dell' Inst.* 12 (1840), tav. d'agg. N; *Archäolog. Zeitung*, 11 (1853), Taf. 54. 1. There was a pyramid-shaped image of Apollo Carinus at Megara (i. 44. 2 note).

9. 6. **Clisthenes built it from the spoils** etc. Cp. x. 37. 6 with the notes.

9. 6. **Zeus, a work of Lysippus.** On a Sicyonian coin of Caracalla's reign Zeus is represented standing undraped, and holding the thunderbolt and sceptre. "The standing figure would certainly well suit the school of Lysippus. . . . Zeus is entirely undraped, and of a scheme which especially befits bronze" (Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 29, with pl. H x.)

9. 7. **Wolfish** (*Lukios*) **Apollo.** The story which Pausanias tells of this shrine seems to make it certain that the adjective *Lukios* (Λύκιος) here applied to Apollo meant 'wolfish' (from λύκος 'wolf'), not 'god of light' (from λύκη 'light'). Cp. ii. 19. 3 *sq.*, and the note on i. 19. 3 'The Lyceum.'

9. 8. **Next to this sanctuary** etc. Besides the buildings and statues which Pausanias has described there was another edifice on the market-place at Sicyon. This was the painted colonnade (*Stoa Poikile*), which was built for the Sicyonians by Lamia, the mistress of Demetrius. It was therefore probably built at the time when Demetrius changed the site of the city. It contained paintings, works no doubt of Sicyonian artists, which were described by the antiquarian Polemo in a separate work. See Athenaeus, vi. p. 253 b, xiii. p. 577 c; *Polemonis Periegetae Fragmenta*, ed. L. Preller, p. 45 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 493. The building must have lost its importance in Pausanias's time, since he does not mention it. Perhaps the paintings had been carried away to Rome.

10. 1. **insisted on sacrificing to Hercules as to a god.** According to Diodorus (iv. 39), after the death of Hercules his friend Menoetius instituted at Opus an annual sacrifice of a boar, a bull, and a ram to Hercules as to a hero. The Thebans did the same; but the Athenians were the first to honour Hercules as a god, and their example was copied by all the Greeks and by all mankind. Herodotus (ii. 145) says that Hercules, Dionysus, and Pan were considered by the Greeks to be the youngest of the gods; and he reckons that Hercules (the son of Alcmena) lived about 900 years before himself.

10. 2. **an image —— of Sleep lulling a lion.** On ancient representations of sleep see G. Krüger, 'Hermes und Hypnos,' *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 9 (1863), pp. 288-301; H. Bazin, 'Hypnos, dieu du sommeil,' *Gazette Archéologique*, 13 (1888), p. 25 *sqq.* with plate 6; Murray, *Hist. of Gr. Sculpture*, 2. p. 259. Krüger, in the article referred to, remarks that the ancients represented Sleep either passively as himself overcome by drowsiness, or actively as the dispenser of sleep to others. The statue which Pausanias here describes evidently belonged to the latter category; but on the chest of Cypselus at Olympia (v. 18. 1) Sleep was represented passively, as a slumbering boy.

10. 3. an image of the god, beardless. Pausanias mentions images of the beardless Aesculapius at Phlius (ii. 13. 5) and at Gortys in Arcadia (viii. 28. 1). On extant monuments Aesculapius is generally represented as bearded, seldom as young. See W. Wroth, in *Journ. of Hellen. Studies*, 4 (1883), pp. 46-52.

10. 3. Calamis. See v. 25. 5 note.

10. 3. the fruit of a cultivated pine-tree. That is, a fir-cone. Cp. Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, 1. p. 58. A late votive-relief found in the sanctuary of Aesculapius at Athens, inscribed with a dedication to Aesculapius and Health, represents the snake-encircled staff (the common emblem of Aesculapius) with two large fruits on one side of it, and two pine-cones on the other. "The pine-cone also enters as an ingredient into one of the curious prescriptions ordered by the God of Medicine for a patient who probably frequented his temple on the Tiber Island at Rome" (W. Wroth, in *Journ. of Hellen. Stud.* 5 (1884), p. 93 *sq.*) The prescriptions referred to by Mr. Wroth are preserved in an inscription (*C. I. G.* No. 5980). A patient named Julianus who had been bringing up blood, and whose life was despaired of, was ordered to take grains of a pine-cone (κόκκους στροβίλου) from the triple altar and to eat them, mixed with honey, for three days. The patient was cured and publicly testified his gratitude.

10. 3. the god was brought to them —— in the likeness of a serpent. Compare the story told of the foundation of Epidaurus Limera (iii. 23. 7), in which it is plain that the serpent was no other than Aesculapius himself. Similarly when Rome had long been ravaged by pestilence, the Romans were bidden by an oracle to fetch Aesculapius from his great sanctuary at Epidaurus. Ambassadors were sent, and the god in the form of a serpent glided down from the temple to the sea, embarked on the Roman vessel, and sailed in it to Rome. Here the serpent landed at the little island of the Tiber, on which a temple was therefore built to Aesculapius. With the arrival of the serpent the plague was stayed. See Livy, xi. Epitome; Valerius Maximus, i. 8. 2; Ovid, *Metam.* xv. 626-744; Aurelius Victor, *De viris illustr.* 22; Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 94. In Epidaurus certain serpents, of a species peculiar to the district, were sacred to Aesculapius (Paus. ii. 28. 1). Sacred serpents were kept in his temples (Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 733; Pausanias, ii. 11. 8), and visitors to his temple fed the serpents with cakes (Paus. *l.c.*; Herodas, iv. 90 *sq.*) All this makes it tolerably certain that originally Aesculapius was neither more nor less than a serpent, which at a later time was transformed into an anthropomorphic god with a serpent symbol. His usual symbol in Greek art is a serpent coiled round a staff. Again, the story that Aesculapius brought the dead to life (Apollodorus, iii. 10. 3; Schol. on Pindar, *Pyth.* iii. 96; Pausanias, ii. 27. 4) points to the serpent origin of Aesculapius. For serpents are popularly believed to be gifted with a knowledge of the plants which can revive the dead. Thus according to Greek legend the seer Polyidus having killed a serpent, observed another serpent approach the dead one and lay upon it a certain grass. The dead serpent thereupon came to life. Polyidus took the hint, procured some

of the same grass and with it restored a dead man to life. See Apollodorus, iii. 3. 1. A similar incident occurs in modern Greek, German, Italian, and Lithuanian stories. See Hahn, *Griechische und Albanesische Märchen*, No. 9, Var. 2, p. 204, cp. 64, Var. 1 and 3, pp. 260, 274; Grimm, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, No. 16; cp. Panzer, *Beitrag zur deutschen Mythologie*, 2. § 360, p. 206; Basile, *Pentamerone*. First day, seventh story, vol. 1. pp. 99, 109 (Liebrecht's German trans.); Schleicher, *Litauische Märchen*, pp. 57, 59. In a Syrian story the king of the serpents restores three slain men to life by washing them with the water of life, which one of his subject serpents had fetched for him (Prym und Socin, *Syrische Sagen und Märchen*, No. 33, p. 121). In Russian popular tales a serpent is often represented as in possession of a magic water, which heals all wounds, restores sight to the blind, and vigour to the cripple. Thus one Russian tale "speaks of a wondrous garden, in which are two springs of healing and vivifying water, and around that garden is coiled like a ring a mighty serpent" (Ralston, *Russian Folk Tales*, p. 233). According to a Slavonic notion the king of the serpents has a crown on his head and his tongue is a diamond. If you can kill him and carry off his crown and his tongue, you will be lord of the whole world and immortal to boot (F. S. Krauss, *Sagen und Märchen der Südslaven*, 2. No. 62, p. 107). The ancients explained the connexion of the serpent with Aesculapius by saying that it is the natural symbol of the healing art, since it periodically renews itself by sloughing off its old skin. See Scholiast on Aristophanes, *l.c.*; Cornutus, *Nat. Deor.* 33; Macrobius, *Sat.* i. 20. 2. With the Jews also the serpent seems to have been a symbol of healing (*Numbers*, xxi. 9). "The south Arabs regard medicinal waters as inhabited by *jinn*, usually of serpent form" (W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*,[2] p. 168). "In Cashmere . . . the descendants of the Naga [serpent] tribes are to this day remarkable for their medical skill, and possession of healing arts and nostrums, which their ancestors (in common with Esculapius) received from the health-giving serpent. The same skill in healing is attributed to him by many nations. The Celts acquired their medical lore by drinking serpent-broth; the Mexicans hung snake-bones round the neck of the sick; in Pegu, at the birth of a child, a snake's tongue is tied within a tiny bell and hung round the baby's neck as a preventive of sickness and harm. And in many parts of India it is customary to make a serpent of clay or metal, *literally* a brazen serpent, and offer sacrifice to it on behalf of the sufferer" (Miss C. F. Gordon Cumming, *In the Hebrides* (London, 1883), p. 53 *sq.*) In Fernando Po when an epidemic breaks out among children it is customary to set up a serpent's skin on a pole in the middle of the public square, and the mothers bring their infants to touch it (A. Bastian, *Ein Besuch in San Salvador*, p. 318). In Madagascar "one of the chief idols of the central province, which was the god of healing and of medicine, was held also to be the patron of serpents, and to be able to employ them as the agents of his anger should any one become obnoxious to him. And so, when this idol, Ramàhavàly, was carried abroad, his attendants used each of them to carry a serpent in his hand, which, as it writhed

and twined about him, inspired terror in the beholders" (J. Sibree, *The Great African Island*, p. 268, cp. p. 299 *sq.*; W. Ellis, *History of Madagascar*, 1. pp. 404-409; *Folk-lore Record*, 2. p. 20). On the superstition that great medical skill may be acquired by eating some part of a serpent, see *The Archaeological Review*, 1 (1888), p. 176 *sq.*

10. 5. Canachus. See note on vi. 13. 7.

10. 5. the Apollo at Didyma etc. See i. 16. 3; viii. 46. 3 (with the note); ix. 10. 2.

10. 5. on her head the goddess carries a firmament. A statue found at Pompeii represents a woman wearing the *modius* or *calathus* on her head. It is supposed to be an Aphrodite (Venus), and Baumeister (*Denkmäler*, 1. p. 88) takes the *calathus* on her head to be the firmament (*polos*) such as crowned the head of Aphrodite at Sicyon. See Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, 2. pl. xxiv. No. 262. As to the meaning of the word *polos* see note on vi. 19. 8.

10. 5. an apple. The apple was sacred to Aphrodite, and to present an apple to a woman was a declaration of love, as it still is in some parts of Greece. See Schol. on Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 997; Propertius, i. 3. 24; C. Boetticher, *Der Baumkultus der Hellenen*, p. 461 *sqq.*; C. Wachsmuth, *Das alte Griechenland im neuem*, p. 83. Amongst the South Slavonians the apple plays a prominent part at the ceremonies of betrothal and marriage. Thus in Bosnia a wooer sends a representative with an apple to a maiden; if she accepts the apple, the engagement is complete. In Croatia before a bride enters her husband's house she throws an apple over it; and bride and bridegroom, after marching thrice round the well, fling an apple into it, which the wedding guests try to intercept. In Bulgaria three apples are presented to the bride; and a gilded apple is carried as a sort of banner in the wedding procession. When the procession reaches the bridegroom's house, the apple is thrown over the roof. See F. S. Krauss, *Sitte und Brauch der Südslaven*, pp. 368, 386, 438, 447.

10. 5. save those of swine. As a rule the Greeks did not sacrifice swine to Aphrodite (Aristophanes, *Acharn.* 793, with the Scholium). But there were exceptions. The Argives sacrified a pig to Aphrodite at a festival called 'the festival of Swine' (ὑστήρια) (Athenaeus, iii. p. 95 f-96 a). At Castnium in Pamphylia Aphrodite was worshipped with sacrifices of swine, which led Callimachus to remark that the Aphrodite of Castnium was the most sensible of all the Aphrodites because she was the only one of them who accepted sacrifices of pigs (Strabo, ix. p. 437 *sq.*). In Cyprus wild boars were sacrificed to Aphrodite on the 2nd of April (Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, iv. 45), though as a rule swine were not sacrificed to her in Cyprus (Porphyry, *De abstin.* i. 14). The story that Adonis had been killed by a wild boar was alleged as a reason both for sacrificing and not sacrificing the pig to Aphrodite (Schol. on Aristophanes, *l.c.*; Joannes Lydus, *l.c.*) Probably wherever the pig was sacrificed to Aphrodite it was an exceptional or mystical sacrifice, the pig representing the divine Adonis himself. Cp. W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*,² p. 290 *sq.*, 411; J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 2. p. 50 *sq.*

10. 6. paideros. According to Dioscorides, *De materia medica*, iii. 17 (19), this was another name for the plant called *acantha*. Pliny mentions two plants called *paideros*. In one place (*N. H.* xix. 170) he says that *paideros* is the Greek name for *caerifolium* (chervil); in another place (xxii. 76) he says it is a kind of acanthus with smooth leaves. The *phallophori* in the theatre used to wear, instead of a mask, a *propolium* (?) made of *paideros* and creeping thyme, and this again was surmounted by a thick wreath of violets and ivy (Athenaeus, xiv. p. 622 c). Demetrius Phalereus, who, possessed of an enormous revenue, lived in the most extravagant luxury, used to dye his hair yellow, and to stain his face white with *paideros* (Athenaeus, xii. p. 542 d, cp. xiii. p. 568 c). The *paideros* is perhaps the *quercus Ballota*, or the *quercus coccifera* (Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 585).

10. 6. less than those of the oak etc. In the present passage Pausanias uses three different words for 'oak,' namely *drus* (the generic name for all species of oak), *phegos* (a species of oak which has not been identified with certainty, see note on i. 17. 5), and *prinos* (the evergreen or holly oak, a tree with small dark prickly leaves like those of holly, but smaller; see note on x. 36. 1, *kokkos*). Cp. viii. 12. 1 note.

10. 7. Pheraean Artemis. On Sicyonian coins of the reigns of Geta and Caracalla, Artemis is represented (Fig. 16) in a long mantle, with torches in her raised hands. "There can be little doubt that we have in this figure a copy of the statue which stood in the temple of Artemis Pheraea. We are told that it was brought from Pherae. The coins of Pherae, from the fourth century onwards, present us with a female figure holding two torches or one torch, which may be meant for Artemis, but more probably represents Hecate, a deity greatly worshipped in the south of Thessaly. But the distinction is not important, as the torch-bearing Artemis and Hecate are closely allied" (Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 30 sq., with pl. H xvii. xviii. xix.) On the other hand Stephani (in *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg) for 1860, p. 46) holds that the Pheraean Artemis, whose worship was imported into Sicyon, Athens, and Argos (see ii. 23. 5), was represented riding on horseback. He refers to a coin of Pherae on which Artemis is represented riding on horseback and carrying a torch (Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, 2. pl. xvi. No. 175). On Artemis as a goddess of horses see viii. 14. 4; Pindar, *Olymp.* iii. 27; *Pyth.* ii. 7 *sq.* On vases she is frequently represented in a chariot with horses (K. O. Müller, *Dorier*,[2] 1. p. 383). It was natural, as Stephani remarks, that Artemis should be associated with horses at Pherae, since the Thessalian breed of horses was esteemed the finest in Greece (Herodotus, vii. 196).



FIG. 17.—PHERAEAN ARTEMIS? (SICYONIAN COIN).

11. 1. the gate called Sacred. Leake thinks that the Sacred Gate must have been near the village of *Vasiliko* at the remarkable gully or opening in the cliffs, down which a steep and narrow path leads from the tableland to the plain below (see above, p. 44). He would there-

fore look for the temple of Athena and the sanctuary of Hera on the site of the modern village. See Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 372, cp. p. 364. Beulé and Curtius apparently share this view (Beulé, *Études sur le Péloponnèse*, p. 319; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. pp. 495, 496, 498). W. G. Clark, however, while he admits that one of the city-gates must have been at this natural gully, thinks that the Sacred Gate "probably led to the sanctuary of Titane, the especial object of Sicyonian veneration, and was therefore on the landward side" (Clark, *Pelop.* p. 343).

11. 2. Plemnaeus. See ii. 5. 8.

11. 2. Phalces. See ii. 6. 7.

11. 3. Following the direct road —— Pyraea. The direct road from Sicyon to Phlius lies up the narrow glen of the Asopus. See note on ii. 12. 3. As Pausanias does not say how far along this road he went before taking the turning to the left which led to Pyraea, we cannot determine the site of this place. All we can say is that it must have been among the hills about a mile to the east of the Asopus.

11. 4. libations of honey mixed with water. Similarly Sophocles represents Oedipus as pouring out a libation of water and honey to the Furies (*Oed. Col.* 481). The Scholiast on Sophocles (*Oed. Col.* 100) speaks as if only water were offered to the Furies, but this is doubtless a mistake. The poets speak of the Furies and their offerings as 'wineless' (Aeschylus, *Eumenides*, 107; Sophocles, *Oed. Col.* 100). On wineless libations see note on v. 15. 10. Honey was offered especially to the nether gods and to the dead. See Robert-Tornow, *De apium mellisque apud veteres significatione* (Berlin, 1893), p. 135 *sqq.*

11. 4. flowers. On a relief, found near Argos, the Eumenides are represented as women of mild aspect carrying serpents in their right hands and flowers in their left. See *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen.* 4 (1879), plate ix.

11. 5. Titane. The site of Titane was first identified by Ludwig Ross. It lies a few minutes to the north of the village of *Voïvonda*. At this point a spur projects eastwards, promontory-like, into the valley from the line of heights which dominates the left bank of the Asopus. The top of this spur forms a plateau, terminating at the eastern end, *i.e.* towards the valley, in a hill, the rocky sides of which drop steeply down into the valley on the north and east. This terminating hill must have been a small acropolis, for it is enclosed by walls of fine Greek masonry, which on the south and south-west rise to the height of 20 or 30 feet, and are flanked by three or four square towers. The towers are built of great rectangular blocks in regular horizontal courses; the walls between the towers are mostly polygonal. Upon this little acropolis are some ancient foundations and a chapel of St. Tryphon. In the chapel are fragments of Doric columns and a small Doric entablature, the triglyphs of which are 40 centimetres high, and the metopes 33 centimetres broad. The columns would therefore seem to have been 9 or 10 feet high. Probably the chapel occupies the site of the temple of Athena, which Pausanias describes (ii. 12. 1) as standing on a hill. The fragments of Doric architecture in the chapel probably belonged to the temple in question.

The view from this acropolis is very fine, embracing in the northern distance the peaks of Parnassus, Helicon, and Gerania, while below stretches the green vale of the Asopus.

The plateau immediately to the west of this acropolis is strewn with ancient remains, including foundations, square blocks, fragments of thin white marble plates, and bits of tiles and pottery. Ross thought that the sanctuary of Aesculapius (see §§ 5-8 of this chapter) must have stood on this plateau, and Bursian shares this view. But Prof. Curtius, with whom Mr. Martha agrees, objects that the plateau is too small to have contained the sanctuary with its dependant buildings. He therefore inclines to think that the sanctuary of Aesculapius may have occupied one of the lower slopes towards the Asopus.

Near the chapel of St. Tryphon Mr. Martha copied the following fragmentary inscription. It contains a dedication to "Titanian Aesculapius" by a certain man, a son of Eucaerus.

ὁρι]κος
Εὐκαίρου
Ἀσκληπιῷ
Τειτανίῳ
χ]αριστήριον.
ψ(ηφίσματι) β(ουλῆς).

See L. Ross, *Reisen und Reiserouten durch Griechenland*, pp. 50-54; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. pp. 500-503; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 30 *sq.*; Jules Martha, in *Bulletin de Corresp. Hellén.* 3 (1879), p. 192 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 393 *sq.*

11. 6. suppliants of the god. That is, patients who came to be cured, as at the sanctuaries of Aesculapius at Athens, Oropus, and Epidaurus.

11. 6. a white woollen shirt and a mantle. For other examples of the custom of dressing images in real clothes see vol. 2. p. 574 *sq.*

11. 6. image of Health. On the goddess Health (*Hygieia*) and her representations in Greek art see Mr. Warwick Wroth, in *Journ. of Hellen. Studies*, 5 (1884), pp. 82-101; Thraemer, in Roscher's *Lexikon*, 1. pp. 2772-2792. She is commonly represented feeding a serpent. See Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, 2. pl. lxi. Nos. 780-784, 792 b; Thraemer, *op. cit.* 1. p. 2779 *sqq.* Mr. Thraemer thinks that the worship of Health at Titane was probably the most ancient worship of the goddess of which we have any knowledge.

11. 6. so covered is it with women's hair etc. The hair was probably a thank-offering for a cure. The Madonna of Tenos at the present day receives similar offerings from all parts of Greece. "If a peasant girl is ill she vows what she likes best to the Queen of queens; on recovery she reflects that it is her hair. Accordingly, next year she takes or sends her long tresses as a present to the shrine" (J. T. Bent, *The Cyclades*, p. 249).

11. 7. he whom the Pergamenians —— name Telesphorus. On Telesphorus see Mr. Warwick Wroth, 'Telesphorus,' *Journ. of Hellen. Studies*, 3 (1882), pp. 283-300. Telesphorus was a minor divinity, a

sort of famulus of Aesculapius. In art he is represented as a child, shrouded in a mantle which never reaches below his ankles and sometimes falls a good deal short of his knees. The mantle forms a hood which shrouds his head all but his face, above which it rises in a high peak. See Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, 2. pl. lxi. Nos. 788, 789. Telesphorus is seldom mentioned in literature. The rhetorician Aristides, like Pausanias, speaks of Telesphorus as a divinity of Pergamus, and says that he was indebted to Telesphorus for a healing balsam, with which he rubbed himself in the baths on passing from the hot to the cold water (Aristides, *Orat.* xxiv. vol. I. p. 467, ed. Dindorf). Marinus tells how once when the philosopher Proclus lay dangerously ill a boy stood beside his bed, young and fair to see, who announced himself as Telesphorus, and touching the sick man's head straightway made him whole; then the vision vanished (Marinus, *Proclus*, 7). For our knowledge of the diffusion of Telesphorus's worship we are chiefly dependent on the monuments, especially the coins. His worship was widely prevalent in Asia Minor; the centre from which it seems to have spread was Pergamus. But though the worship of Aesculapius flourished at Pergamus from the third century B.C. onward, there is no record of Telesphorus there until Hadrian's time (A.D. 117-138). He first appears on a coin of Pergamus, which bears the image of Hadrian on the obverse side and that of Telesphorus on the reverse. From Hadrian to Gallienus (A.D. 117-268) there occur at least fifteen sets of coins representing Telesphorus. His worship was also practised in Thrace, as appears from coins. In Greece proper he was worshipped in Attica; for a hymn in honour of him and Aesculapius has been discovered engraved on a stone. See Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus conlecta*, No. 1027. Two terra-cotta figures of Telesphorus have been found in Attica, one of them in the sanctuary of Aesculapius. On coins Telesphorus often appears alone; but the favourite representation of him seems to have been one in which he appears with Aesculapius and Health. On the left stands Health, feeding a serpent from a saucer, her head turned towards Aesculapius, who stands to the right, leaning on his serpent-encircled staff. Between them stands the tiny figure of Telesphorus, in a determined attitude, but reaching no higher than the top of Aesculapius's staff. This group occurs on coins of Pergamus and of many Asiatic and Thracian cities. It sometimes appears on gems. This union in art points, as Mr. Wroth remarks, to their union in worship. There was an image of Telesphorus in the sanctuary of Health at Pergamus (Aristides, *Orat.* xxvi. vol. I. p. 506, ed. Dindorf). The meaning and functions of Telesphorus are uncertain. Some regard him as concerned with mystic rites (*teletai*); others, arguing from the meaning of his name as 'the accomplisher,' regard him as a god of convalescence. The foregoing account of Telesphorus is summarised from Mr. Wroth's article referred to above. See also *Journ. of Hellen. Studies*, 4 (1883), p. 161 *sq.*; *id.*, 5 (1884), p. 82, note 2. A statuette of Telesphorus was discovered at Mantinea in December 1888. It represents a boy wrapt from his head to his ankles in a sleeveless mantle. See *Bulletin de Corresp. Hellénique*, 14 (1890), pp. 595-601, with plate viii.

11. 7. whom the Epidaurians name Acesis. This is confirmed by the hymn to Telesphorus mentioned in the preceding note. See Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.* No. 1027, line 35 *sq.*:

καί σε Ἐπιδαύριοι μὲν ἀλεξιχόροισιν ἀοιδαῖς
γηθόσυνοι μέλπουσιν, ἄναξ, Ἀκέσιν καλέοντες,

"And thee, my lord, the Epidaurians hymn joyfully in choral songs, calling thee Acesis."

11. 7. Coronis. She was the mother of Aesculapius. See ii. 26. The fact that her image was taken into the temple of Athena when sacrifice was being offered to Aesculapius, points to a connexion between the worship of Athena and Aesculapius. Their legends are connected by the story that Aesculapius received from Athena the blood that flowed from the veins of the slain Gorgon; the blood from the veins on the left was used by Aesculapius to destroy men, the blood from the veins on the right was used by him to heal men, and by means of it he even restored the dead to life (Apollodorus, iii. 10. 3). Again, Athena, like Aesculapius, was a healing goddess; both at Athens and at Epidaurus she bore the surname 'Health' (see Pausanias, i. 23. 4 note). But a more curious point of similarity between the two is the mythical relation in which they both stand to the crow or the raven. In the first place, the name of Aesculapius's mother Coronis is probably connected with *korōnē*, 'a crow'; and this probability is confirmed by the story that when she proved unfaithful to her lover Apollo (the father of Aesculapius), the news was brought to Apollo by a crow. Apollo cursed the bird as a bearer of evil tidings; and so the crow, which before was white, has been black ever since. See Apollodorus, iii. 10. 3; Scholiast on Pindar, *Pyth.* iii. 48. Yet, though Apollo cursed the crow, it was sacred to him (Schol. on Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 133; Plutarch, *Isis et Osiris*, 71; Aelian, *Nat. An.* i. 48; cp. Herodotus, iv. 15). Indeed the crow is called the child of Apollo (Athenaeus, viii. p. 359 e). Thus Aesculapius seems to have been related to the crow both through his father and his mother. Again, the crow stood to Athena in much the same sort of ambiguous relation as it did to Apollo. On the one hand, the crow brought bad tidings to Athena, as it did to Apollo, and was therefore forbidden by her ever to alight upon her great sanctuary, the Acropolis at Athens (Antigonus, *Histor. Mirab.* 12). Hence a crow was never seen on the Acropolis; and between the setting of Arcturus and the arrival of the swallows, the crow was rarely seen at any of the sanctuaries of Athena (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* x. 30; Aelian, *Nat. An.* v. 8). When the Athenians were preparing to sail on the fatal Sicilian expedition crows pecked the gold from the image of Athena at Delphi (Paus. x. 15. 5); and while the Athenian fleets and armies were perishing under the walls of Syracuse, crows pecked at the shield of Athena's ancient statue at Athens (Plutarch, *De Pyth. Orac.* 8). Again the hostility of the crow to Athena seems implied in the popular Greek idea of the enmity between the crow and the owl, the owl being pre-eminently the bird of Athena. On the enmity of the two birds see Aelian, *Nat. An.* iii. 9; Antigonus,

Hist. Mirab. 57 (62). The opposition between the birds is also implied in the ancient Greek proverb, "The voice of the owl is one thing, and the voice of a crow is another." See Zenobius, i. 69; Diogenianus, ii. 16; Gregorius Cyprius, i. 39; Apostolius, ii. 32; *Paroemiogr. Gr.* ed. Gaisford, p. 10, No. 97. The idea of the enmity between the crow and the owl is not confined to Greece, but appears in the literature of India and Cambodia. The *Pancha-tantra* (bk. iii. at beginning) tells how the king of the crows lived with his people the crows in a great shady fig-tree; and how the king of the owls lived with his people the owls in a cavern which was his castle. Every night the king of the owls used to come prowling round the fig-tree, snatching away and killing every crow he could get hold of, till all were gone. See Benfey's *Pantschatantra*, vol. 1. p. 334 *sqq.*, vol. 2. p. 213. Cp. Monier Williams, *Religious Thought and Life in India*, p. 329; Bastian, *Die Völker des östlichen Asien*, 4. p. 337. Yet in spite of this opposition between the crow and Athena, the crow in one place (Nonnus, *Dionys.* iii. *v.* 122) calls itself "the bird of Athena," and perches under her sacred olive (*ib. v.* 98). Again, on the acropolis at Corone (Crow-town) in Messenia there was a bronze statue of Athena holding a crow in her hand (Paus. iv. 34. 6). Again, at Titane, as Pausanias relates in the present passage, the image of Coronis (whose kinship with the crows seems indubitable) was brought into the sanctuary of Athena whenever a sacrifice of a bull, a lamb, and a pig was being offered to Aesculapius. How these apparent contradictions are to be explained, and what exactly was the relation between Athena and her crows on the one side and Aesculapius and his crow kindred on the other side, I do not pretend to say. Mr. Schwenk, in *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. 11 (1857), p. 492 *sqq.*, has tried to solve some of these difficulties, but hardly with success.

11. 7. **sacrificing a bull, a lamb, and a pig.** On the custom of sacrificing a triplet (*trittya* or *trittys*) of victims see P. Stengel, in *Neue Jahrbücher*, 133 (1886), p. 329 *sqq.* In Homer (*Od.* xi. 130 *sq.*) Ulysses is bidden to offer to Poseidon a lamb, a bull, and a boar (the same triplet as Pausanias here mentions). Eustathius on this passage of Homer says that a *trittya* consisted of a sacrifice of three animals, as two sheep and a cow, or a cow, a she-goat, and a sheep, or a boar, a ram, and a bull. Aristophanes (*Plutus*, 819 *sq.*) speaks of sacrificing a pig, a he-goat, and a ram to Aesculapius. Callimachus speaks of a *trittys* consisting of a ram, a bull, and a boar; Ister mentions one of cows, she-goats, and male pigs, all the victims being three-year-olds. See *Etymol. Magnum*, *s.v.* τριττύν, p. 768. 17 *sqq.*; Photius, *s.v.* τριττύαν; Hesychius, *s.v.* τρικτύα. Suidas, *s.v.* τριττύς, speaks of a sacrifice of a pig, a ram, and a he-goat. Menoetius is said to have instituted at Opus an annual sacrifice of a boar, a bull, and a ram to Hercules, as to a hero (Diodorus, iv. 39). In Theocritus (*Epigr.* iv. 17) a sacrifice of a heifer, a he-goat, and a lamb is promised to Priapus. In an inscription found at Eleusis a triad of victims with gilded horns, of which the first was to be a cow, is voted to Demeter and Proserpine (Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 13, line 37 *sq.*)

11. 8. **Aesculapius, surnamed Gortynian.** He was so called from

Gortyna or Gortys in Arcadia, not from the city of that name in Crete. See v. 7. 1; viii. 28. 1.

12. 1. **a sanctuary of Athena.** See note on 11. 5 above.

12. 1. **the priest sacrifices to the winds.** On Greek sacrifices to the winds see P. Stengel, 'Die Opfer der Hellenen an die Winde,' *Hermes*, 16 (1881), pp. 346-350. There was an altar to the winds at Coronea (Paus. ix. 34. 3). The people of Megalopolis honoured the North Wind as much as any of the gods; he had a sacred enclosure near Megalopolis, where sacrifices were annually offered to him (Paus. viii. 36. 6). When the Persians were marching against Greece, the Delphians inquired of the oracle, and the god bade them to pray to the winds; for the winds, he said, would be great allies of Greece. So the Delphians built an altar to the winds and sacrificed to them: and they continued to propitiate the winds down to the time when Herodotus wrote (Herod. vii. 178; Clement of Alex. *Strom.* vi. 3 § 29, p. 753 ed. Potter). When Dionysius of Syracuse approached Thurii at the head of a great fleet crowded with soldiers, a north wind wrecked and destroyed his ships. So the people of Thurii offered sacrifice to the North Wind, voted him the citizenship, assigned him a house and lands, and offered sacrifices to him every year (Aelian, *Var. Hist.* xii. 61). The Athenians sacrificed to the winds (Aelian, *Nat. An.* vii. 27). In an Attic sacrificial calendar it is prescribed that a cake should be offered to the winds in the month Poseideon (*C. I. G.* No. 523). (As to the Athenian worship of the North Wind see note on i. 19. 5.) At Tarentum sacred asses were kept and sacrificed from time to time to the winds (Hesychius, *s.v.* ἀνεμώτας). The Lacedaemonians sacrificed horses to the winds on Mount Taygetus, and burned the carcases on the spot, in order that the winds might disperse the ashes far and wide over the land (Festus, p. 181, ed. Müller). When the Ten Thousand had waded through the Euphrates waist-deep, and were marching through deep snow with a freezing north wind blowing in their teeth, one of the diviners advised that sacrifice should be offered to the wind. The sacrifice was offered, and the violence of the wind perceptibly abated (Xenophon, *Anabasis*, iv. 5. 4). At Corinth there was a set of men who professed to be able to calm the winds (Hesychius, *s.v.* ἀνεμοκοῖται).

The Persians as well as the Greeks sacrificed to the winds. After the destruction of their ships at Artemisium, the storm continuing to rage for three days, the Persian magicians offered sacrifice and used enchantments to still the wind (Herodotus, vii. 191). In various parts of Germany it is customary during a storm to throw a handful of meal or a bundle of hay to the wind, saying, "There, wind, there is meal for your child, but you must stop blowing," or "Mr. Wind or Mrs. Wind, here is thine, leave me mine," or some such words. This is called "feeding the wind." Or food in a wooden trencher is placed on a tree as an offering to the wind. See Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube*,[2] § 430; Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*,[4] 1. p. 529; Zingerle, *Sitten, Bräuche, und Meinungen des Tiroler Volkes*,[2] No. 1046; *Zeit. f. deutsche Mythologie*, 4. p. 300; Grohmann, *Aberglauben und Gebräuche aus Böhmen und Mähren*, p. 2 *sq.*; *Bavaria, Landes- und Volkeskunde des*

Königreichs Bayern, 2. p. 235; *Die gestriegelte Rockenphilosophie*, iv. 3; Panzer, *Beitrag zur deutschen Mythologie*, 2. p. 528; Leoprechting, *Aus dem Lechrain*, p. 101 *sq.*; Birlinger, *Volksthümliches aus Schwaben*, 1. p. 190 *sq.*; *id.*, *Aus Schwaben*, 1. p. 100; A. Peter, *Volksthümliches aus Oesterreich-Schlesien*, 2. p. 259; U. Jahn, *Die deutschen Opfergebräuche bei Ackerbau und Viehzucht*, p. 57 *sqq.*

Attempts like these to appease the wind by sacrifice and prayer should be distinguished from attempts to subdue it by force or by magic. Examples of these latter modes of working on the wind have been collected by me in *The Golden Bough*, 1. p. 26 *sqq.* See also Pausanias, ii. 34. 2 note.

12. 2. **the harbour of Sicyon.** The harbour of Sicyon had fortifications of its own, and could be held by troops apart from Sicyon (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, vii. 3. 2; Polyaenus, *Strat.* v. 16. 3). Still part of the old city, before Demetrius's time, seems to have adjoined the harbour (Diodorus, xx. 102. 2). The harbour is now sanded up, and its site is only marked by a marsh (Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 271; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 30).

12. 3. **Phliasia.** The valley of the Asopus above Sicyon is a deep and narrow glen shut in on either hand by mountains, the steep sides of which are thickly overgrown with bushes. In some places, where the road is hemmed in between the roots of the mountain and the white, turbid, rushing river, the bank is occasionally undermined and swept away by the stream, and the path disappears altogether. In its upper reaches the glen widens so as to admit of here and there a small riverside meadow, prettily situated among oaks and shrubbery, with now and then a patch of ploughed land. After we have followed the glen upwards from Sicyon for about four hours, it opens out into a broad and fertile plain, encircled by steep mountains, down which brooks flow on all sides to join the Asopus. This upland plain, some four miles long and standing about 1000 feet above the sea, is Phliasia, the district of which Phlius was the ancient capital. On the west its level expanse is bounded by the picturesque, rugged, woody mass of Mount *Gavria* (about 5000 feet high), above which appears the snowy top of the lofty Cyllene in Arcadia. The eastern side of the valley is bounded by the Tricaranian range (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, vii. 2. §§ 1, 5, 11, 13; Demosthenes, xvi. p. 206), which with its three flat summits divides the Phliasian valley from the vale of Nemea. The Asopus rises among the southern hills and flows northward through the valley in a deep grassy bed. It is here a clear and tranquil stream, very different from the rapid and turbid river which it becomes in the glen below, where it takes its colour from the soil which is washed down into it by the numerous torrents from the white argillaceous mountains through which it threads its way. About the middle of the plain it is joined by a tributary, longer than the Asopus itself, flowing from the mountains which enclose the southwestern corner of the plain. The soil of the Phliasian valley is excellent; the central part of it is given up almost exclusively to vineyards which furnish now, as they did in antiquity, a fine fiery wine like Burgundy. The principal modern village is *St. George* (*Hagios Georgios*) situated at the southern end of the Tricaranian range.

The ancient Phlius, the capital of the district, was situated towards the north-east end of the plain, on a low spur which stretches from Mt. Tricaranum towards the Asopus, a little below the junction of the Asopus with its main tributary (see below). But the still more ancient capital, as Pausanias informs us (§ 4 *sq.*), was called Arantia or Araethyrea, and was situated round about a hill called the Arantine hill. This hill, he tells us, was not far from the hill upon which Phlius was afterwards built; and Strabo (viii. p. 382) says that Araethyrea was beside Mount Celossa, at a distance of 30 Greek furlongs from the later city of Phlius. Hence modern topographers have identified the Arantine hill with the modern *Polyphengo*, a steep rocky mountain, full of clefts and fissures, which rises at the southern end of the valley, near the springs of the Asopus. On the west side and at the back of the mountain there are some ancient Greek remains which are taken to be those of Arantia (Araethyrea). The site agrees well with the description of Apollonius Rhodius, who says (i. 115 *sqq.*) that Araethyrea was at the springs of the Asopus. See Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 211 *sq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 3. pp. 339-356; *id.*, *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 401 *sq.* (Leake gives the name of *Polyphengo* to the hill upon which *Phlius* stands, and takes the Asopus to be the longer branch which joins the river on the west, rising at the foot of Mt. *Gavria;* hence he looks for Arantia or Araethyrea on the slope of Mt. *Gavria*); Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 32; Ross, *Reisen*, pp. 25-39; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. pp. 470-480; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. pp. 308-311; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, pp. 278-282; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. pp. 32-35; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 117.

12. 4. **Arantia.** See the preceding note. Strabo (viii. p. 382) says that Araethyrea (*i.e.* Arantia) was at the foot of Mt. Celossa, and that part of Mt. Celossa was called Carneates, where the Asopus took its rise. The Arantine hill must have been a spur of Celossa or Carneates. When the Lacedaemonians garrisoned Phlius, Agesipolis led a body of Lacedaemonian troops against Argos, and after ravaging the country built a fort "at the pass beside Celusa" (Xenophon, *Hellen.* iv. 7. 7). This was probably in the glen to the east of the Arantine hill: for the direct road from Phlius to Argos is through this glen. See Ross, *Reisen*, p. 27 *sq.* The Celossa of Strabo is doubtless identical with the Celusa of Xenophon. "Mt. Celossa and the Celossan pass are for us the *Megalo-Vouno* and the gorge which leads from Phlius to Mycenae. A spur of this chain, Mt. *Polyphengos*, all riddled with caverns, is probably Mt. Carneates, which was itself only a part of Mt. Celossa. It advances into the plain to a distance of 30 furlongs (stades) from Phlius, and it is at its foot that Strabo appears to place the Araethyrea of Homer. Mr. Peyetier observed the ruins of a temple on the ridge which connects Mt. *Polyphengos* with the *Megalo-Vouno*" (Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 32).

12. 4. **Celusa.** This is clearly the name of the mountain in which the Asopus rises. See preceding note.

12. 4. **Celeae.** See ii. 14. 1 note.

12. 5. **Aras had a son Aoris** etc. This passage is quoted by Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Ἀραιθυρέα.

12. 5. **Homer —— has the verse** etc. See *Iliad*, ii. 571.

12. 5. **the mysteries of Demeter.** See ii. 14.

12. 6. **is called a son of Dionysus.** This was an appropriate parentage for Phlias, since the wine of this district was famous (Athenaeus, i. p. 27 d). According to Hyginus (*Fab.* 14, p. 41, line 12, ed. Bunte) Phliasus (Phlias) was a son of Dionysus and Ariadne. The wine of the district, called St. George's wine from the village of *St. George*, is still excellent; it is largely exported to Athens. See Gell, *Itinerary of Greece*, p. 75; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 470; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 281; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 33; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 117. Bunches of grapes appear on coins of Phlius (*Brit. Mus. Cat. of Gr. Coins*, Pelop. p. 35, pl. vii. 3. 4).

12. 6. **the verses of the Rhodian poet.** See Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonaut.* i. 115-117.

13. 1. **The return of the Heraclids.** Prof. J. Beloch has recently attempted to prove that the tradition of the Dorian immigration or the return of the Heraclids to Peloponnese was nothing but a myth invented not earlier than the eighth century B.C. to explain the difference between Greece as it was at that time and Greece as it was depicted in the Homeric poems. See J. Beloch, 'Die dorische Wanderung,' *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. 45 (1890), pp. 555-598; *id.*, *Griechische Geschichte*, 1. p. 149 *sqq.* But the tradition of the Dorian invasion and conquest is strongly confirmed by the archaeological evidence which goes to show that the Mycenaean civilisation in Argolis came to a sudden and violent end just about the time to which tradition assigned the Dorian invasion. See Tsountas, *Μυκῆναι*, p. 238 *sq.*

13. 3. **the acropolis of Phlius.** The acropolis or citadel of Phlius occupied a hill on the eastern bank of the Asopus. A neck or ridge joins the hill to Mt. Tricaranum on the east and the higher Mt. *Spiria* on the north. A brook flowing from Mt. Tricaranum falls into the Asopus at right angles, a little to the south of the hill. "The town appears to have covered the southern side of this hill, and below it to have occupied all the angle bounded by the river Asopus, and the brook already mentioned. The wall is traceable on the south-eastern descent from the acropolis to the brook and for a short distance along its bank. On the south-west it seems not to have enclosed so much of the plain; for after its descent from the hill, it is traced for a short distance only along the foot and then crosses to the Asopus" (Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 340). The top of the hill is of some extent; in antiquity it included not only a grove of cypresses, as Pausanias mentions, but also some corn-land (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, vii. 2. 8). Several remains of ancient foundations may still be seen on it. The walls of the citadel are traceable in many places, but especially across the neck of the hill on its highest part; they are constructed in the polygonal style of masonry; the material is a hard conglomerate. The brook which bounded the city on the south is enclosed on both sides with polygonal walls, doubtless for the protection of the city on this side. A suburb seems to have extended beyond this brook, for to the south of it there are many remains of walls. See Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 339 *sq.*; Ross, *Reisen*, pp. 32-34; Curtius,

Pelop. 2. pp. 471-473; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 280 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 33 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 391 *sq.*

Some light is thrown on the topography of Phlius by the events which followed the battle of Leuctra. The Phliasians had been friends of Sparta when Sparta was at the height of her power; and after the disastrous day of Leuctra, when Sparta was deserted by allies and subjects alike, the Phliasians stood loyally by their old friends. This drew down on them the hostility of the victorious Thebans and their allies. In 368 B.C. a body of Arcadians and Eleans, marching through the pass of Nemea to join the Thebans, were induced by some Phliasian exiles to make an attempt to surprise and capture Phlius. Six hundred men, supplied with ladders, being sent in advance, concealed themselves by night at the foot of the citadel walls. Next morning the sentinels on Mt. Tricaranum, to the east of the town, signalled the approach of the enemy from the valley of Nemea. The eyes of the citizens were thus turned to the hills, over which they momentarily expected to see the enemy appearing. Taking advantage of their distraction the six hundred men under the acropolis planted their ladders and were soon masters of the almost deserted citadel. But the citizens rallied, and after a fierce struggle drove the enemy with fire and sword over the ramparts. See Xenophon, *Hellenica*, vii. 2. 1-9. Next year the allies made a more determined attempt to get possession of Phlius. The Theban commander at Sicyon marched from that city against Phlius at the head of his garrison and of a body of Sicyonian and Pellenian troops. He was supported by Euphron, tyrant of Sicyon, with 2000 mercenaries. The attack was again made from the hills on the east of the town. On the neck of land which joins the citadel of Phlius with the hills a detachment of Sicyonians and Pellenians was posted, to prevent the Phliasians from ascending the hills and taking their enemies in the rear. The rest of the army then descended from the hills in the direction of a sanctuary of Hera, meaning to ravage the cornfields and vineyards in the valley. But the Phliasian cavalry and infantry met them and prevented them from carrying out their intention. Skirmishing went on most of the day with varying fortune. At one time Euphron with his mercenaries drove the Phliasians over the broken ground. But as soon as they reached open ground, where the Phliasian cavalry could come into play, they were in turn driven back up the hills as far as the sanctuary of Hera. At last the assailants abandoned the attack and retreated up the hill, purposing to join the detachment of Sicyonians and Pellenians, which they had left on the neck of ground leading to the citadel. To reach them they had to make a long detour up the hill, for a ravine lay between them and their friends, the ravine namely along which the city-walls were built. The Phliasians pursued them up hill a little way, then perceiving the enemy's intention of forming a junction with the detachment on the neck, they turned back and taking a short cut close under the town-walls hastened to attack the detachment of the enemy before the main body could come up to their assistance. In this race the cavalry outstripped the infantry and charged the Pellenians alone. The latter stood to their arms and repelled the cavalry, till the Phliasian infantry came running

up. Then, attacked by horse and foot simultaneously, the Pellenians and Sicyonians gave way. The victorious Phliasians erected a trophy and sang a loud paean. The enemy watched the scene from the hills; then, drawing together his beaten and scattered forces, fell sullenly back on Sicyon. See Xenophon, *Hellenica*, vii. 2. 11-15. The sanctuary of Hera about which the battle raged was not of course the temple of Hera described by Pausanias in ii. 13. 4. The latter stood on the acropolis of Phlius; the former must have stood on one of the lower slopes of the mountain (Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 349 *sq.*)

13. 3. **Ganymeda —— Hebe.** According to Strabo (viii. p. 382), Hebe was worshipped both at Phlius and at Sicyon under the title of Dia. In a tomb at Megara there was found a terra-cotta figure which has been supposed to represent the Hebe of Sicyon. It represents a young goddess leaning with her left elbow on a rectangular monument. She is clad in a long tunic and a great veil which envelops the lower part of her body and is gracefully disposed over her head to form a kind of nimbus. All round her head the veil is bordered with ivy leaves. This suggests the Hebe of Sicyon, since her festival (as Pausanias mentions immediately) was called Ivy-cutters. On several vases Hebe, associated with Hercules, holds branches of ivy in her hands. The name Hebe has been given by Panofka to a statuette of a goddess holding a wine-jug and bowl. Along with the statuette of Hebe found at Megara there were found in the same tomb a statuette of Aphrodite with her dove in her hand and a statuette of Hera. The writer of the notice thinks that the three goddesses formed a triad, with a mystic and sepulchral significance; and that the Dionysus who was worshipped at Naples with the surname of Hebon (Macrobius, *Sat.* i. 18. 9) may have been related to Hebe. A fine amphora of Nola, he says, represents the Dis-Hebon and the Dia-Hebe standing face to face. At Aegina, as we learn from an inscription (*C. I. G.* No. 2138), a statue of Colian Aphrodite was placed in a sanctuary of Hebe. See De Chanot, 'Terres-cuites de Megara,' *Gazette Archéologique*, 2 (1876), pp. 46-50, with pl. 15. The geographer and antiquarian Mnaseas described a sanctuary of Hebe beside a sanctuary of Hercules. In these sanctuaries it was the custom to keep sacred cocks and hens, the cocks in the temple of Hercules, the hens in the temple of Hebe. The sanctuaries were divided by a channel of pure and ever-flowing water; a hen never crossed the water, but at the proper season the cocks flew over the channel and visited the hens. On their return the cocks cleansed themselves in the running water. See Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* xvii. 46.

13. 3. **Homer also mentions Hebe** etc. See *Il.* iv. 2 *sq.*; *Od.* xi. 603.

13. 4. **Ivy-cutters.** Wreaths of ivy appear on the reverse of coins of Phlius, encircling a large Φ (for Phlius). See E. Curtius, *Religious character of Greek coins*, p. 6 (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 2. p. 447); Leake, *Numismata Hellenica*, Europ. p. 92; Head, *Historia Nummorum*, p. 344; *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Gr. Coins*, Pelop. p. 34 *sq.*, pl. vii. 2. 5. On the obverse of these coins is a bull butting, which may, as Leake suggests, represent the Asopus. For the ivy cp. i. 31. 6; ii. 29. 1.

13. 4. temple of Hera. At the village of *St. George* near Phlius there is a large stone with the inscription ΗΡΑΣ. It was brought from *Hagios Nicolaeces.* It may have marked the sacred precinct of Hera at Phlius. At the same village of *St. George* there is an archaic inscription written from right to left ꟼΑΤϤΑ. The stone is broken just at the last down stroke. The inscription was perhaps Ἀρτάμιτος and may have marked the limits of a precinct of Artemis. Pausanias, in the next section, mentions a statue of Artemis at Phlius. See *Bulletin de Corr. Hellén.* 6 (1882), p. 444.

13. 5. a temple of Aesculapius. From Pausanias's description we infer that this temple was situated on the southern slope of the acropolis, between the summit and the town which lay at the foot of the hill. It may therefore have occupied the site of the ruined chapel of the Panagia Rachiotissa, 'Our Lady of the Hill,' which stands on a terrace half way down the slope of the acropolis. The chapel is built of squared blocks. It contains some Doric capitals and drums. The *echinus* of the capitals is very straight; the drums have twenty flutes. There are also some triglyphs. All these remains are of soft whitish limestone. See Ross, *Reisen*, p. 32 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 473; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 392.

13. 5. Below this temple is a theatre. The shape of the theatre may be discerned on the southern slope of the acropolis, under the chapel of the Panagia Rachiotissa. See Ross, *Reisen*, p. 33; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 473; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 281.

13. 6. a bronze she-goat, mostly gilded. On the goat in ancient religion see Stephani, in *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg) for 1869, pp. 19-139. It may be conjectured that the image of the goat in the market-place of Phlius represented Dionysus himself. For Dionysus was represented in goat-form (Hesychius, Ἔριφος ὁ Διόνυσος: cp. *The Golden Bough*, 1. p. 326 *sqq.*, 2. p. 34 *sqq.*); the worship of the vine-god in a wine-growing district would be appropriate: and Phlias, the mythical founder of Phlius, was a son of Dionysus. See notes on ii. 12. 3 and 6. The idea that by worshipping the bronze goat they preserved their vines from blight points strongly in the same direction. With the custom of gilding the goat we may compare a similar practice in Cambodia. "There are idols which contain spirits ever ready to heal the sick who worship them. One thing which is thought to be especially agreeable to these spirits is to gild them wholly or in part. So the pilgrims always bring with them some gilt paper when they are going to pray to these spirits. To stick a gold leaf on the statue is a meritorious act which secures for the worshipper the cure of the corresponding part of his body. If a man prays for success in speculation, for wealth to be acquired in commerce, industry, fishing, etc., he gilds the whole statue from head to foot. It is the traces of gilding to be seen almost everywhere on the statues and chief figures in the bas-reliefs which led people to suppose that formerly all these sculptures were gilded all over" (J. Moura, *Le royaume du Cambodge* (Paris, 1883), 1. p. 179). Lucian describes a statue adorned with ribbons and withered wreaths, its breast plastered over with gold leaf. The gold leaf had been put on by a man whom the statue had cured of the ague. Patients who had been cured

of fever by the statue stuck silver coins or silver leaf on the statue, making them adhere by means of wax. See Lucian, *Philopseudes*, 19 *sq.* Similar customs are still practised by the Greeks. In a church in Rhodes Sir Charles Newton saw people sticking gold coins with wax on the faces of saints, and in a church in Lesbos he saw a gold coin stuck on the face of the Panagia, and was told that it was a votive offering for recovery from sickness (*Travels and Discoveries in the Levant*, 1. p. 187, 2. p. 4).

13. 6. **The constellation which they name the Goat.** It was on the left shoulder of the constellation called the Charioteer. According to one story, the Goat was the goat which had suckled the infant Zeus; according to another, it was the goat with whose skin Zeus had covered himself when he fought the Titans. See Hyginus, *Astronomica*, 13.

13. 7. **what they call the Navel** (*Omphalos*). On the reverse of some coins of Phlius is represented a four-spoked wheel, which may symbolise the *Omphalos*. It resembles the Navel (*Omphalos*) on coins of Delphi. See *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gr. Coins*, Pelop. p. 33, pl. vi. 20. 23; cp. Head, *Historia Nummorum*, p. 344. The idea that Phlius stood at the centre of Peloponnese is of course absurd.

13. 8. **Oeneus, from Aetolia** etc. Oeneus was king of Aetolia (ii. 25. 2), and the legend of the death of the cupbearer was properly an Aetolian one, the scene of the tragedy being Calydon in Aetolia. The name of the cupbearer is variously given as Eunomus, Eurynomus, Archias, and Cherias. See Apollodorus, ii. 7. 6; Diodorus, iv. 36; Athenaeus, ix. p. 410 f. At Proschium in Aetolia the slain Cyathus had a sacred precinct, which was said to have been dedicated to him by Hercules. It was called 'the sanctuary of the cup-bearer.' See Athenaeus, ix. p. 411 a.

14. 1. **Celeae.** Leake thought that the site of Celeae may have been at a spot on the left bank of the Asopus, about half a mile from Phlius. Foundations of an ancient Greek building are to be seen there. See Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 345 *sq.*; cp. Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 475.

14. 2. **Dysaules.** See i. 14. 3. It has been suggested that the original form of the name was Disaules, 'he who ploughs (furrows) twice.' Cp. Trisaules (viii. 15. 4), 'he who furrows thrice,' and Triptolemus, which may have had the same meaning (Preller, *Griech. Myth.*[4] 1. p. 770).

14. 3. **The verses are these.** See Homer, *Hymn to Demeter*, 474-476.

14. 4. **the tomb of Dysaules** etc. See ii. 12. 4.

14. 4. **the so-called aborigines.** The word here translated 'aborigines' (*autochthones*) means more properly 'earth-born.' Many primitive peoples believe that their ancestors issued from the ground or were actually formed from the soil. The Basutos in South Africa think that "both men and animals came out of the bowels of the earth by an immense hole, the opening of which was in a cavern, and that the animals appeared first" (Casalis, *The Basutos*, p. 240). Similar legends are common among the North American Indians. For example the now extinct tribe of Mandans believed that their ancestors at first lived

underground beside a subterranean cave. A grape-vine extended its roots down to them; some of the people climbed up the vine to the surface of the earth and were delighted with the earth and sky. They returned with grapes to their people and told them what they had seen. So all the people proceeded to climb up the vine: but when about half of them had reached the surface of the earth, a fat woman broke the vine with her weight; and all the rest of the people tumbled down. See Lewis and Clarke, *Travels to the Source of the Missouri River* (London, 1815), 1. p. 190; Maximilian, Prinz zu Wied, *Reise in das innere Nord-America*, 2. p. 160 *sq.* The Black Bear clan of the Omahas have a tradition that their ancestors were made underground and afterwards came to the surface (*Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington), p. 237). The Minnitarees think that they formerly lived underground. Two boys, they say, "strayed away from them and absented themselves several days. At length they returned and informed the nation that they had discovered another world, situate above their present residence, where all was beautiful and light. They saw the sun, the earth, the Missouri, and the bison. This account so delighted the people, that they immediately abandoned their subterranean dwelling, and, led by the boys, arrived on the surface of the earth, at the spot which their villages now occupy, and where they have dwelt ever since" (E. James, *Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains*, 1. p. 258). All the Californian Indians "believe that their first ancestors were created directly from the soil of their respective present dwelling-places" (S. Powers, *Tribes of California*, p. 5, cp. p. 147; cp. Dwight, *Travels in New England and New York*, 4. p. 185; C. C. Jones, *Antiquities of the Southern Indians*, p. 4 *sq.*)

14. 4. what is called the Anactorum. At Eleusis the name Anactorum (*anaktoron*) was applied to the whole or a part of the sanctuary of Demeter (Herodotus, ix. 65, with Bähr's note; Athenaeus, v. p. 213 d; Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, p. 59 *sq.*) It has been suggested (vol. 2. p. 510) that at Eleusis the name designated the great Hall of Initiation. At Celeae the name may have had a similar application, since, as Pausanias has told us, the rites at Celeae were a mere copy of the rites at Eleusis.

15. 1. Cleonae. The ruins of Cleonae are situated in a valley about 10 miles south-west of ancient Corinth and 16 miles south-west of modern Corinth. Strabo (viii. p. 377) gives the distance of Cleonae from Corinth as 80 furlongs; he mentions that Cleonae was situated on a hill and was well fortified. In antiquity the direct road from Corinth to Argos went by Cleonae (Strabo, *l.c.*); in modern times the railway from Corinth to Argos runs through the valley on its south-eastern side. The valley of Cleonae and the valley of Nemea both lie at the northern foot of Mt. Tretus; they run parallel to each other in a northerly direction, being separated from each other by Mt. Apesas. The valley of Cleonae is the broader. From the semicircle of wooded mountains which bounds it on the south and west flow many brooks which unite to form the stream called the *Longopotamos*. At its north end the valley contracts into a narrow glen, through which the *Longopotamos*

flows northward to the Gulf of Corinth. On the western side of this valley rises an isolated hill of moderate height, overgrown with bushes, its steepest side turned to the west, where a stream flows at its foot. The hill consists of two parts, an eastern and a western, connected with each other by a ridge. The western and higher part seems to have been the citadel of Cleonae. On its highest point may be seen the remains of a small quadrangular building constructed of square blocks. On the lower but broader eastern portion of the hill appear to have stood some temples. The foundations of four buildings may be distinguished, and in two at least of them are fragments of columns and triglyphs, of rather small dimensions. The temple of Athena, mentioned by Pausanias, may have stood on this eastern summit. Remains of other buildings are to be seen especially on the southern slope of the hill. Six ancient terrace walls rise one above another on the side of the hill; they probably supported the houses and streets. Fortification-walls of considerable extent enclose the hill They are of polygonal masonry, about 6 feet thick, and were defended by towers. See Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 325; Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 206; Gell, *Itinerary of Greece*, p. 20 *sq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 41; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 510; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 286 *sq.*; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. p. 173 *sq.*; Mure, *Journal*, 2. p. 142; Conze e Michaelis, 'Viaggio fatto nella Grecia,' *Annali dell' Instituto*, 33 (1861), p. 14 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 37; Baedeker,[3] p. 247; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 202. The khan of *Cortesa* or *Curtesa* stands about a quarter of an hour to the south-east hill of Cleonae; beside it are a chapel and a fountain (Gell, *Itinerary of Greece*, p. 21; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 38).

Seneca describes a curious custom which prevailed at Cleonae. Watchmen were maintained at the public expense to look out for hail-storms. When these watchmen saw a hail-cloud approaching they made a signal, whereupon the farmers turned out and sacrificed lambs or fowls. It was thought that when the clouds had tasted the blood, they would turn aside and go somewhere else. People who were too poor to offer a lamb or a fowl pricked their fingers and offered their own blood to the clouds to induce them to go away. If the vines and crops suffered from a hail-storm, the watchmen were brought before the magistrates and punished for neglect of duty. The watchmen uttered incantations and used mole's blood or menstruous rags to avert the clouds. See Seneca, *Quaest. Natur.* iv. 6 *sq.*; Clement of Alex. *Strom.* vi. 3. 31, p. 754, ed. Potter; Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* vii. 2. 2. Among the Aztecs of Mexico there were sorcerers who by their spells endeavoured to charm away hail from the maize and divert it to waste lands (Sahagun, *Histoire générale des choses de la Nouvelle Espagne* (Paris, 1880), p. 486). There are villages in India at the present day in which a professional charmer is kept for the sole purpose of repeating incantations to drive away the hail from the growing crops (Monier Williams, *Religious Thought and Life in India*, p. 241).

15. 1. **Scyllis and Dipoenus.** These artists are of interest as the earliest Greek sculptors who are known to have founded a school. Our knowledge of their personal history is derived almost entirely from a

passage in Pliny, who says (*Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 9) that they were the first artists who gained a reputation by carving statues in marble. They were natives of Crete, and flourished in the days when the Medes ruled in Asia, before Cyrus reigned over Persia, that is, says Pliny, about the 50th Olympiad (580-577 B.C.) They betook themselves to Sicyon, where they received a public commission to execute images of the gods. But before they had completed the statues, the artists complained of being ill-treated and withdrew to Aetolia. Immediately afterwards a dreadful famine and failure of the crops afflicted Sicyon. The people inquired of the oracle and were told that the distress would cease if Scyllis and Dipoenus finished the statues. This, by the promise of high rewards, the artists were induced to do. They made images of Apollo, Artemis, Hercules, and Athena. This last image was afterwards struck by lightning. It was probably the image in that temple of Athena at Sicyon which Pausanias describes as having been destroyed by lightning (ii. 11. 1). Moses of Chorene, an Armenian historian, has recorded (see Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, No. 326 ; Robert, *Archäologische Märchen*, p. 19) that when Cyrus conquered Croesus he carried off gilt bronze statues of Artemis, Hercules, and Apollo. These he transported to Armenia. The statues of Apollo and Artemis were set up at Armavir ; but the statue of Hercules, which was the work of the two Cretans Scyllis and Dipoenus, was set up at Aschdischad. In another passage (*N. H.* xxxvi. 14) Pliny says that Ambracia, Argos, and Cleonae were full of the works of Dipoenus. K. O. Müller ingeniously conjectured that the images of Artemis, Hercules, and Apollo which Cyrus carried off to Armenia were identical with those which Scyllis and Dipoenus made for the Sicyonians. He supposed that the four statues mentioned by Pliny (*l.c.*) formed a group representing the contest between Apollo and Hercules for the tripod, a favourite subject with ancient artists, as we see from vase-paintings ; and that when one of the group (Athena) had been destroyed by lightning, the Sicyonians sold or presented the remaining figures of the group to Croesus, from whose hands they fell into those of the victorious Cyrus. The whole question has been a good deal discussed of late and arguments have been adduced on both sides. On the whole the evidence seems against Müller's view ; it appears more probable that the statues mentioned by Pliny were separate statues, not a group ; if one of the group had been struck by lightning, was it likely that the others would escape ? Again, from the way in which Moses of Chorene speaks of the statue of Hercules carried off by Cyrus, we infer that it was a separate statue. The exact date of the sculptors Scyllis and Dipoenus has also been lately the subject of much barren discussion. There seems to be no sufficient ground for questioning the date assigned to them by Pliny. See K. O. Müller, 'Ueber Dipönos und Skyllis nach Armenischen Quellen,' *Kunstarchaeologische Werke*, 4. pp. 66-70 ; Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 43 *sqq.* ; *id.*, *Die Kunst bei Homer*, p. 46 *sq.* ; *id.*, 'Zur Chronologie der ält. griech. Künstler,' *Sitzungsberichte d. philos.-philolog. u. histor. Classe der k. b. Akad. d. Wissen. zu München*, 1871, pp. 545-552 ; L. Urlichs, *Skopas*, pp. 219-227 ; H. v. Rohden, 'Die Götterbilder des Dipoenos und Skyllis in

Sikyon,' *Archäolog. Zeitung*, 34 (1876), p. 122; W. Klein, 'Die Dädaliden,' *Archäolog.-epigr. Mittheil. aus Oesterreich*, 5 (1881), p. 93 *sqq.*; Milchhöfer, *Die Anfänge der Kunst in Griechenland*, p. 167 *sq.*; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[1] 1. p. 84 *sqq.*; *id.*, 'Nochmals Dipoinos und Skyllis,' *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. 41 (1886), pp. 67-72; C. Robert, *Archäologische Märchen*, p. 18 *sqq.* On another statue of Athena by these artists, said to have been presented by Sesostris to Cleobulus (Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, No. 327), see M. Zucker, 'Zur ältern griech. Künstlergeschichte,' *Neue Jahrbücher f. Philol. u. Pädag.* 135 (1887), pp. 785-791. The statue of Athena at Cleonae, mentioned by Pausanias, appears to be represented on a coin of Cleonae of the age of Geta; an archaic Athena stands holding lance and shield. "The Athene of the coin seems an interesting record of the archaic statue of Dipoenus and Scyllis, whom Pliny gives to the 50th Olympiad, and who were among the first to produce national Greek types of various divinities. The present coin-type represents a figure of Athene retaining the pose of the still older Palladia, but far more refined in detail. The helmet is larger, the aegis on the breast worked out; folds appear in the chiton, and the feet are articulate" (Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 32, with plate H i.) Cp. Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 369.



FIG. 18.—ATHENA (COIN OF CLEONAE).

15. 1. **the tomb of Eurytus and Cteatus.** In the open field, about fifteen minutes from the khan of *Curtesa*, there were found some years ago the remains of a great circular or semicircular structure, which probably served as the basis of some large monument. It is composed of well-wrought blocks of marble. An inscription on two blocks runs thus:

Ξενόφιλος καὶ Στράτων Ἀργεῖοι ἐποίησαν

"The Argives Xenophilus and Straton made (the statue or statues)." From the shape of the letters the inscription seems to belong to about the middle of the second century B.C. Mr. J. Schmidt suggests that possibly these blocks may have been part of the tomb of Eurytus and Cteatus. See *Bulletin de Corr. Hellénique*, 4 (1880), p. 46 *sq.*; J. Schmidt, in *Mittheilungen d. archäol. Inst. in Athen*, 6 (1881), p. 355 *sq.*; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, No. 262. As to the sculptors Xenophilus and Straton, see ii. 23. 4 note.

15. 2. **From Cleonae there are two roads to Argos** etc. At the southern end of the valley of Cleonae there rises like a wall of rock the mountain of Tretus, which forms the watershed between the Corinthian and the Argolic gulfs. A straight, toilsome path led from Cleonae in antiquity, and still leads past the village of *Hagios Vasilios*, over the mountain, descending into the Argolic plain at the ruins of Mycenae. But the more convenient way from the valley of Cleonae to the plain of Argos bends round to the west, where the mountain is not so high, and runs up a gradually ascending gully. This was the pass of the Tretus, the chief line of communication between Corinth and the south. In

antiquity it was, as Pausanias tells us, a driving road, and the ruts worn by the chariot-wheels can still be seen in many places. The defile, though long and narrow, shut in by high mountains on either hand, is nowhere steep, and the rise is not considerable. The road runs by a deeply worn watercourse, at the bottom of which a clear and shallow stream finds its way amid luxuriant thickets of oleander, myrtle, and arbutus. The lower slopes of the mountains are also green with shrubs, but their upper slopes are grey and rocky. The pass is easily defended. On both sides, towards Cleonae and towards the plain of Argos, may be seen traces of ancient works built to defend the defile. Near the highest point of the pass, where the road begins to descend towards Argos, there are low Turkish watch-towers called Derweni on both sides, and rough stone walls such as the Greeks threw up in many passes during the War of Independence. In 1822 the Turkish army under Dramali Pasha, retreating from the plain of Argos, was caught by the Greeks in the pass of the Tretus and nearly annihilated; for years afterwards the defile was strewed with skeletons and skulls of men and horses. "Every part of the Argolic plain is considered unhealthy in summer, and the heat is excessive; that of the ravine of the Tretus, in the mid-day hours, is said to be something beyond bearing, which I can easily conceive, having passed through it in August, at an hour in the morning when the heat was comparatively moderate. Not long since, a Tartar, after having drunk plentifully of wine and raki at Corinth, was found to be dead when the suriji held his stirrup to dismount at the khan of *Kharvati* (Mycenae), just beyond the exit of the Tretus" (Leake). The name Tretus ('perforated') was supposed by the ancients to be derived from a great cave in the mountain where the Nemean lion had his lair (Diodorus, iv. 11; cp. Hesiod, *Theog.* 327-331). As to the ancient name of the pass, and the supposed wheel-marks in it, W. G. Clark says: "This is the road known by the name of Tretos, or 'the perforated'; not, I conceive, in consequence of the caverns in the neighbouring rocks, which are not more numerous hereabouts than elsewhere, but because the glen is, as it were, *drilled* through the rock. And drilled it has been by the stream which flows at the bottom. We saw, or fancied we saw, frequent wheel-marks in the rocks, and we know that this was the direction of a carriage-road. But from my subsequent observations I learned to distrust these marks. The ordinary mode of carrying wood in Greece is to tie the heavier ends of the poles on each side to the back of the horse or donkey, and suffer the other ends to trail along the ground, thus making two parallel ruts which in course of time may attain the depth of and be mistaken for wheel-tracks. When a depression is once made, it becomes a channel for the winter rains, and so is smoothed and deepened." The modern name of the pass is *Dervenaki*. The railway from Corinth to Argos runs through it. Towards the northern end of the pass the khan of *Dervenaki* stands in a little glade overshadowed by tall poplars, cypresses, and mulberry-trees, beside a murmuring spring. At the southern outlet of the pass the whole plain of Argos, with the mountains on either hand and the sea in the distance, bursts suddenly on the view. On the left, nestling at the foot of the hills, are Mycenae and Tiryns,

with Nauplia and its towering acropolis rising from the sea and bounding the plain on this side. On the right is Argos with its mountain citadel, and beyond it the Lernaean lake glimmers faintly in the distance. In the centre of the picture, beyond the long foreground of level plain, stretches the blue line of the Argolic Gulf.

See Chandler, *Travels in Greece*, p. 231 *sq.*; Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 213 *sq.*; Gell, *Itinerary of Greece*, p. 25 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 161 *sq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 337 *sq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 42; Mure, *Journal*, 2. p. 158 *sq.*; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. p. 177; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 512 *sq.*; W. G. Clark, *Peloponnesus*, p. 64 *sq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 289 *sq.*; Steffen, *Karten von Mykenai, Erläuternder Text*, p. 11 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 203; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 41.

So much for the pass of the Tretus. The other and shorter route from Cleonae to Argos here described by Pausanias avoids the long detour to the west and strikes straight up the face of the mountain, past the village of *Hagios Vasilios*, which stands high up on the mountain-side. Beyond the village, near which may be seen some remains of an aqueduct supposed by Bursian to have formed part of the aqueduct by which Hadrian brought water from Stymphelus to Corinth (Paus. ii. 3. 5; viii. 22. 3), the path climbs the steep slope in a series of toilsome zigzags to the pass of *Guni*, where a large and well-preserved mediaeval castle stands in the defile between Mount *Daphnia* on the east and Mount *Kutulia* on the west. The footpath then keeps on through the narrow defile as far as the solitary chapel of St. John. Here the valley opens out, and after following the bed of a stream downwards for about half an hour we come to the ruins of an ancient fort situated at the northern foot of the rugged and lofty *Prophet Elias* mountain. The fortress, which is of some extent, is enclosed by a wall of polygonal masonry and is strengthened with a tower, also built in the polygonal style. The intention of this fort clearly was to defend the path, which indeed runs straight through it. A little beyond the fort the path turns southward, and keeping along the western slope of the *Prophet Elias* mountain leads to Mycenae and so down into the Argolic plain. Traces of the ancient road may be seen at intervals along the western slope of the *Prophet Elias*.

Leake thought that the path just described was the one to which the ancients gave the name of *Kontoporeia* or 'staff-road.' The *Kontoporeia* is mentioned expressly by only two ancient writers, Athenaeus and Polybius. Athenaeus quotes (ii. p. 43 e) from the memoirs of King Ptolemy a passage in which the king says that once, marching to Corinth by the road called the *Kontoporeia*, he came to a spring of water colder than snow on the summit of the ridge; he drank of it himself, but many of the thirsty soldiers would not taste it from fear of being frozen to death. From Polybius (xvi. 16) we learn that the *Kontoporeia* led from Corinth past Mycenae to Argos. The name *Kontoporeia* ('staff-road') seems to imply that the way was not a highroad, but a steep footpath, where the traveller was glad to support his steps with a staff. Thus the path from Cleonae by *Hagios Vasilios* to Mycenae and Argos answers well to the description of the *Kontoporeia*; for it is a mere footpath and

it leads over a mountain and past the ruins of Mycenae. The icy spring of which Ptolemy speaks may have been one of the many springs near the ruined fort which once barred the pass.

Prof. E. Curtius, however, and the late H. G. Lolling have proposed to identify the *Kontoporeia* with another pass about four miles farther east, which starting from the village of *Klenia* (the ancient Tenea, see note on ii. 5. 4) debouches on the plain of Argos to the south of the Heraeum. This was undoubtedly the road followed by the Spartan army under Agesilaus in 393 B.C., for Xenophon tells us (*Hellenica*, iv. 4. 19; cp. *id.*, *Agesilaus*, ii. 17) that Agesilaus marching on Corinth from the plain of Argos crossed the mountains at Tenea. The ascent begins above the village of *Klenia.* The path here goes up a narrow glen and then traverses a fertile plain, which is dominated on the south-east by the sharp-peaked mountain of *Hagionori*, crowned with the well-preserved wall and towers of a mediaeval castle. At the south-western foot of this mountain there is a spring close to the road; its water used to be conducted into a well-house, and is famed for its coldness. H. G. Lolling conjectured that this was the cold spring of which Ptolemy drank on his march to Corinth. From the plateau a steep and tortuous path leads down, beside a wild ravine, in about an hour's time to the village of *Berbati*, situated in a valley. Here there are some ancient remains, including the foundations of a square Greek tower at the village spring, and some Roman brick-buildings near a ruined chapel of St. John a little way beyond the village. Pursuing our way we follow the valley for half an hour or so till it contracts into the *Klisura*, a narrow defile, the bottom of which is entirely occupied by the bed of the river which Captain Steffen identifies as the Asterion of Pausanias (ii. 15. 5; ii. 17. 1 *sq.*) The glen is about two miles long. At its lower end it opens on the plain of Argos, about two and a half miles to the south-east of the Heraeum.

The existence of the cold spring on this latter pass is certainly an argument in favour of identifying the pass with the ancient *Kontoporeia*. But on the other hand a fatal objection to the identification appears to be the statement of Polybius that the *Kontoporeia* led past Mycenae, since the pass in question does not go by Mycenae at all, but opens on the Argolic plain about four and a half miles to the south-east of Mycenae. On the whole, then, it seems best to adhere to Leake's view that the *Kontoporeia* was the short way from Cleonae to Argos which Pausanias describes.

See Leake, *Morea*, 3. pp. 325-328; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 39 *sq.*; L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 25 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 513 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 38; Lolling, in Steffen's *Karten von Mykenai, Erläuternder Text*, pp. 43-46; Steffen, *ib.* p. 41 (on the defile of the *Klisura*).

15. 2. the lion's cave. The valley of Nemea lies to the west of the valley of Cleonae, with which it runs parallel, north and south. Crossing the stony ridge which separates the valley of Cleonae from the valley of Nemea, Col. Leake observed "several natural caverns on the right of the road. These may have been the abode of wild beasts when the Nemeian forest covered all Tretus and Apesas, but none of them has

any pretensions, if we follow Diodorus and Pausanias, to the honour of having been the favourite dwelling of the celebrated lion slain by Hercules, by command of Eurystheus, king of Mycenae. That cavern was in the Tretus between Nemea and Mycenae; Pausanias says, at only fifteen stades [furlongs] from the former place. In that narrow pass, indeed, like a kleft [robber] of the present day, he was more certain of intercepting a traveller than in these more open hills" (Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 329; cp. Chandler, *Travels*, p. 231; Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 207; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 41). Diodorus (iv. 11) says: "the lion dwelt somewhere between Mycenae and Nemea, about the mountain called, from its nature, Tretus; for right along the whole foot of the mountain ran a channel or ravine; and in this ravine the lion used to lurk in his den." Hesiod (*Theog.* 331) speaks of the lion "lording it over Tretus, and Nemea, and Apesas." Apollodorus (ii. 5. 1) says that the lion lived in a cave with two mouths; Hercules blocked up one mouth of the cave, then entered by the other and slew the beast. The traveller E. D. Clarke made diligent inquiry after the lion's den and was shown as the spot "a hollow rock, hardly deserving the name of a cave," situated to the south-east of the Nemean temple, on the top of the mountain just before the descent begins towards Nemea, but upon the side looking to the Gulf of Argos (*Travels*, 3. p. 711 *sq.*) Nowadays the den is identified by the natives with a cave on the *Korakovouni* (Crow's Hill) above the theatre and stadium of Nemea (Baedeker,[3] p. 247), but this clearly cannot be the one of which Pausanias speaks, since the latter was fifteen furlongs from Nemea. In an article on the Nemean lion Mr. Maury argues (*Revue Archéologique*, 1845, pp. 521-543) that lions were unknown in Peloponnese and that the story of the Nemean lion was probably imported by the Pelopid dynasty when they came over from Asia Minor to settle in Greece. The lion was the royal emblem all over the East; and it may well, he thinks, have been the crest of the Pelopids; hence they placed it over the gateway of their royal castle at Mycenae. The view that the device of the lions over the gate at Mycenae is of Phrygian origin has the high support of Prof. W. M. Ramsay. See below, p. 102 *sq.* Hercules's combat with the lion is depicted in a vigorous painting found at Pompeii. See Overbeck und Mai, *Pompeji*,[4] p. 589; and on representations of the subject in ancient art generally see Roscher's *Lexikon*, 1. p. 2195 *sqq.* On coins of Argos of the Imperial times Hercules is represented strangling the lion (Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 33, with pl. I i.)

15. 2. **Nemea.** Between the valley of Cleonae on the east and the valley of Phlius or *St. George* on the west is interposed the valley of Nemea, running like its sister valleys from south to north. It is a narrow dale, some two or three miles long, and from half to three-quarters of a mile broad. At its northern end it contracts to a mere gully. Through the bottom of the valley, which is almost a dead flat, meanders like a thread the brook Nemea, fed by the numerous rills which descend from the neighbouring hills. When swollen by heavy rain, these tributaries, having an insufficient outlet through the gully at the north end,

keep the bottom of the valley green, moist, and marshy. The dale is thus better adapted for pasturage than tillage; indeed from the rich pastures which clothe its bottom and the lower slopes of the hills it received its name of Nemea, 'the pastoral vale.' But if the valley itself, especially after rain, is green and smiling, the surrounding hills, scarred and seamed with the beds of torrents, are of a dark and melancholy hue, and, combined with the absolute solitude—not a human habitation being visible through the length and breadth of the dale—affect the mind with a sense of gloom and desolation. The solitude is only broken by the wandering herds of cattle, and from time to time by a group of peasants, who come over from *St. George* to till their fields in this secluded valley. A white track winds up the western slope to the mouth of a glen which opens in the hill side. Through this glen is the way to *St. George* and Phlius.

See Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 210 *sq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 335; Mure, *Journal*, 2. p. 154 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. pp. 505 *sq.*, 510; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 282 *sq.*; W. G. Clark, *Pelop.* p. 61 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 35. For the derivation of the name Nemea from the same root that appears in *νέμομαι* see G. Curtius, *Griech. Etymol.*[5] p. 313. The Scholiast on Pindar, *Nem.* Introd., mentions the view that the valley of Nemea was so named because the sacred cows of Hera browsed in its meadows. In recent years the foundation of the new village of *Herakleia* has somewhat broken the solitude of the pastoral valley (Baedeker,[3] p. 247; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 203).

15. 2. a temple of Nemean Zeus. Of this temple three columns still stand in the midst of the valley of Nemea. They are of the Doric order. "Two of these columns belonged to the *pronaos* [fore-temple], and were placed as usual between *antae*; they are 4 feet 7 inches in diameter at the base, and still support their architrave. The third column which belonged to the outer range is 5 feet 3 inches in diameter at the base, and about 34 feet high, including a capital of 2 feet. Its distance from the corresponding column of the *pronaos* is 18 feet. The total height of the three members of the entablature was 8 feet 2 inches. The general intercolumniation of the peristyle was 7 feet; at the angles, 5 feet 10 inches. From the front of the *pronaos* to the extremity of the cell within, the length was 95 feet; the breadth of the cell within, 31 feet; the thickness of the walls, 3 feet. The temple was a hexastyle, of about 65 feet in breadth on the upper step of the stylobate which consisted of three steps: the number of columns on the sides, and consequently the length of the temple, I could not ascertain. The slenderness of the columns is particularly remarkable, after viewing those of Corinth: it is curious that the shortest and longest specimens, in proportion to their diameter, of any existing Doric columns, should be found so near to one another. The columns of Nemea are more than six diameters high, or as slender as some examples of the Ionic; those of Corinth, as we have seen, very little above four. The entablature of Nemea was less than one-fourth of the height of the column, whereas at Corinth it was about a half" (Leake). The temple must have been thrown down by an earthquake or earthquakes: for besides the three standing columns most of the other columns may be seen lying just as they have fallen: many of the drums lie in straight lines in front of each other, so as to occupy

the same relative positions in their prostrate state that they did when the columns were entire. The walls of the *cella*, in their entire length, are also preserved to the height of several feet; and a great part of the floor of the temple is entire. The material is a soft calcareous stone, an aggregate of sand and small petrified shells, and the columns are coated with a fine stucco. Some have thought that there were fourteen columns, others that there were only thirteen, on each of the long sides of the temple.

There is no evidence in ancient literature as to the date when the temple was built. Leake, on historical grounds, is inclined to assign its erection to the half-century between the Persian and the Peloponnesian wars. Prof. Curtius, on architectural grounds, especially on the ground of its very marked difference from the more massive style of the old Doric temples, considers the Nemean temple later than the temple at Bassae, but older than the walls of Messene; in other words, he would assign it to the end of the fifth century or to the beginning of the fourth century B.C. Vischer, arguing from the slenderness of the columns, the straightness of the *abacus*, and the wide spaces between the columns, held that the temple was considerably later than the Peloponnesian war. The cypress grove which surrounded the temple in antiquity has entirely disappeared. Nemea was not a town. Like Olympia, the Isthmian sanctuary, and some other religious establishments of smaller note in Greece, it consisted only of a sacred enclosure containing a temple, with a stadium, theatre, and gymnasiums attached to it. There was, however, a village near it called Bembina (Strabo, viii. p. 377), the site of which has not been discovered.

The remains of the stadium are at the foot of the hill on the eastern side of the valley, a little to the left as you approach Nemea from Cleonae. "The circular end is the only part of which the form is well preserved; this made me suppose it at first a theatre; but the parallel sides of the stadium, although almost levelled by the continued effects of the rain-water from the mountain, are still perfectly traceable, and there is even a part of the wall remaining which supported the rectilinear extremity towards the plain; I measured 650 feet from this wall to the circular end; it is the usual extreme length of the Greek stadium, and would leave about 600 Greek feet between the *aphesis* and *campter*, or two extremities of the course" (Leake). It was of course in this stadium that the contests took place at the great Nemean games. Near the stadium Curtius and Vischer speak of finding traces of the theatre. Curtius says that the traces of it are clearer than those of the stadium; Vischer says that nothing but the shape of it can be seen in the slope of the hill. Perhaps they mistook the round end of the stadium for a theatre, as Leake did at first.

See Chandler, *Travels in Greece*, 2. p. 232 *sq.*; Clarke, *Travels*, 3. pp. 714-718; Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 209 *sq.*; *Antiquities of Ionia*, Part II. plates xv.-xvii.; Gell, *Itinerary of Greece*, p. 22 *sq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 3. pp. 330-335; Mure, *Journal*, 2. p. 156 *sq.*; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. pp. 174-176; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. pp. 508-510; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 284 *sq.*; W. G. Clark, *Pelop.* p. 63 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 36 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 202 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 247.

15. 2. the serpent killed Opheltes. The story of the foundation of the Nemean games, to which Pausanias only alludes, was this. Lycurgus or Lycus, king or priest of Nemea, had an infant son Opheltes. The oracle had warned the father that his son should not be set on the ground till he could walk; so the child's nurse had strict orders accordingly. But when Adrastus and the rest of the Seven Champions were marching with a host against Thebes, it chanced that they passed through the vale of Nemea, and being athirst and meeting the nurse with the child they begged of her water to drink. So she led them to a spring of water which bubbled up beside a thick bed of celery. Mindful of her orders the nurse set down the child on the bed of celery and not on the ground. But while she was serving out the water to the warriors, the dragon that guarded the spring stole out and killed the child. When the Seven Champions found what had happened they slew the dragon and buried the child; and the prophet Amphiaraus told them that the infant's tragic end was an omen of coming doom to themselves. So they called the child Archemorus ('the beginner of doom'), and instituted in his memory the Nemean games. A crown of wild celery was the prize of victory; and the umpires always wore sad-coloured raiment, because the games were funereal. See Hyginus, *Fab.* 74; Apollodorus, iii. 6. 4; Scholia on Pindar, *Pythians*, Introduction. The death of Opheltes is frequently represented on coins of Argos, the variety of types seeming to show that the subject was there a favourite one with artists. Sometimes Opheltes is represented in the coils of the serpent, sometimes the serpent is bending over him, sometimes a hero is fighting the serpent, while the nurse flees, etc. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 33, with pl. I ii.-ix. The subject is also represented on a relief in the Palazzo Spada at Rome. See Roscher's *Lexikon*, 1. p. 473. On the crown of celery, see Pausanias, viii. 48. 2. It is commonly said that the Nemean crown was of parsley; but the word translated parsley (σέλινον) seems to have meant 'celery.' The plant was represented on coins of Selinus, and, to judge from these representations, it appears to have been celery rather than parsley. See Droysen, in *Hermes*, 14 (1879), p. 3; Head, *Historia Nummorum*, p. 146 *sq.*; Imhoof-Blumer und Otto Keller, *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen*, Pl. vi. 8, vii. 2, ix. 9-12, xxv. 19. The celery had to be fresh; whereas the crown at the Isthmian games was made of withered celery (Schol. on Pindar, *Nem.* Introd. p. 426, ed. Boeckh; cp. Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* v. 3. 3; *id.*, *Timoleon*, 26).



FIGS. 19 AND 20.—OPHELTES AND THE SERPENT (COINS OF ARGOS).

15. 3. the winter celebration of the Nemean festival. This winter celebration of the Nemean festival seems to be mentioned only by Pausanias here and in vi. 16. 4. The mention of a winter celebra-

tion implies of course a summer celebration also. The Scholiast on Pindar, *Nem.* Introd., says that the festival was held every second year (τριετής) on the 12th day of the month Panemus. (According to Abel's edition of the Scholia on Pindar the festival fell on the 18th, not on the 12th of Panemus. But ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῃ appears to be an alteration of the MS. reading δωδεκάτῃ, introduced on the strength of a later scholium published by Tycho Mommsen in 1867, ἤγετο δὲ μηνὶ Πανέμῳ ιη´ ὅς ἐστιν Ἰούλιος. See *Philologus*, 34 (1876), p. 64; *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. 40 (1885), p. 364.) The month Panemus fell at different times in different calendars, but seems to have been always a summer month. The Scholiast on Pindar makes no reference to a winter celebration of the games. To explain the fact of a winter and summer celebration more than one theory has been started. Scaliger's view was that the festival was celebrated alternately in summer and in winter, and this view has had some currency, being accepted, *e.g.* by K. H. Hermann and Schömann. In recent years Prof. G. F. Unger has maintained that the winter celebration was first introduced by Hadrian, and that it was held not at Nemea, but at Argos, and had nothing to do with the great national Nemean games. The latter, he holds, were invariably celebrated every second year on the 18th day (he accepts the reading ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῃ in the scholiast, *l.c.*) of the first lunar month after the summer solstice. See Schömann, *Griech. Alterthümer*,[3] 2. p. 67 *sq.*; K. F. Hermann, *Gottesdienst. Alter.*[2] § 49; G. F. Unger, 'Die Zeit der nemeischen Spiele,' *Philologus*, 34 (1876), pp. 50-64; *id.*, 'Die Winternemeen,' *Philologus*, 37 (1877), pp. 524-544; J. G. Droysen, 'Die Festzeit der Nemeen,' *Hermes*, 14 (1879), pp. 1-24. Prof. H. Nissen holds that ancient temples were always built east and west in such a direction as to face the point of the heavens at which the sun rose upon the day of the great festival of the god to whom the temple was dedicated. He thinks therefore that it is possible, by determining the exact 'orientation' of any temple, to discover the day of the month on which the great festival of the temple was held; or rather (since the sun rises at the same point of the horizon on two days in each year, once on his passage to the equator and once on his passage from it) to determine two days, on one of which the chief festival must have been held. The orientation of the temple at Nemea is 250°, according to an observation made by Schoene in 1867, or 252°, according to an observation made by von Duhn in 1877. Nissen prefers the former observation, as made with a better instrument. "Thus the axis of the temple points to a sunrise 40 days distant from the equinox and 54 from the summer solstice, *i.e.* to the beginning of May or the middle of August." Nissen thinks that the latter date agrees with the traditional evidence as to the time of the celebration of the Nemean festival. See *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. 40 (1885), pp. 363-366.

15. 3. **the grave of Opheltes.** About twenty paces to the south of the temple of Nemea there is a regularly shaped mound of earth with a ruined chapel on it. Small Doric pillars, fragments of an Ionic entablature, etc., are built into the chapel, which stands on the west side of the mound. The mound is forty-four paces long by thirty-four broad.

Besides the chapel there are remains of small square enclosures on it. This spot may have been the grave of Opheltes, or perhaps rather of the barrow of Lycurgus. See Clarke, *Travels*, 3. p. 716; Gell, *Itinerary of Greece*, p. 23; Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 210; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 509; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 285; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. p. 176 *sq.* A few inscriptions have been found in the chapel. The most interesting, perhaps, is one which mentions three of the old Doric tribes of Argolis, the Hylleis, the Pamphyli, and the Hyrnathii. See *Bulletin de Corresp. Hellénique*, 9 (1885), p. 349 *sqq.*; Roehl, *I. G. A.* No. 26. On these tribes at Argos see G. Gilbert, *Griech. Staatsalterthümer*, 2. p. 77.

15. 3. The spring is named Adrastea. On descending into the valley of Nemea from Cleonae we come to a Turkish fountain, now dry, and a natural spring near it. The latter is probably the Adrastea, which doubtless received its name from the tradition (see note on § 2) that Adrastus and the rest of the Seven Champions drank of its water on the way to Thebes. It seems strange that Pausanias should have been ignorant of this part of the legend, though he knew the part about the death of Opheltes. See Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 330; Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 208; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 41; Chandler, *Travels in Greece*, p. 233; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 509; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 285 *sq.*

15. 3. Mount Apesas. Travellers agree in identifying Mt. Apesas with the modern Mt. *Phouka*, a table-mountain at the north-east extremity of the valley of Nemea, which it separates from the valley of Cleonae. It towers above its neighbours to a height of 2700 feet. The top is broad and flat, from which the sides slope, at first almost perpendicularly, and then more gently with a gradual sweep towards the plain. This remarkable truncated top is a conspicuous landmark for many miles round. I saw it from the plain of Argos, rising up against the northern sky, on my way to the pass which leads over the mountains to *Tripolitza* in Arcadia. On the summit of the mountain near a chapel are some ruins which perhaps belonged to the sanctuary of Apesantian Zeus. See Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 210; Gell, *Itinerary of Greece*, p. 24; Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 325; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 41; Mure, *Journal*, 2. p. 155 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 505; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 282 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 35 *sq.* Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Ἀπέσας, thinks that the name Apesas was derived either from a hero of that name or from the fact of the starting (*aphesis*) of the chariots or from the emission of the lion, who was hurled down from the moon on the top of the mountain. The writer of the *Etymolog. Magnum* (*s.v.* Ἀφέσιος, p. 176 line 32 *sqq.*) quotes from the *Bithyniaca* of Arrian the following: "Aphesian Zeus is worshipped in Argos. It is said that when Deucalion escaped from the deluge and got safe to the top of Argos [for τῆς Ἀργοῦς read τοῦ Ἄργους] he founded the altar of Aphesian Zeus, because he had escaped from [ἀφείθη] the deluge. The summit was afterwards called Nemea, from the herds of Argos that pastured there."

15. 4. Having —— resumed the road to Argos, we have on the left the ruins of Mycenae. Passing southwards through the pass of the Tretus, we see the spacious plain of Argolis stretched out before us. Mycenae lies to our left at the roots of the mountains which

bound the eastern side of the plain, not far from the point where the pass of the Tretus opens out on the plain. The Argolic plain may be roughly described as a great triangle, the base of which, on the south, is formed by the Argolic Gulf, while the eastern and western sides are formed by the ranges of mountains which converge till they meet in Mt. Tretus, at the northern apex of the plain. The length of the plain from north to south is about twelve miles, the greatest breadth from east to west perhaps not much less. The mountains which enclose it are barren and rocky, the highest being those on the west which form the boundary between Argolis and Arcadia. The whole plain appears to have been once a bay of the sea, which has been gradually filled up by the deposits brought down from the surrounding mountains. The Gulf of Argolis, a broad and beautiful sheet of water winding between mountains, must originally, before its upper waters were expelled by the alluvial deposit, have resembled still more closely, what it still recalls, a fine Scotch sea-loch or a Norwegian fiord. This alluvial plain, situated at the head of a deep and sheltered frith or arm of the sea, which opening on the Aegean gave ready access to the islands of the Archipelago and the coasts of Asia, was naturally fitted to become one of the earliest seats of civilisation in Greece. And in point of fact legend and archaeology combine to show that in prehistoric times Greek civilisation reached a very high pitch in the plain of Argolis. It contained at least three fortified towns of great importance, of which remains exist to this day, Tiryns, Argos and Mycenae (mentioning them in the order in which they lie from south to north). Tiryns and Mycenae stand on the eastern, Argos on the western side of the plain. Of the three Tiryns is nearest to the sea, from which it is distant not much more than a mile. It, or rather its citadel, occupies a low rocky mound, not 100 feet above the level of the sea, and rising in perfect isolation from the plain. Further inland Argos lies at the foot of the last spur which projects into the western side of the plain from the range of Artemisius. Its citadel, the Larisa, is a fine bold peak nearly 1000 feet high. Further inland, nine miles from the nearest point of the sea, stands Mycenae, near the northern extremity of the plain, but on its eastern side. Its citadel, in respect of elevation and natural strength, occupies an intermediate position between the low citadel of Tiryns and the high mountainous one of Argos. It lies at the mouth of a wild and narrow glen, which here opens on the eastern side of the Argolic plain, between two lofty, steep, and rocky mountains. The mountain on the north side of the glen is now called the *Prophet Elias* (2648 feet), that on the south side is *Zara* (2162 feet). From the mouth of this glen two deep ravines diverge, one (the *Kokoretza* ravine) running due west, the other (the *Chavos* ravine) running south-west. The triangular tableland formed by the divergence of these ravines is the citadel of Mycenae. The apex of the triangle is to the east, at the point of the divergence of the ravines; its base is towards the plain and faces south-west. The whole scene, viewed from the citadel, is one of desolate grandeur. The ravines yawning to a great depth at our feet (especially on the south side, where there is a sheer

drop in many places of 150 feet into the glen), the rugged, utterly barren mountains towering immediately across them, the bleak highland glen winding away into the depth of these gloomy and forbidding hills, make up a stern impressive picture, the effect of which is heightened if one sees it, as the present writer chanced to do, on a rainy day. Then with a lowering sky overhead and the mist clinging to the slopes of the mountains, no sound heard but the patter of the rain and the tinkling of sheep-bells from the glen, the whole landscape seems to frown and assumes an aspect more in keeping with the mist-wrapt stronghold of some old robber chief in Skye or Lochaber, than with the conception which the traveller had formed of Agamemnon's "golden city."

See Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. pp. 335 *sqq.*, 400 *sqq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 291 *sqq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 39 *sqq.*; Schliemann, *Mycenae*, pp. 24-29; Steffen, *Karten von Mykenai*, *Erläuternder Text*. p. 12 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 264 *sqq.*; Schuchhardt, *Schliemanns Ausgrabungen*,[2] p. 117 *sqq.*

15. 5. **neither the Inachus nor any of the said rivers has any water** etc. This is still true of the rivers of the Argolic plain. Dr. Philippson says (*Peloponnes*, p. 62): "All these streams are torrents, in which water flows only exceptionally. Though I visited the neighbourhood at different times of the year, I never found a drop of water in them. But when heavy rains have fallen in the mountains, their broad shingly beds fill in a surprisingly short time with a raging mass of water, which often spreads stones and sand over the fruitful meadows." So Vischer says of the Inachus and Charadrus that "for the greater part of the year their beds are quite dry and water flows in them only after rain. When I went to Argos (on April 16th), the Inachus had a little water, whereas the broad pebbly bed of the Charadrus showed not a trace of it. Nor does one observe on the banks of either of them those shrubs and plants which elsewhere fringe the banks of even feeble brooks" (*Erinnerungen*, p. 292). A similar statement is made by Schliemann (*Tiryns*, p. 12). Homer (*Iliad*, iv. 171) calls Argos "very thirsty." According to Prof. Curtius none of the great plains of Greece is so scantily supplied with water as the plain of Argos. This applies particularly to the northern end of it, towards Mycenae. On the other hand the land close to the sea, with the exception of some higher ground about the mouth of the Inachus, is a marsh, hardly accessible even in midsummer. Here must have been the pastures of the horses for which Argos was famous in Homeric times (Homer, *Iliad*, ii. 287). Between this marshy tract and the arid upper reaches of the plain is a great stretch of arable land. The products of the plain vary with the nature of the soil. Towards the mountains corn is grown: in the moister parts cotton, tobacco and vines; on the coast rice and maize. Before the Greek War of Independence the plain was rich in mulberry-trees, orange-trees, and olives. Different from the rest of the Argolic plain is its narrow continuation to the south of Argos between the mountains and the sea. Here plentiful streams flow from the mountains and form the Lernean marsh.

See Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. pp. 338-342; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 61 *sqq*.

15. 5. **Phoroneus —— who brought mankind together for the first time.** Cp. Tatian, *Or. adv. Graecos*, 39, p. 148, ed. Otto, who says that before the time of Phoroneus human life had been bestial and nomad. Hyginus says (*Fab.* 143) that Phoroneus was the first human king, and that before his time men had lived without cities and without laws, speaking one tongue, under the rule of Jupiter. There was an epic poem called *Phoronis* on the subject of Phoroneus. A few lines of it have been preserved. See Schol. on Apollonius Rhodius, i. 1129; Strabo, x. p. 471; *Epicorum Graecorum fragmenta*, ed. Kinkel, p. 211 *sqq*. The author of the epic described Phoroneus as the father of mortal men. See Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* i. 21. 102, p. 380, ed. Potter.

16. 1. **in the way that Herodotus states.** The Persian tradition, according to Herodotus (i. 1), was that Io had been seized by Phoenician merchants and carried on board their ship to Egypt. The common Greek tradition, referred to by Pausanias, was that Io, transformed into a cow, journeyed to Egypt by land. See Aeschylus, *Prometheus Vinctus*, 700 *sqq*.

16. 3. **he founded Mycenae.** Thus tradition represented Mycenae as founded later than Tiryns and Argos. So far as Tiryns is concerned, the tradition is borne out by the evidence of archaeology, for "the walls of Tiryns give one the impression of being older than even the oldest part of the circuit-wall of Mycenae. They consist of colossal blocks very little hewn, and show no trace of having been repaired at a later time. The circuit-wall of Mycenae, on the other hand, was built originally of somewhat smaller stones and has been subsequently strengthened and completed at various times with carefully executed ashlar and polygonal masonry" (Schuchhardt, *Schliemanns Ausgrabungen*,[2] p. 119).

16. 4. **Homer mentions a woman Mycene** etc. See *Odyssey*, ii. 120.

16. 4. **Acuselaus** was an old Greek historian, who seems to have lived in the first half of the 5th century B.C. A spurious work on genealogies appears to have been circulated under his name in later times. See *Fragmenta Histor. Graec.* ed. Müller, 1. pp. xxxvi. *sqq*., 100 *sqq*.

16. 5. **The Argives destroyed Mycenae.** This took place in 468 B.C. The Mycenaeans, on the strength of their illustrious history, refused to acknowledge the supremacy of Argos and claimed to have the direction of the Nemean games. This excited the anger and jealousy of the Argives who, seizing an opportunity when Sparta, the ally of Mycenae, was distracted by a rebellion of the Helots and Messenians, besieged and captured Mycenae, sold the people into captivity, and destroyed the city (Diodorus, xi. 65; cp. note on v. 23. 3). Diodorus adds that the city had remained uninhabited till his day; and Strabo says (viii. p. 372) that not a trace of the city was to be seen, which shows that he had not visited the site. Though no ancient

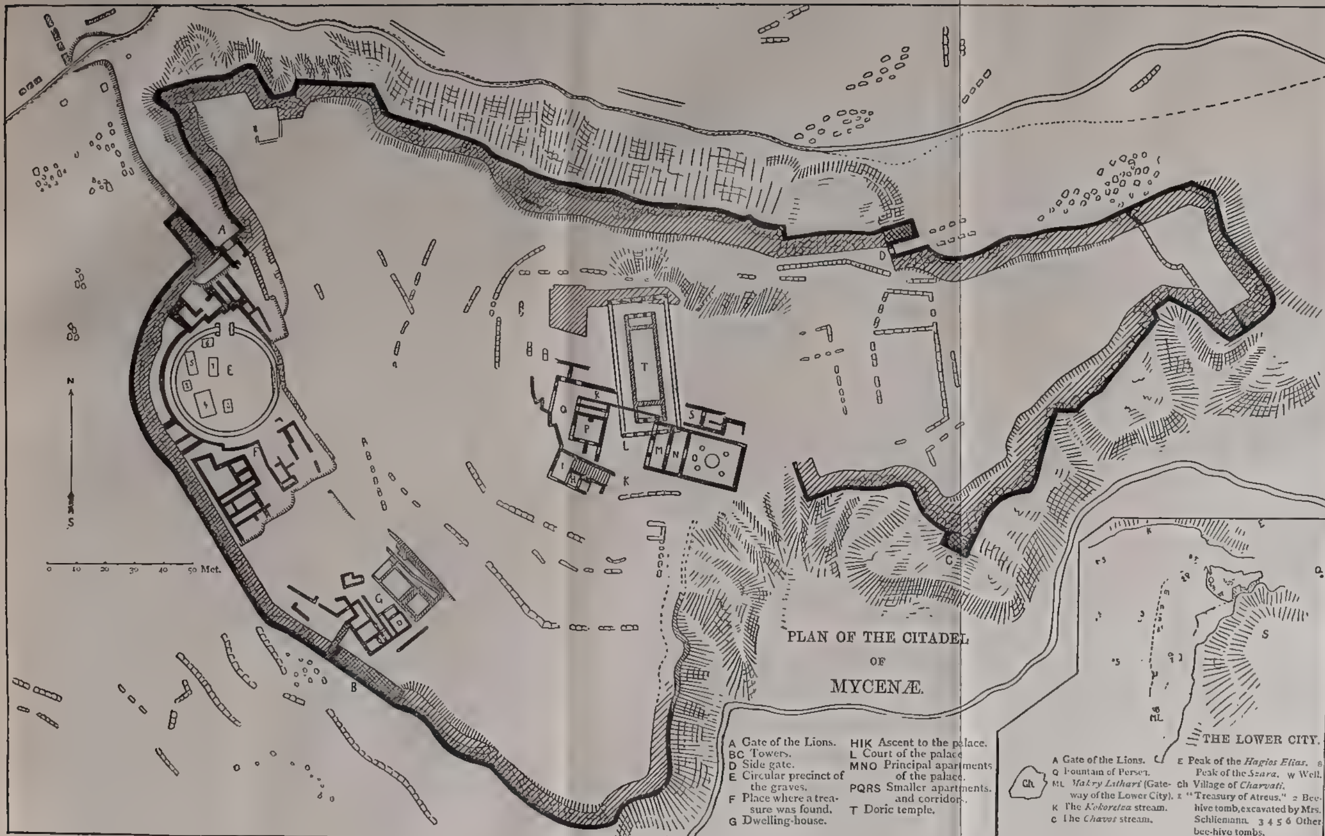
historian mentions the fact that Mycenae was ever rebuilt after its destruction in 468 B.C., yet the excavations of recent years show that the acropolis must have been inhabited again for a long period, perhaps two centuries, in the Macedonian age. For Dr. Schliemann found on the surface of the acropolis a layer, 3 feet thick, of *débris*, which from the character of the pottery and the terra-cottas he concluded must belong to this later period. Dr. Schliemann's conclusion has since been confirmed by the discovery of inscriptions which prove that a small town or village existed at Mycenae for some time from the third century B.C. onwards. The settlement must have existed in the time of Nabis, tyrant of Sparta, since one of the inscriptions mentions that the youth of Mycenae had been carried off by him to Sparta. Indeed from the potsherds found on the site it has been inferred that Mycenae was never wholly deserted in antiquity. See Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 63 *sq.*; Schuchhardt, *Schliemanns Ausgrabungen*,[2] p. 116 *sq.*; Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1887, p. 156 *sqq.*; *American Journal of Archaeology*, 5 (1889), p. 102; *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift*, 9 (1889), p. 129 *sq.*; Ch. Belger, *Die mykenische Lokalsage* (Berlin, 1893), p. 39. From the statements of Diodorus and Strabo (see above) we should infer that the place had been again wholly abandoned before the beginning of our era. But it is certain that Strabo, and not unlikely that Diodorus, was misinformed as to the condition of Mycenae in his day. Still the settlement, if it existed in the Imperial age, was probably small and insignificant; and when Pausanias visited the place in the second century of our era he may have seen the remains of the ancient city in much the same state in which they continued down to the excavations of Dr. Schliemann in 1876.

16. 5. **the Mycenaeans sent eighty men to Thermopylae.** See Herodotus, vii. 202. The Mycenaeans and Tirynthians together contributed a contingent of 400 men to the Greek army which fought at Plataea (Herodotus, ix. 28). Accordingly the names of the Mycenaeans and Tirynthians were carved on the famous bronze serpents, now at Constantinople, which supported the commemorative offering at Delphi. See note on x. 13. 9.

16. 5. **parts of the circuit wall are still left** etc. As to the site of the citadel of Mycenae see above, note on 15. 4. In describing the remains of Mycenae it will conduce to clearness if we divide them as follows: I. the walls; II. the gates; III. the graves in the citadel; IV. the palace; V. the lower city with the beehive tombs, etc.

I. *The Walls.* The length of the citadel is about 350 yards, its breadth about half as much. The circuit-walls of the citadel are preserved in their entire extent (though not at their original height) with the exception of a small piece on the precipitous slope to the *Chavos* ravine. They follow the natural sinuosities of the rock. According to Leake, they are 15 or 20 ft. high in places; according to Schliemann, they vary from 13 to 35 feet in height. In thickness they vary from 10 to 23 feet; the average thickness is about 16 feet. But in places on the N. and S.E. sides the wall seems to have been as much as 45 feet thick; here probably there were galleries or casemates in the thickness

Plate II.



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of the wall, such as may still be seen in the walls of Tiryns. In fact such a gallery exists in the wall at the N.E. corner for a length of $16\frac{1}{2}$ feet. In the construction of the walls three different styles of masonry may be observed. (1) The greater part of the wall is built, like the walls of Tiryns, in the style called Cyclopean, roughly hewn blocks of grey hard limestone being piled upon each other without order and bonded by small stones and clay. The blocks, however, as has been already noticed, are smaller than in the Cyclopean walls of Tiryns. (2) Long stretches of the wall consist of perfectly horizontal ashlar masonry; in other words, the stones are carefully hewn in oblong rectangular blocks and are laid in regular horizontal layers, with studied variation in the vertical joints. (3) Portions of the wall consist of finely jointed polygonal masonry.

The question arises, are these two latter styles of masonry contemporary with, or later than, the first? The second style (the ashlar or squared masonry) is found in the towers at the two gates (see below) and in the passages which lead up to them, from which Dr. Adler has inferred that the Lions' Gate is more recent than the bulk of the walls and formed part of a later extension of the citadel in this direction. Dr. Schuchhardt on the other hand remarks that this ashlar masonry is found also in the beehive tombs of the lower city (see below), which certainly belong to the ancient Mycenaean epoch; and as this style of masonry occurs in the citadel only in very exposed parts of the wall, he thinks it may belong to the original wall and, being a better style of building than the Cyclopean, have been simply intended to give special strength to the most vital points of the fortification. If this were so, the Lions' Gate would not belong to a later reconstruction and extension of the citadel but would be as old as the walls. The point, however, as Dr. Schuchhardt admits, is not definitely settled. Archaeologists in general seem to take the opposite view, namely that the Lions' Gate and the adjoining part of the wall are later than the rest of the circuit-wall. The evidence of the beehive tombs, to which Dr. Schuchhardt appeals, is not conclusive in his favour, since they appear to belong to the later period of the Mycenaean age (see below).

With regard to the pieces of the third style (the closely jointed polygonal masonry) Dr. Adler remarks that it "belongs everywhere to a comparatively late period, and has no connexion with the so-called Cyclopean constructions. At Mycenae this best, but most costly, kind of wall seems to have been applied only where damaged places (breaches, slips) had to be subsequently repaired permanently, or completely renewed." This polygonal masonry occurs in the outward bulge of the wall south of the Lions' Gate, and this fact has been used as another argument to prove that this part of the walls belongs to a later extension. It was assumed that the great circle of stones with its graves (see below) which stands immediately within the Lions' Gate and is enclosed by the bulge of the wall in question, must have originally lain outside the citadel and that the old citadel-wall was the one which runs on the eastern (the inner) side of the circle of graves. But excavations made by Mr. Tsountas in the latter half

of 1890 have proved that this inner wall is nothing but a terrace-wall built to support the ancient road which led from the Lions' Gate to the palace. A piece of the road about 80 feet long and 16 feet wide was laid bare by the excavations. It is laid on great blocks of stone and paved with pebbles. See Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρίας for 1890, p. 35 *sq.* This discovery confirms Dr. Schuchhardt's opinion that owing to the configuration of the ground the citadel-wall must always have run on the outer side of the circle of graves. At the same time he admits that polygonal masonry of this closely jointed sort has not been shown to occur in any buildings of the 'Mycenaean' age unless at Mycenae itself, whereas it regularly occurs in Greek walls from the 7th to the 3rd century B.C. While therefore he holds that the citadel-wall must always have run on the outer side of the terrace on which are the graves, he admits that the polygonal masonry at this point may have been introduced later at the time when the erection of the great circle of stones necessitated some alteration in the outer wall. Polygonal masonry is also found at the so-called tower (marked B) on the south-west, and lastly at the north-east corner of the wall. See Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 368; Schliemann, *Mycenae*, pp. 28-31; Steffen, *Karten von Mykenai*, *Text*, p. 21 *sqq.*; Adler, in Schliemann's *Tiryns*, p. xiii. *sqq.*; Schuchhardt, *Schliemanns Ausgrabungen*,[2] pp. 169-172; Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 6. p. 303 *sqq.*; Tsountas, *Μυκῆναι*, p. 13 *sqq.*

II. *The Gates.* There are two gates to the citadel of Mycenae. The chief gate—the famous Gate of the Lions—is on the western side, near the northern corner. The postern gate is on the north side. Both gates are so placed that an enemy approaching them would have to pass between two walls, and would thus be exposed to a cross-fire of missiles. But whereas at Tiryns the approach to the great gate is so arranged that persons attempting to enter it would present their right and therefore unshielded side to the inner wall of the fortress, at Mycenae the approach to the gates is in the opposite direction, so that an enemy would have his left and therefore shielded side to the inner wall. No doubt the garrison reckoned on raking him well from the tower-like projections which he must pass on his right in order to reach the gate. The great gate (the Gate of the Lions) stands at right angles to the adjoining wall of the fortress, and is approached by a passage 50 feet long and about 30 feet wide, formed by that wall and by another exterior wall which runs nearly parallel to it and which forms part of a large quadrangular tower built for the defence of the entrance. "A zigzag road on immense Cyclopean substructions, now covered with large blocks which have fallen from the wall, led up to the entrance of the gateway" (Schliemann).

The opening of the gate itself is 10 ft. 8 in. high; it is somewhat narrower at the top than at the bottom, its width at the top being 9 ft. 6 in., at the bottom 10 ft. 3 in. The lintel is composed of a massive block 15 ft. (Schliemann) or 16½ ft. (Baedeker) long, by 8 ft. broad, and 3 ft. thick in the middle. The threshold, a very hard block of breccia 15 ft. long by 8 ft. broad, had been buried under *débris* for

ages, till it was excavated by Dr. Schliemann in 1876. In the lintel are round holes, 6 inches deep, for the hinges. In the threshold are two quadrant-shaped holes, one on each side, also for the hinges; and in the middle of the threshold is a quadrangular hole (1 ft. 3 in. long by 1 ft. broad), where the two doors of the gate met. In the right-hand door-post is a square hole for the bolt. On the outer side of the threshold is a remarkable, roughly triangular hole, the purpose of which is unknown. According to Dr. Schliemann there is a similar hole in the threshold of the great gate at Troy. The gateway leads into a short passage 13 feet square, in the left-hand wall of which, close to the gate, is a small chamber, probably for the use of the porter.

"Over the lintel of the gate is a triangular gap in the masonry of the wall, formed by an oblique approximation of the side courses of stone. The object of this was to keep off the pressure of the super-



FIG. 21.—THE LIONS OVER THE GATE AT MYCENAE.

incumbent wall from the flat lintel." This niche is filled up by a triangular slab of whitish grey limestone (chemical analysis proves it to be anhydrite). Where the slab was quarried is uncertain. It is 10 feet high, 12 feet long at the base, and 2 feet thick. On the outer side

of this slab are carved in relief, in a stiff heraldic style, two lions, or rather lionesses, which face each other, their front paws resting on two bases or altars placed beside each other. The heads, which are missing, were made of separate pieces and fastened to the bodies with bolts, as appears from the borings in the animals' necks. The heads must have protruded and faced the spectator. Between the lions is a round pillar of peculiar character. It rests on a small plinth placed directly over the joint of the two bases referred to above. The pillar increases slightly in thickness towards the top and is surmounted by a capital ending with an abacus or plinth ; over the abacus are four round discs in a horizontal row, and over them is another abacus. The meaning of this pillar has been much discussed. It has been regarded as a symbol of Apollo, God of Streets (see note on i. 31. 6.), or of the Pelasgian Hermes, or of Hestia ; others have seen in it a fire-altar, appealing to representations of fire-altars of similar form on coins of the Sassanide Artaxerxes I. and Sapor I. All such interpretations may safely be dismissed as fanciful. The pillar is simply a pillar ; the four round discs undoubtedly represent (as Dr. Adler seems to have been the first to point out) the ends of wooden beams, as they often do in rock-cut tombs in Lycia. See Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. 5, figures 250, 260, 261, 264, 266. In fact the pillar with its capital, round discs, and upper abacus is, like Greek architecture in general (see Vitruvius, iv. 2), simply a literal translation into stone of wooden architecture. The lower abacus of the pillar represents the wooden architrave beam which stretched from one pillar to another. The round discs represent the ends of the unhewn tree-trunks which, laid side by side, formed the roof, being supported at both ends by the architrave beams. The upper abacus represents the boarding of planks which, to complete the roof, were laid over the tree-trunks, at right angles to them but parallel to the architrave. From the resemblance of the pillar with its capital etc. to the architecture of Lycia, Dr. Adler infers that it was a copy of the latter ; and in support of this view he refers to the tradition that Tiryns and Mycenae were built by seven Cyclopes who had been fetched for the purpose from Lycia. See Strabo, viii. p. 372 *sq.* ; Apollodorus, ii. 2. 2 ; Euripides, *Iphig. in Aul.* 1500 *sq.*, *Iphig. in Taur.* 845, *Hercules Furens*, 943 *sqq.* ; and the statement of Pausanias in the present passage. This may or may not be so ; but Dr. Adler's idea that the double basis under the lions' paws represents the thrones of the king and his wife, and that the slab upon which the lions' paws immediately rest represents the threshold of the king's house seems purely fanciful. Perhaps they are altars ; for on a painted plinth found on the citadel of Mycenae in 1886 an exactly similar object is depicted, standing between a female worshipper and what seems to be an idol (Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1887, pl. 10). An object of a similar shape was found in the beehive-tomb at *Menidi* (*Das Kuppelgrab bei Menidi* (Athens, 1880), pl. v. 34). On the other hand the researches of Prof. W. M. Ramsay and others in Phrygia have proved that the whole device of the rampant lions facing each other with a pillar has its analogies in Phrygia, where it is a common device on rock-cut tombs.

This, however, hardly justifies us in supposing, with Prof. Ramsay, that the device must have been actually imported into Argolis by Phrygian colonists, though certainly the legend that Pelops, the ancestor of the kings of Mycenae, migrated to Greece from Phrygia points to a connexion between the two countries in prehistoric times. In the excavations of the lower city in 1887 there were discovered some engraved gems, on one of which two lions are represented in a position closely resembling that of the lions over the gate of the citadel (*Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολ. Ἑταιρ.* 1887, p. 66; Perrot et Chipiez, *op. cit.* 6. pl. xvi. No. 20, cp. No. 11). On another engraved gem found in a tomb at Mycenae two griffins are represented standing on either side of a column just like the lions over the gate; the column rests on an altar of the same shape as those which support the lions in the relief (Perrot et Chipiez, *op. cit.* 6. p. 801, fig. 374; Tsountas, *Μυκῆναι*, pl. v. No. 6).

See Clarke, *Travels*, 3. p. 699 *sqq.*; Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 238 *sqq.*; Gell, *Itinerary of Greece*, p. 36 *sqq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 369 *sqq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. 404 *sqq.*; Mure, *Journal*, 2. p. 167 *sqq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 306 *sq.*; W. G. Clark, *Pelop.* p. 68 *sq.*; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. p. 317 *sq.*; Mahaffy, *Rambles and Studies in Greece*, p. 407; Baedeker,[3] p. 264; Schliemann, *Mycenae*, pp. 32 *sqq.*, 121 *sqq.*; Schuchhardt, *Schliemanns Ausgrabungen*,[2] pp. 172-174; Göttling, 'Das Thor von Mykenae,' *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. 1 (1842), pp. 161-175; E. Gerhard, 'Io die Mondkuhe und das Loewenthor zu Mykenae,' *Gesammelte Akademische Abhandlungen*, 2. pp. 514-530; F. Adler, 'Das Relief vom Löwenthore zu Mykenae,' *Archäologische Zeitung*, Jan. 1865, pp. 1-13; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. pp. 24-26; W. M. Ramsay, in *Journ. Hellen. Studies*, 3 (1882), pp. 18 *sqq.*, 256 *sqq.*; *ib.* 5 (1884), p. 241 *sqq.*; *ib.* 9 (1888), p. 367 *sqq.*; *ib.* 10 (1889), p. 148, with plates xvii. xxvii. xxviii. xliv. of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (for the years 1882, 1884); Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. 5, figures 64, 75, 79, 80, 83, 84, 92, 108, 109, 110, 120, 121, 122, 139; *id.*, vol. 6. pp. 314 *sq.*, 799-806; Tsountas, *Μυκῆναι*, pp. 16-19; Collignon, *Hist. de la Sculpture Grecque*, 1. pp. 35-37. Gell, Curtius, and Vischer recognised that the animals over the gate were lionesses, not lions.

The postern gate on the northern side of the citadel of Mycenae is built and fortified like the Gate of the Lions, but on a smaller scale. The approach to it is through a passage formed by the wall of the citadel on the left and a projecting bastion on the right. The gate is constructed of three great blocks, namely two uprights with a lintel. The opening of the gate, like that of the Lions' Gate, widens slightly from top to bottom; it is 5 ft. 4 in. wide at the top, and 5 ft. 11 in. at the bottom. Over the lintel is a triangular slab, but it is unsculptured. See Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 371; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 406; Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 35 *sq.*; Schuchhardt, *Schliemanns Ausgrabungen*,[2] p. 174; Tsountas, *Μυκῆναι*, p. 18 *sq.*; Perrot et Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 6. p. 313 *sq.*

III. *The graves in the citadel.* Inside the Lions' Gate, and only a few paces from it, to the right of the path which leads to the upper citadel, stands a circle of upright slabs of stone enclosing the famous graves discovered in 1876 by Dr. Schliemann, to whom also the discovery of the circle of stones is due. Before he began his excavations the whole place was buried in deep soil, part of which had been

swept down in the course of ages from the rocky ground above. Within the circle of stones Dr. Schliemann discovered five graves, and about a year after his departure a sixth grave was discovered, also within the circle of stones. The diameter of the circle is 87 feet ; its surface was levelled. The enclosure is formed by two concentric circles of stone slabs ; the circles are about 3 feet from each other and were joined by cross-slabs laid horizontally on the tops of the upright slabs. The cross-slabs, of which only six are in their places, were firmly fitted to the upright ones by means of notches, so as to form what is called the mortice and tenon joint. The space between the two circles of upright slabs appears to have been originally filled with stones and earth, the whole forming a massive wall. Towards the Lions' Gate there is an opening in the circle more than 6 feet wide, which seems not to have been closed with a gate. On its eastern side the circle of stones rests directly on the rock ; on its western side it rests on a Cyclopean wall, for the ground falls away rapidly here. The height of the upright slabs is about 3 feet on the east, and about 5 feet on the west. At present they incline inwards ; but this inclination appears to have been produced by the pressure of soil from without and not to have been original, for all the angles on the stones, both uprights and cross-slabs, are right angles. The stone of which the slabs are formed is a shell-limestone. Dr. Schliemann concluded that this circle of stones with its enclosed space must have been the *agora* or market-place, and that the double circle of stones with the cross-pieces were benches for the people to sit on. He shows from Pindar and Pausanias that there were tombs in the market-places of Cyrene and Megara. See Pindar, *Pyth.* v. 125 ; Pausan. i. 42. 4, i. 43. 8, and the note on i. 43. 3. He might have added that the grave of Danaus was shown in the centre of the market-place at Argos (Strabo, viii. p. 371). But against this view it may be urged (1) that the stones are far too high to have been benches ; (2) that the existence anywhere of a round *agora* or market-place is not proved by the passages adduced by Dr. Schliemann ; (3) that nowhere else, so far as appears, was the market-place within the citadel. There was a lower city at Mycenae (see below), and the market-place would naturally be in it. The circle of stones would therefore seem to have been intended simply to enclose the graves. Perhaps, as Mr. Tsountas thinks, it served as a retaining-wall to hold together the earth which was heaped over the graves so as to form a tumulus or barrow. Mr. Tsountas believes that the circle of stones is of later date than the graves, and that the wall of the acropolis at this point is of later date than both the graves and the circle of stones ; in his opinion the graves were originally outside of the walls.

Within the area of the circle the ground falls away abruptly towards the west, so that while the floor of the area is flush with the rock on the east, it is raised many feet above it by a deep bed of soil on the west side of the circle. The graves discovered by Dr. Schliemann were not in this deep bed of earth, but were hewn in the rock under it. At the time when Dr. Schliemann began his excavations the whole area of the circle was buried deep under an accumulation

of soil, and in this layer of soil he found a number of tombstones and a small round altar with a well-like opening in the middle, which had doubtless been used for sacrificing to the dead. It is not clear from his account at what depth beneath the surface he found the tombstones. The question has been carefully examined by Mr. Ch. Belger; his conclusion is that the tombstones were found at a depth of 12 to 14 feet beneath the surface, and that they all stood on the same level as the enclosing circle of stones. The tombstones seem further to have been arranged in groups of two to three together, and all faced the west. See Ch. Belger, *Die mykenische Lokalsage* (Berlin, 1893), pp. 25-32. The graves are hewn vertically in the rock; the sides of most of them have crumbled away in the upper part, but in graves I and V[1] we see that the sides were from 10 to 16 feet high. The shape of all the graves is rectangular, but they differ much in size. The largest (No. IV) measures 6.75 metres (22 feet) long by 5 metres (16 ft. 5 in.) wide; the smallest (No. II) measures 3 metres (9 ft. 10 in.) long by 2.75 metres (9 ft.) wide.[2] The former grave contained five bodies; the latter contained only one. When the graves were opened, the sides were found to be lined with a wall of small stones and clay. Numerous slabs of slate were found leaning against the walls of the graves, and many of the slabs were lying across the corpses. Schliemann supposed that these slabs had lined the walls of the graves. Further, as the space over the corpses was filled with earth, he concluded that the graves had been filled up immediately after the burial, and from the crushed state of some of the bodies, pressed down by the superincumbent slabs and rubbish, he concluded that the burial had been a hurried and careless one. A much more probable explanation of the state of the graves when they were discovered has been suggested by Dr. Dörpfeld. He conjectures that the disorder in the graves may have been produced by the falling in of the roof, which had been partly formed of the slate slabs in question. This theory explains the meaning of the numerous well-preserved pieces of wood found in the graves. One or two strong beams had been stretched across each grave, supporting a roof of slabs. When the wooden beams rotted, the slabs tumbled in, some of them falling right across the bodies; and the whole space was at once filled up with the earth which previously had been piled over the roofs of the graves. In the third grave were found the four bronze casings with

[1] I have followed Stamatakis's numbering of the graves, as it is the one now generally adopted. It differs somewhat from Schliemann's numbering, as the following table will show :—

Stamatakis	I	Schliemann	II
,,	II	,,	V
,,	III	,,	III
,,	IV	,,	IV
,,	V	,,	I
,,	VI	,,	VI

[2] These are Schuchhardt's measurements (*Schliemanns Ausgrabungen*,[2] p. 188). Schliemann's own measurements are somewhat larger; according to him the largest grave is 24 feet long by 18½ feet broad, and the smallest grave 11 ft. 6 in. long by 9 ft. 8 in. broad. See Schliemann's *Mycenae*, pp. 213, 291.

which the ends of the two beams were shod. Each of these casings contained remains of the wooden beam which was fastened into it by strong copper nails driven into it on all four sides.

Ten tombstones were found over the graves, to wit, two on grave I, one on grave II, two on grave III, one on grave IV, three on grave V, and one on grave VI. Fragments of others have also been discovered. Most of the tombstones are made of a yellowish shell-limestone, soft and friable, the same material of which the circle of slabs enclosing the graves is constructed. The place from which the stone was brought is not known. The tombstones found on graves I, III, and VI are plain; the others are adorned with sculptures in low relief. It has been suggested that the plain tombstones were placed over the graves of women, and the sculptured tombstones over the graves of men. But this distinction can hardly hold. For though women seem certainly to have been buried in grave III, and perhaps in grave I, the two bodies found in grave VI were those of men. The tombstones faced to the west, from which Mr. Tsountas infers that they were set up before the western wall of the acropolis was built, at a time when a highroad ran along the west side of the circle of graves. The carvings on the tombstones consist partly of spiral ornaments, partly of scenes of war and the chase. A man driving in a chariot is represented on three of the tombstones; on one of them the charioteer is being attacked by a man with a long spear; on another a man with a raised sword is standing at the horse's head facing the same way as the charioteer. On one of them, beneath the man in the chariot, a lion is represented chasing an ibex or some such animal. The fragment of another tombstone presents us with the foreparts of two horses galloping to the right, one above the other. (In the second edition of his work Dr. Schuchhardt interpreted this scene as two goats or antelopes browsing on a tree, and compared it to similar scenes in Egyptian and Asiatic art.) The carving on all the stones is very rude and barbarous. The figures and ornaments are not modelled, but cut so as to present a flat surface, like figures cut out with a saw and stuck on a background. Both in style and material they are far inferior to the lions over the great gateway, from which it is a natural inference that they are older than the lions. Mr. W. Reichel, however, who has carefully examined the tombstones, considers that they are certainly not older than the lions, and possibly much later (*Eranos Vindobonensis* (Wien, 1893), p. 53). But this opinion will probably commend itself to few.

The human bodies found in the graves numbered nineteen in all. They were thus distributed:—three bodies in grave I; one body in grave II; five bodies (apparently three women and two children) in grave III; five bodies in grave IV; three bodies in grave V; and two bodies in grave VI. From the contents of graves I and IV Dr. Schuchhardt argues that all three bodies in grave I and two of the five bodies in grave IV were those of women. The bodies seem to have been buried, not at full length, but in a half-sitting posture, with the head propped on a high support and the legs doubled up under the thighs. Pieces of skin and flesh were still adhering to some of the skeletons at

the time of their discovery, from which Mr. Helbig has inferred with great probability that these bodies were embalmed (*Das homerische Epos aus den Denkmälern erläutert*,[2] p. 53). At all events it seems clear that the bodies were buried, not burnt. Ashes indeed were found in the graves and on the walls of tomb I (Schliemann's tomb II). Dr. Schliemann observed black marks, which he took to have been produced by three separate fires lit in the grave; from which he inferred that the bodies had been burnt. But the state of the bodies and of the vessels, jewels, and ornaments found in the graves (which are quite uninjured by fire) is conclusive against this view. The ashes found in the grave may have been those of victims offered to the dead; and the black patches on the walls may either have been produced by the sacrificial fires or, as Messrs. Perrot and Chipiez suggest, have been nothing but the stains produced by moist and decaying matter. Bones of oxen, goats, swine, and deer, which were found in great quantities over the graves, prove that sacrifices were offered to the dead; and the skulls and skeletons of men which were found scattered in disorder among the earth may be those of slaves or captives who were slain in order to accompany the departed princes to the spirit-land, just as Achilles slew twelve Trojan prisoners at the funeral pyre of Patroclus (Homer, *Il.* xxiii. 175 *sq.*) The round altar, which stood exactly over the middle of the fourth grave, was doubtless used in these sacrifices. It is 4 feet high, and contains a round well-like aperture or funnel, down which the blood of the victims was probably poured into the grave (cp. Paus. x. 4. 10 note).

To enumerate all the treasures which were found with the dead in the graves would be out of place here. But a brief notice of the more important objects can hardly be dispensed with, since their discovery opened up a new vista in the history of Greece and of Greek art. The objects fall into two classes, according as they are either substantial articles for use or ornament in daily life, or mere flimsy imitations of them made only to be buried with the dead. Many of the ornaments, for example the bracelets, are made of sheets of gold so thin that they could not have been used in real life; they are clearly substitutes for the real jewellery, which the living doubtless kept for themselves, while they satisfied the demands of piety by burying the sham jewellery in the grave, deeming these splendid but unsubstantial baubles good enough to deck the unsubstantial figures of the shadowy dead. "Every archaeologist knows that sometimes the graves of Greece and Etruria contain the mere pretence of offerings: gold ornaments as thin as paper; leaves and fruits of terra-cotta; weapons unfit for use, and vases of the most unserviceable kind" (P. Gardner, *New Chapters in Greek history*, p. 343). In a similar spirit of economical piety the Chinese burn paper houses, paper furniture, paper ingots of gold and silver for the use of their departed kinsfolk in the other world (E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, I. p. 493; cp. Sir J. Lubbock, *Prehistoric Times*,[5] p. 158).

Amongst the objects made on purpose to be placed in the graves the most remarkable are seven golden masks, which were found in the

third, fourth, and fifth graves, covering the faces of five men and two children. The faces modelled in these masks are clearly portraits. Indeed the children's masks, being made of thin gold leaf, must have been moulded with the hand on the faces of the dead. The men's masks, being made of thicker plates of gold, cannot have been so moulded. In one of the children's masks holes are cut out for the eyes; but in the men's masks there are no such holes. The hands and feet of the children were also wrapt in gold leaf, which still retains the shape of the fingers and toes. The custom of covering the faces of the dead with masks appears to have prevailed widely in the world and is still practised in some places. Thus golden masks are regularly placed on the faces of dead kings of Siam and Cambodia (Pallegoix, *Royaume Thai ou Siam*, 1. p. 247; J. Moura, *Royaume du Cambodge*, 1. p. 349); and among the Shans of Indo-China the face of a dead chief is invariably covered with a mask of gold or silver (A. S. Colquhoun, *Amongst the Shans*, p. 279). In ancient Mexico masks made of gold or turquoise mosaic or painted were placed on the faces of dead kings (Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States*, 2. p. 606; cp. Clavigero, *History of Mexico*, 1. p. 324, Cullen's translation). The Aleutian islanders put large wooden masks on the faces of their dead with the intention of thereby protecting the deceased against the glances of spirits on his way to the spirit-land (W. H. Dall, *Alaska and its resources*, p. 389; *id.*, 'On masks, labrets,' etc., in *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1884), p. 139). In ancient Egypt every mummy had its artificial face; and masks made of gold, silver, bronze, and terra-cotta found in Mesopotamia, Phoenicia, the Crimea, Italy, the valley of the Danube, Gaul, and Britain, appear to testify to the extent to which a similar custom prevailed both in Western Asia and Europe. See O. Benndorf, *Antike Gesichtshelme und Sepulcralmasken* (Wien, 1878); R. Andree, *Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche*, Neue Folge (Leipzig, 1889), pp. 120-134.

Two pairs of golden balances, found in the third of the royal graves at Mycenae, are of interest as showing that the Mycenaeans were familiar with the use of the balance. They are made of such thin gold that they could not have been used for weighing anything, and are therefore part of the sham outfit made on purpose to be laid with the dead. To the same class should probably be referred several golden breastplates, some plain, some decorated, which were found on the breasts of some of the men in graves IV and V. In the fourth grave a golden mask representing the head of a lion was discovered. Dr. Schliemann believed that it had covered the face of one of the dead men. If this could be proved, it would go to support Mr. A. B. Cook's theory that the lion was worshipped by the men of the Mycenaean age, who assimilated themselves to their god by wearing artificial lion-skins at certain solemn ceremonies (A. B. Cook, 'Animal worship in the Mycenaean age,' *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 14 (1894), pp. 103-120). But Dr. Schuchhardt denies that this lion-mask could have covered the face of a man. He holds that it was fastened as the central device to a shield, for all round the head is a horizontal

rim, the edge of which is perforated and coated with a deposit of green oxide, as if it had been set in bronze.

A large silver head of an ox, admirably modelled and true to life, was found in grave IV. The horns are of thin gold plate, and there are traces of gilding on the ears, eyes, muzzle, and mouth. On the forehead is fastened a large gold rosette. The head is hollow. In the same grave were found fifty-six small heads of oxen, cut out of gold plate, each with a double-headed axe between the horns. Perhaps they, as well as the large silver head, represent victims which had been offered in sacrifice to the dead. In this connexion the golden horns of the large head remind us of the Homeric custom of gilding the horns of an ox before sacrificing it (*Od.* iii. 425 *sq.*, 437 *sq.*)

The quantity of men's and women's jewellery found in the graves was immense. It includes diadems, pendants, armlets, shoulder-belts, sword-belts, crosses, rings, pins, buttons, beads, figurines, etc. Almost all these articles are of gold except the beads, which are mostly of stone or amber. Seven golden diadems were found, namely three in grave I, two in grave III, and two in grave IV. Each diadem consists of an oval-shape plate of gold, about 20 inches long, adorned with bosses or rosettes in repoussé work. On four of the diadems the pattern consists of a single row of bosses surrounded by concentric circles and diminishing in size on either side of the largest central boss. Another diadem is decorated with a triple row of circles filled alternately with a rosette and with seven small bosses. Another exhibits a single row of rosettes; and the last is adorned with many small protuberant knobs or bosses. The diadems seem to have been worn by women only. In graves I and III a considerable number of golden pendants were found. They are formed of gold plates in the shape of a half oval, and are adorned with bosses and rosettes in repoussé work like the diadems. Holes in some of them show that they were hung with the broad end up and the point down. From the representation of somewhat similar pendants on a very archaic female statuette found at Tiryns it is inferred that these pendants were attached to a band which crossed from shoulder to shoulder, so that the pendants hung down on the wearer's breast. They appear to have been worn by women only. Thirteen of them were found in grave III. Further, a number (nine at least) of golden armlets were found in graves II, IV, and V; two of them being discovered actually on the arm-bone of the skeleton. Some of them are shaped like the diadems, consisting of a plate of gold tapering down at the two ends, and adorned, like the diadems, with repoussé work. Dr. Schliemann, indeed, mistook them for diadems; and he fell into the same error with regard to the pendants, each of which he supposed was half of a diadem. Both mistakes were corrected by Dr. Schuchhardt. The armlets are much narrower than the diadems, and seem, unlike the diadems, to have been worn by men only. A large golden bracelet was found in grave IV. It may have been worn by a woman. Other feminine jewellery consists of twenty golden crosses, which were found in graves I and III. Fourteen of them (found in grave I) are fashioned in the shape of laurel-leaves meeting at right

angles and decorated with bosses. The other six crosses (found in grave III) consist of four narrow lancet-shaped leaves laid on another cross of broad leaves, so that the narrow leaves alternate with the broad. In one of these crosses the broad leaves seem to be laurel-leaves, in the others they are probably fig-leaves.

No less than 701 golden discs, each about 2½ inches in diameter, were found by Dr. Schliemann in the third grave, some of them above and some of them below the skeletons. They were probably fastened on the garments in which the dead were buried, though not one of them is perforated or shows any trace of a fastening. They are beautifully decorated with exquisitely wrought patterns, consisting either of a natural object (cuttle-fish, butterfly, palm-leaf, etc.) conventionally treated, or of circles, wave-lines, and spirals variously combined. All are believed to have been struck with the hammer.

A number of small golden figures found in the third grave were probably also, like the golden discs, fastened as ornaments to the dresses of women. A few of them represent a naked woman standing with her hands crossed over her breast; on her head is perched a dove, and on one at least of the figurines two more doves are represented flying away from each of her arms. These figures are supposed to represent the Oriental Aphrodite or Astarte, to whom doves were sacred (Lucian, *De dea Syria*, 54; W. Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*,[2] p. 294; cp. note on i. 22. 3 'Vulgar Aphrodite'). Two of these little golden figures exhibit a woman seated, with her arms folded on her breast; she wears a skirt which is adorned with stripes and points. Others represent pairs of animals facing each other in heraldic style, for example two stags crouching head to head, two cat-like creatures supported on a palm-tree, two swans, and two eagles. Others again represent single animals, as foxes, jackals, sphinxes, and (a solitary instance) a flying griffin. Further, there are miniature representations in gold of temples viewed in front, with three doors and a high fantastically shaped pinnacle in the middle. On two lower pinnacles at the sides are perched two doves, from which it is inferred that the temples are those of Aphrodite or Astarte. Here may be mentioned the golden buttons of which great numbers were found in the graves; Dr. Schliemann counted as many as 340 of them in the fifth grave alone. They are decorated with circles, spirals, etc., arranged in various patterns, and seem to have adorned the sheaths of swords.

The vessels found in the graves include many large copper caldrons and jugs, gold and silver cups, painted terra-cotta vases, two large vases of alabaster (one of them with three handles), and a tall alabaster cup with perpendicular sides. Thirty-four large copper jugs and caldrons were found in the fourth grave, and others were found in the third grave. Perhaps these copper caldrons may have circulated as a medium of exchange instead of money, which was certainly not coined in the Mycenaean age. Caldrons or kettles perhaps served a similar purpose in the Homeric age (cp. Homer, *Il.* ix. 123, xxiii. 259, xxiv. 233), and in the great inscription of Gortyna certain sums

are reckoned by kettles, which, though the reference may be to coins stamped with a kettle, at least makes it probable that kettles once circulated in place of money at Gortyna (W. Ridgeway, *Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight Standards*, p. 314 *sq.*) Nine gold cups were found in the fourth grave alone, which was indeed the richest in treasure. Most of the gold and silver cups have a single handle riveted on, and have either no stand or one of moderate height. Others have two handles. One such golden goblet, resting on a high stand, is adorned with a golden dove on each handle, reminding us of Nestor's cup in Homer (*Il.* xi. 632 *sq.*) Some of the gold and silver cups are plain, while others are decorated in various ways. Among the latter may be noticed especially a golden cup adorned with two rows of fish charmingly modelled in relief. Still more valuable is a fragment of a silver vase found in the fourth tomb. Being encrusted with oxide it was neglected by Dr. Schliemann ; but when, a few years ago, the oxide was removed by Mr. Koumanoudes, there appeared wrought in relief on the silver a scene of remarkable interest. It represents a city in a state of siege. On the slope of a steep hill, which is planted with olive-trees, rise the lofty walls of the beleaguered city, built of quadrangular blocks laid in horizontal courses. Above the walls are seen, piled one above the other, a number of square buildings, each provided with windows, but without any lines to indicate courses of stones. Probably they represent houses built of unburnt brick or wood. On the walls women are stretching out their hands and gesticulating wildly, as in the act of praying or encouraging the men, who have sallied from the gate and are meeting the foe on the hill-side. Some of the men, quite naked, are standing and whirling their slings above their heads ; others, also naked, are kneeling and shooting with bows and arrows. In the foreground, lower down the hill than the archers and slingers, is a man wearing a conical cap or helmet, and clad in a sort of jerkin ; he seems to be holding a sling in his hand. Behind the slingers and archers, higher up the hill, stand two other men carrying angular shields, which are slung by straps round their necks, and descend to their knees. They are not fighting, but in their right hands they hold something, perhaps spears. None of the assailants is visible, the scene being a mere fragment. Hesiod has described a siege in words which might almost pass for a description of this scene (*Shield of Hercules*, 237 *sqq.*) The precious fragment which thus in a small compass brings before us so vividly one aspect of life in the Mycenaean age was first published by Mr. Tsountas, in Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1891, pl. ii. 2, with comments, p. 11 *sqq.* Cp. *id.*, Μυκῆναι, p. 92 *sqq.* ; P. Gardner, *New Chapters in Greek history*, p. 66 *sq.* ; Perrot et Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 6. p. 773 *sqq.* Some silver vases (two of them broken) were found in the graves, also a golden box with a lid, and a small golden jug. Twelve rectangular gold plates, decorated with lions pursuing stags, palm-trees, spirals, etc., were found in the fifth grave. They formerly cased the sides of two hexagonal wooden caskets, of which the bottoms have been preserved.

The painted terra-cotta vases found in the graves fall into two

classes in respect of their shape and decoration. In the one class large-bellied vessels prevail; in the other more or less slender jugs and ewers. In the former class the decoration is effected by dull, lustreless colours (dark red, brown, violet, and occasionally white) laid on so as to form geometrical patterns (straight, curved, and twisted lines, parallel bands, circles with crosses in them, and especially spirals). In the latter class the decoration is effected by a lustrous glaze, of brown, red, or occasionally white colour, and the designs are mostly copied from the organic world, especially marine objects, such as sea-weed, shells, polyps, cuttle-fish, star-fish, and sea-nettles. The distinction between these two classes of painted ware (the dull ware and the lustrous ware, as they may be called for shortness) is not confined to the vases found in the royal tombs at Mycenae, but prevails over the wide area covered by the ancient civilisation to which the name of Mycenaean is now given as a general designation. The dull-painted pottery is of earlier origin and rarer occurrence than the lustrous pottery. At Mycenae it is found only in the circle of the royal graves and, outside of that circle, in the lowest strata of the excavations. Specimens of it have also come to light at Tiryns, Thera, Amorgos, Melos, Daulis, Orchomenus, Aegina, and on the Acropolis at Athens. On the other hand, no examples of it have been found in the graves of the Mycenaean period at Nauplia, at *Spata* and *Menidi* in Attica, and at Ialysus in Rhodes. The lustrous Mycenaean pottery is much more widely diffused. It has been found in prodigious quantities in Argolis (Mycenae and Nauplia), Attica (*Menidi*, *Spata*, and the Acropolis of Athens), and the islands of the Aegean (particularly Rhodes, Calymnos, and Carpathos): and specimens of it have been met with in Egypt, Phoenicia, Cyprus, the west coast of Asia Minor, the Ionian islands, eastern Italy, and Sicily. The vases of this lustrous Mycenaean ware are, as has been indicated, more elegant in shape than those of the dull-painted ware. Wide-bellied vessels are found among them also, but as a rule the forms are more elongated and taper from the upper part downwards. One particular form of jar is especially characteristic of the lustrous Mycenaean ware, being found in no other known style of pottery. Its peculiarity is that the neck of the jar is closed, and that the liquid was poured through a short spout in the upper part of the vessel. Two short handles rise, one on each side of the closed neck, to which they are joined; so that together they present the likeness of a pair of stirrups, which has earned



FIG. [illegible].—STIRRUP-JAR ([illegible]).

for this kind of jar its German name of *Bügelkanne* or stirrup-jar (French *amphore à étrier*). English archaeologists have proposed to call it the false-necked jar. Some jars of this class have two such closed necks instead of one. With regard to the decoration of the lustrous Mycenaean ware, geometrical patterns, including spirals, often occur on it; but the characteristic decoration, as already indicated, is the imitation of the lower forms of marine life, both vegetable and animal. Birds also appear on it, but quadrupeds and men occur only on the latest samples of it. On a sherd of a vase of this sort found at Mycenae we see oxen browsing; and on another potsherd, also found at Mycenae, a dog is depicted chasing a hare. Among the few specimens on which human figures are portrayed the most notable is one found at Mycenae in the ruins of a house to the south of the circle of graves. On this fragment a row of warriors is depicted marching in single file; they are all armed with spear, helmet, coat of mail, shield, and greaves or leggings; each wears a pointed beard, but no moustache; and at one end of the row of warriors a woman, clad in a long gown, stands with uplifted arm watching them depart. The questions, where did this lustrous Mycenaean pottery originate? and where was it manufactured? have been variously answered. It appears to be a purely Greek product, betraying no traces of Oriental influence; the griffin, sphinx, and lion, which appear on other objects of Mycenaean art, never figure on the lustrous pottery. And it is of very ancient origin, for specimens of it have been found at Thera under the volcanic matter which was thrown out in the great eruption of about 2000 B.C. Professors Furtwängler and Löschcke, the authors of the chief work on Mycenaean pottery (*Mykenische Vasen*, Berlin, 1886), are of opinion that all the lustrous Mycenaean ware was manufactured at Mycenae and exported thence by way of trade to all the places where it has been found. Their chief grounds for thinking so are that more of this ware has been found at Mycenae than anywhere else, and that on the pots and potsherds found there we can trace, as we can nowhere else, the historical development of the art through all its successive stages. On the other hand Messrs. Perrot and Chipiez consider that a style of pottery of which the characteristic decoration consists in the representation of marine plants and animals is more likely to have originated in the islands of the Aegean than at Mycenae, which is distant some miles from the sea; and they think it probable that, after its invention, it was manufactured at more places than one. Before we quit the subject of Mycenaean pottery it should be observed that the two kinds of painted ware which we have been considering (the dull kind and the lustrous kind) resemble each other in being both made on the potter's wheel, and are both to be distinguished from the ruder and more archaic monochrome pottery in which the decoration, where it exists, is effected, not by painting, but by incised lines traced with a sharp point on the wet clay. This earlier pottery is found at Mycenae along with the two finer sorts of painted ware. It doubtless continued to be manufactured for domestic use contemporaneously with them. It is of coarser clay, and the pots, though mostly made on the

wheel, have thicker sides than the painted vases. That the two kinds of painted ware (the dull and the lustrous) continued in use together for some time is proved by their being found together in the royal graves at Mycenae; but that the dull ware was finally supplanted by the other is shown by the total absence of dull-painted vases in the graves of the Mycenaean period at Nauplia, *Spata*, *Menidi*, and Ialysus.

The weapons found in the royal graves at Mycenae include swords, daggers, spear-heads, and arrow-heads. The swords, daggers, and spear-heads are all of bronze. No iron, in fact, was found in the graves. The arrow-heads are all of hard obsidian; thirty-five of them were found in the fourth grave. More than 150 swords were discovered in the graves; they have all straight two-edged blades, and measure from 2½ to 3 feet in length. Some of the blades are adorned along their whole length with figures of running animals worked in flat relief: for example, one exhibits a row of griffins, all exactly alike, along each of its edges; another has similarly two rows of galloping horses. Further, some of the dagger-blades are decorated with wonderfully fine inlaid work, which is one of the greatest triumphs of Mycenaean art. On one of these blades is wrought a lion-hunt. Four men are seen attacking a lion which is about to rend a man who is lying on the ground. Three of the men are armed with spears; the fourth is shooting an arrow from a bow. Behind the fighting lion two other lions have turned tail and are running away. The effect of the highly artistic picture is heightened by the use of colours, for the whole is formed by various metals (gold, silver, etc.) inlaid on a thin plate of bronze which is let into the blade. On another dagger-blade we see cats chasing wild ducks in a marsh. The cats are leaping among the ducks and seizing them with mouth and paw. Between and under the animals is wrought a winding river, with fish swimming and plants growing in it. The plants are thought to be Egyptian, either papyrus or lotus. The cats, plants and the bodies of the ducks are of gold; the wings of the ducks and the river are of silver or very pale gold. The scene is represented in much the same way on both sides of the blade. It is to be noted that the same subject is depicted in Egyptian wall-paintings from Thebes, which are now in the British Museum: the river, the fish, the lotus, the cat, the ducks, all reappear in the paintings (P. Gardner, *New Chapters in Greek history*, p. 66). Knives, some of bronze and some of obsidian, were also found in the graves.

Two gold signet-rings with finely carved intaglios were found in the fourth grave. The bezels or faces as well as the hoops of these rings are of gold and are of great size. On one of them the intaglio represents two men in a chariot hunting a stag. Two horses, galloping at speed, draw the chariot, which consists of a small body set on a pair of four-spoked wheels, thus resembling the chariots carved on the tombstones which stood over the graves. One of the men is bending forward and shooting an arrow at the stag, which is represented above the horses of the chariot. The intaglio on the second ring shows a scene of combat. Four warriors are represented. In the centre a victorious

warrior strides forward and seizes his adversary with his left hand, while in his right hand he has raised his sword to strike. His foe has sunk on his knees, but is stabbing with his sword at the other's throat. Behind the kneeling man another soldier, wearing a helmet from which floats a plume, and protected by a huge semi-cylindrical shield, is hastening to the rescue, pointing a long spear at the victor's head. Behind the victor, another man is seated on the ground, supporting himself with his right hand ; he is probably wounded. On both these intaglios the men, so far as can be made out, wear no garment but a tight pair of drawers. Three other fine intaglios were found in the third grave. They are cut on three small four-sided prisms of gold, which are perforated for the purpose either of being strung on a necklace or being fastened on a ring. One of these intaglios represents a man fighting a lion. The lion is clawing one of his legs, but the man has seized the beast by the mane and is thrusting his sword into its face. The second intaglio represents a combat between two men. One of them is pressing forward and driving his sword into the throat of his foe, who is sinking to the ground behind the great shield which he carries. The vanquished man wears a helmet with a flowing plume ; the victor is naked or clad only in a pair of drawers. The third intaglio represents a lion running.

Besides these gold intaglios three engraved gems were found in the circle of graves. That so few engraved gems should have been found among the treasures of the royal graves is at first sight remarkable, since engraved gems of a special sort are characteristic of Mycenaean art, at least in its later development, having been found in considerable numbers at various places where the Mycenaean type of civilisation prevailed. The gems in question used to be known as Island gems, because they were first found in the islands of the Aegean. But the name is no longer appropriate, for many of them have been found in continental Greece, notably in the beehive tombs of *Vaphio* (in Laconia) and *Menidi* (in Attica). It seems better, therefore, with Messrs. Perrot and Chipiez, to call them Mycenaean gems, since they are a special product of that phase of art to which the name Mycenaean is now applied. The Mycenaean or Island gems are generally shaped like a lentil or round bean, and gems so shaped are accordingly called lenticular or lentoid. Less commonly they are of oblong shape, like a bluntly pointed oval, and gems so shaped are called glandular, because they resemble a sling-bullet (*glans*). As to material, they are most commonly agate or one of its varieties, such as onyx, sardonyx, and carnelian. Jasper, red, green, and yellow, is also frequently employed, and porphyry sometimes occurs. Rock crystal seems to have been reserved by the gem-cutter for his best work. With a few exceptions, the stones are pierced with a hole drilled longitudinally through them, in order probably to be set in swivel-rings or strung on a thread and worn round the neck. The devices engraved on them are very various, but almost all of them represent living beings, most commonly animals, such as lions, goats, deer, bulls, eagles, and dogs, sometimes arranged heraldically, two similar animals being set face to face or back to back.

Men and women also appear very commonly on them in a great variety of postures, sometimes dancing, sometimes hunting, sometimes grasping an animal by the throat or horns, etc. On some gems of this class there appear certain curious figures, which seem to be compounded of animals of different species. Sometimes the figure has the head of an ass and the legs of a lion; at other times he has the head of a horse and the legs of a bird; once at least the head of a bull and the legs of a man, etc. Sometimes he is represented carrying either a single slain animal on his shoulders or two such animals attached to the ends of a pole. In these curious figures Prof. Milchhöfer found evidence of the prevalence of the worship of the horse among the primitive Greeks. But Mr. A. B. Cook has pointed out that the horse is by no means the only animal which figures on these gems, and he has made it probable that in most or all of these figures the upper part is intended to represent, not a part of a real animal, but a cloak or mask made to simulate an animal; and he believes that these figures portray the worshippers of certain animals (lions, horses, asses, bulls, etc.), disguised so as to imitate the particular animal which they worshipped (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 14 (1894), pp. 81-169).

We have seen that in the royal graves on the acropolis of Mycenae intaglios in gold are more numerous than intaglios in stone. But in the graves of the lower city at Mycenae and in graves of the Mycenaean period elsewhere the proportions are reversed: intaglios in gold are rare, and intaglios in stone (engraved gems) are common. For example, in the beehive tombs of *Vaphio* and *Menidi* the proportion of engraved gems to gold intaglios is about forty to three. Hence, as the royal graves on the acropolis of Mycenae probably belong to the earlier part of the Mycenaean period, it is supposed that among the Greeks of that epoch the art of cutting intaglios in gold preceded that of gem-engraving, which, however, in time became the more popular art and threw its older rival into the shade.

Among the miscellaneous objects found in the royal graves at Mycenae the following may be mentioned. A figure of a stag cast in an alloy of lead and silver; a short funnel on its back seems to show that the figure served as a vessel for holding liquid; the workmanship is coarse and clumsy. Two alabaster ornaments representing a scarf tied in a knot; from the smoothness of the back and the perforations in the middle it is inferred that these alabaster scarfs were affixed to some larger object; in Egyptian wall-paintings and sculptures similar objects are represented in the hands of kings or high-priests. A small helmeted head of a warrior in so-called Egyptian porcelain (a fine white paste with a sand-like grain). A natural ostrich-egg, adorned with clay figures of fish glued to the shell: it was found in the fifth grave. Great numbers of perforated amber beads of various sizes, found in graves III, IV, V; they seem to have been worn by both men and women; chemical analysis proves that the amber is Baltic amber. Objects made of ivory, including two pieces carved in the shape of rams' horns, four crescent-shaped pieces, a handle with circles and spirals engraved on it, a piece cut in the shape of a beehive, etc.

A hemispherical ball of rock crystal, perforated and hollow; in the inside are traces of a pattern of pointed arches executed in bright red and white; it was found in the third grave, and is supposed to have been the head of a hair-pin. Lastly may be mentioned two rude terracotta idols, found in the first grave; similar idols have been found in greater numbers in the lower city of Mycenae (see below). Among the miscellaneous objects just enumerated the ostrich-egg, the articles of ivory, and the amber beads are of special interest, because they show that Mycenae was in commercial relations, more or less direct, with Africa on the south and the Baltic on the north.

With regard to the chronological relations of these royal graves to each other, it has been already observed that they are not all contemporary. In this respect the six graves fall into two groups; on the one side graves I, II, and VI, and on the other side graves III, IV, and V belong closely together. In graves III and IV alone were found the miniature gold shrines of Astarte, which seem to have been all cast in the same mould; and in graves III and IV alone were found the golden discs which served to decorate garments. And in general in graves III, IV, and V gold and bronze predominate, whereas in graves I, II, and VI the great majority of the vessels are of earthenware. From this it follows that the latter graves (I, II, VI) belong to a simpler and less ostentatious age than the former. This is confirmed by a more minute comparison of the contents of the graves in the two groups. If we compare the women's grave I with the women's grave III, and the men's graves II and VI with the men's graves IV and V, we observe in each case that the furniture of the former group (I, II, VI) is much the simpler. The gold ornaments (diadems, pendants, crosses) of grave I have far simpler patterns than the corresponding ornaments in grave III; moreover, earrings, armlets, and amber beads are not found at all in the former. Similarly graves II and VI are the only men's graves which are without masks, golden breastplates, and golden sword-belts. Thus we conclude that graves I, II, and VI are of a different date from graves III, IV, and V.

The question still remains, which of the two groups is the earlier? the simpler or the more splendid? The question seems answered by the fact that in graves IV and V the pottery found is almost exclusively of the dull-painted sort, whereas graves I and II, though they also contain dull-painted ware, are conspicuous for the lustrous-painted vases which were found in them. Now we have already seen that dull-painted pottery is earlier than lustrous-painted pottery; from which we infer that graves III, IV, and V are older than graves I, II, and VI. This is the conclusion come to by Dr. Schuchhardt, whose arguments I have borrowed. It is confirmed by the high authority of Mr. Tsountas, who also considers graves III, IV, and V to be older than graves I, II, and VI. Mr. Tsountas holds that the oldest of all the graves is IV, which was also the richest in treasure; and of the later group of graves he thinks that grave II is the earliest. However, the connexion of all the graves with each other is, in spite of minor differences, so close that they must all belong to the same period of civilisation. Dr. Schuchhardt

believes that the interval between the earliest and the latest grave need not be more than a century, and may not be more than half that time.

As to the royal graves on the acropolis and their contents see Schliemann, *Mycenae*; Schuchhardt, *Schliemanns Ausgrabungen*,[2] pp. 163-316; Tsountas, Μυκῆναι, pp. 96-122; Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 6. pp. 315-340 etc.; Milchhöfer, 'Die Ausgrabungen in Mykenae,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 1 (1876), pp. 308-327; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 986 *sqq.*; C. T. Newton, *Essays on Art and Archaeology*, pp. 246-302; P. Gardner, *New Chapters in Greek history*, p. 62 *sqq.*; Ch. Belger, *Die mykenische Lokalsage* (Berlin, 1893), pp. 24-34. As to the tombstones see W. Reichel, 'Die mykenischen Grabstelen,' *Eranos Vindobonensis* (Wien, 1893), pp. 24-33. As to Mycenaean pottery, see A. Furtwängler und G. Löschcke, *Mykenische Thongefässe* (Berlin, 1879); *id.*, *Mykenische Vasen* (Berlin, 1886), especially pp. [illegible]; Dumont et Chaplain, *Les céramiques de la Grèce propre*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1888); Rayet et Collignon, *Histoire de la Céramique Grecque* (Paris, 1888), pp. 3-16; Tsountas, Μυκῆναι, pp. 190-193; Perrot et Chipiez, *op. cit.*, 6. p. 893 *sqq.* As to the Mycenaean pottery found on the Acropolis of Athens see Ch. Belger, in *Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 15 (1895), p. 59 *sq.* As to the inlaid daggers see U. Köhler, 'Mykenische Schwerter,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 7 (1882), pp. 241-250; G. Perrot, 'Note sur quelques poignards de Mycènes,' *Bulletin de Corr. Hellénique*, 10 (1886), pp. 341-356; Perrot et Chipiez, *op. cit.*, 6. p. 779 *sqq.* As to the Mycenaean or Island gems see A. Milchhöfer, *Die Anfänge der griech. Kunst* (Leipzig, 1883); J. H. Middleton, *The engraved gems of classical times* (Cambridge, 1891), pp. 18-21; Tsountas, Μυκῆναι, p. 73 *sq.*; Perrot et Chipiez, *op. cit.*, 6. p. 834 *sqq.*; G. Busolt, *Griech. Geschichte*,[2] 1. pp. 103-106; Collignon, *Hist. de la Sculpture Grecque*, 1. pp. 55-59.

Besides these graves the excavations of Dr. Schliemann on the acropolis laid bare a labyrinth of walls immediately to the south of the circle of tombs. These walls, which are built of roughly hewn stones bonded with clay, belonged probably to dwelling-houses. In a small compartment of these walls, measuring only 2 feet long by 8 inches broad, a hoard of treasure was discovered. Included in it were four fine golden goblets, each with two handles and a high stem; two engraved signet-rings of gold; five plain gold rings and one silver ring; and eleven spiral rings of golden wire, which in some of the rings is round, in others quadrangular. All these objects are of solid metal, and were evidently destined for the use of the living: they are not made of flimsy gold-leaf, like much of the jewellery found in the graves. One of the two signet-rings has engraved on its bezel or face a scene which has been variously interpreted. A woman is represented sitting under a tree, perhaps a pine-tree or an olive: in her raised right hand she holds flowers. In front of her stand one small and two large female figures; behind her another small female figure is plucking something from the tree. Each of the small female figures stands on a heap of stones. All the five women seem to be naked to the waist, but each of them wears a flounced skirt which reaches to the ankles. The three who stand in front of the seated woman appear to be offering her flowers. In the upper part of the field, above the women who are offering flowers, is a double-headed axe, and an idol armed with a large shield and brandishing a spear. In the highest part of the field are the sun and the crescent moon, with some wavy lines beneath them to indicate the sea or clouds. On the left side of the scene, at the back

of the flower-bearing women, is a row of animals' heads, which some take to be heads of lions. As to the meaning of the scene the woman is probably a goddess to whom her worshippers are bringing flowers. She has been variously interpreted as Astarte, Rhea, Aphrodite, and the Earth-goddess. Some indeed have denied that the woman represents a goddess at all; but the analogy of Babylonian cylinders, on which similar figures are represented engaged in sacrifice under the sun and moon (see Perrot et Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 2. figures 20, 230, 314), is in favour of the view that we have here a scene of religious worship. The idol with the shield in the upper part of the field closely resembles a figure painted on a tablet which was also found on the acropolis of Mycenae (see below, p. 121). In both cases the shield is in the shape of two circles joined together. Mr. Tsountas holds that this idol represents aegis-bearing Zeus wielding the thunderbolt. Prof. Milchhöfer, who interprets the seated woman as Rhea, considers that the shielded figure represents one of the Curetes or Corybantes.

Other objects found in the dwelling-houses immediately to the south of the circle of graves were small terra-cotta figures of women, like those found in the first grave, also figures of animals (apparently cows), and painted vases. The painted vases show signs of being later in date than those found in the graves; seaweed and polyps appear rarely on them, and geometrical patterns are the commonest. The most important of these vases is the one, already mentioned (p. 113), on which is depicted a row of warriors. It is in the shape of a large amphora or jar. Amongst the objects found in the same place were further some engraved stones with figures of animals, a block of porphyry adorned with rosettes carved in relief, and a brooch or safety-pin, the only one which has been found on the acropolis. Brooches of the same type have been discovered in the lower city of Mycenae (see below, p. 131 *sq.*)

See Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 351 *sqq.*; Milchhöfer, *Die Anfänge der Kunst in Griechenland*, p. 135 *sqq.*; Schuchhardt, *Schliemanns Ausgrabungen*,[2] p. 318 *sqq.*; Tsountas, Μυκῆναι, p. 159 *sqq.*; Perrot et Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 6. pp. 340 *sq.*, 840 *sqq.* The goddess under the tree on the gold intaglio is interpreted as Astarte by Busolt (*Griech. Geschichte*,[2] p. 94 *sq.*)

IV. *The palace and houses on the acropolis.* In 1886 the Greek Archaeological Society conducted excavations on the citadel of Mycenae with important results. On the highest part of the citadel they laid bare the foundations of an ancient temple. The temple lay roughly north and south (more nearly N.N.W. and S.S.E.) and measured 43 metres (141 feet) in length by 20 metres (65 ft. 7 in.) in breadth. The architectural members discovered include three blocks of the cornice, one capital of a column, and one triglyph-block, all of 'poros' stone. From the style of these fragments Dr. Dörpfeld concludes that the temple must have been built in the sixth or the beginning of the fifth century B.C. Many early Greek roof-tiles are still lying near the temple. But Roman roof-tiles have also been found, showing that the temple was rebuilt or repaired in Roman times.

The temple rests, at its northern end, on the rock; at the south end it reposes on an artificial foundation of rubbish about 10 feet deep. In this foundation were discovered walls belonging to two different periods. Those at the south-west corner of the temple are thin and are constructed of small stones bonded with clay. The other walls are built of larger stones, and as they enclose a floor of concrete, which extends under the former walls, they must be the older of the two sets of walls. The excavations proved that these older walls were the remains of a palace which in plan, materials, and method of construction closely resembles the palace discovered by Dr. Schliemann on the acropolis of Tiryns (see below, p. 221 *sqq.*) In the Mycenaean palace a large court (37 ft. 9 in. broad) is approached from the south-west by a flight of stairs which led up to it from a lower level. On the eastern side of the court runs a portico or colonnade, which opens into a fore-hall or ante-chamber, which in turn opens into the great hall (*megaron*) for the men. This hall, the largest room in the palace, measures 37 feet 9 inches by 42 feet 5 inches. Its roof was supported by four pillars; the bases of three of these pillars were discovered. In the centre of the hall, between the four pillars, was the great circular hearth, of which about a third is preserved. It is composed of clay laid over the floor of the apartment. The outer circle of the hearth was covered with stucco and adorned with paintings: no less than five of these layers of painted stucco have been found, one above the other. The floor of the hall is composed of concrete, with a chequered pattern like that of the hall at Tiryns; but round the walls there is a pavement of stone. The stone threshold of the hall is preserved, with the square holes for the *antae* or door-posts. As there is no round hole for a pivot, we infer that there was no door, but perhaps a curtain. The stone threshold between the portico and the fore-hall is also preserved, with the square holes for the door-posts. The floor of the fore-hall is, like that of the hall, composed of concrete with a pavement of slabs round the wall. The floor of the court is also of concrete. From the west side of the court, towards its northern end, a passage gives access to a series of apartments, which lay on the northern side of the court and hall. These northern apartments were probably set apart for the women. On the right-hand side of the passage which leads from the court to the women's apartments are three stone steps, doubtless part of a staircase which led to the upper floor of the palace.

Of the northern wall of the court six courses of large squared stones have been preserved to a height of 7 feet 10 inches. Between the first and second of these courses a wooden beam is laid horizontally. The western wall of the court seems to have been constructed in the same way. This method of building walls with beams interposed horizontally between the layers of stone was practised at Tiryns, and indeed is practised to this day in Greece. Bricks seem not to have been much used in the palace; however, the upper part of the walls of the hall was apparently of brick, for some heaps of bricks were found there. The stones of which the walls are built are mostly small, except in the case of the lowest part of the walls of the hall. All or most of the walls

seem to have been coated with concrete; and some of them at least were painted. A few pieces of these paintings have been preserved; some of them consist of stripes arranged in patterns; others represent men and horses, but only fragments of these survive. Mortar is nowhere used to bond the stones together. The thresholds of the rooms are mostly of stone; the door-jambs were of wood resting on bases of stone. The doors were of wood and turned on hinges which revolved in sockets sunk in the lintel and threshold.

There is no room to doubt that the palace thus fortunately discovered is that of the ancient kings of Mycenae. From the traces of fire found in the building, it appears to have been burnt; and as there are no signs that it was ever rebuilt, we infer that it was destroyed by an enemy who continued in permanent possession of the place and built upon the site of the old palace the inferior structure which was discovered over it. We may conjecture that the palace was the residence of the Achaean kings and that the conquerors who destroyed it were the Dorian invaders. Lastly, about the time of the Persian wars, the Doric temple was built over both the palace and the later inferior structure. Thus the temple in question is of the greatest importance as evidence of the high antiquity of the palace, and it establishes at the same time the great antiquity of the similar palace at Tiryns.

The excavations at Mycenae in 1886 further laid bare a complex of buildings of different dates beside the so-called tower of polygonal masonry on the south-western front of the acropolis. Amongst these buildings are the remains of a small private house with court, fore-hall, hall (*megaron*), and three underground chambers. In the middle of the hall is a square hearth, and in the floor of the court is a hole, where ashes and bones of animals were found. Probably this hole was a sacrificial pit like the one in the palace at Tiryns. But the most interesting discovery in this part of the citadel was a fragment of a wall-painting, representing a row of ass-headed figures bearing on their shoulders a long pole which they support with their right hands. They wear gay-coloured garments, but too little of their bodies remain to show whether they were human or animal. Such ass-headed monsters were hitherto known only as engraved on some of the Mycenaean or Island gems. There was also found here a tablet of limestone adorned with an interesting painting. In the centre stands, on a blue ground, a man or an idol, covered with a large shield in the shape of two circles joined together. On either side of the idol stands a woman, apparently in an attitude of prayer. Between the idol and the woman on the right is an altar-like object, resembling the bases under the feet of the lions at the Lions' Gate. The house seems to be contemporary with the palace, as it is built in the same style, the walls being constructed of small stones and coated with stucco. It is much older than the polygonal 'tower' or rather bastion beside which it is built.

Remains of houses of a much inferior sort, but still belonging to the Mycenaean period, were discovered and excavated on the acropolis by Mr. Tsountas in 1890. They are situated to the north-east of the

Lions' Gate, between the wall of the acropolis and some ruins of houses of later date which are marked on Steffen's plan of Mycenae. The walls of the houses discovered by Mr. Tsountas are built of small rough stones bonded with clay, but not with mortar. The floors are composed of a pavement of rough stones covered with a rather thin layer of trodden earth. The walls are standing to a height of about six feet, but many of them have neither doors nor windows, from which Mr. Tsountas infers that these houses were two-storied, and that the inhabitants descended by ladders or staircases into the rooms on the ground-floor, which can only, he thinks, have served as storerooms. Access to the dwelling-rooms in the first floor was probably by means of outside staircases or ladders. On the floor of the rooms were found, mingled with ashes and potsherds, the bones of animals, sometimes in considerable quantities. It would seem that after their meals the inhabitants simply dropped the bones of the animals which they had been eating into the room below. The bones are those of swine, goats, sheep, oxen, deer, and hares, the bones of swine being the most numerous. Bones of horses and dogs, and the shells of oysters and other shell-fish, are also found, but no fish-bones. In three houses the graves and bones of children were discovered. Four such graves were found in a single house. These graves are contemporary with the houses and belong to the Mycenaean period. Above the four graves in the one house was a layer of earth about six feet deep, full of potsherds and other objects of the Mycenaean type. From the nature of the objects (brooches, swords, spear-heads, etc.) found in the graves and the houses it appears that these dwellings were inhabited down to the end of the Mycenaean period.

See Tsountas, in Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολ. Ἑταιρίας for 1886, pp. 59-79; *id.*, Μυκῆναι, pp. 35-45; *id.*, in Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1891, pp. 23-30; Schuchhardt, *Schliemanns Ausgrabungen.*[2] pp. 329-338; Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 6. pp. 341-354. Cp. also W. Dörpfeld, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 11 (1886), p. 390 *sq.*; *ib.*, 14 (1889), p. 125 *sq.*; and his letter in *American Journal of Archaeology*, 5 (1889), p. 333 *sq.* The chief paintings found both in the palace and in the buildings at the south-west side of the acropolis are published and described by Mr. Tsountas in Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1887, p. 160 *sqq.*, with plates 10, 11, 12; see also Perrot et Chipiez, *op. cit.*, 6. pp. 554 *sq.*, 884 *sqq.* For the ass-headed figures on the so-called Island gems, see Milchhöfer, *Die Anfänge der Kunst in Griechenland*, pp. 55, 68; Perrot et Chipiez, *op. cit.*, 6. figures 428 and 431; cp. A. B. Cook, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 14 (1894), p. 81 *sqq.* On the subject of the palace etc., see also *Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 8 (1888), p. 282 *sqq.* (comparison of the palaces at Mycenae, Tiryns, and Athens); *ib.*, 9 (1889), pp. 130 *sqq.*, 1411 *sqq.*; *American Journal of Archaeology*, 5 (1889), pp. 102-104; D. Joseph, *Die Palasten des homerischen Epos mit Rücksicht auf die Ausgrabungen H. Schliemanns* (Berlin, 1895).

V. *The lower city with the beehive tombs* etc. The city of Mycenae occupied the lower ground to the west and south-west of the acropolis.

From the north-west corner of the acropolis there stretches southward a long narrow ridge, which to the right (west) fall gradually into the great plain, and to the left (east) descends more steeply into the deep *Chavos* ravine. The summit and slopes of this ridge were occupied by the lower city of Mycenae, and the city-wall which surrounded it can still be traced in many places. The wall, like that of the acropolis, was built in the Cyclopean style, but with smaller stones, and it is only about 6 feet thick. Mr. Tsountas considers it to be of later date than the walls of the acropolis. In many places it has wholly disappeared, and the line which it followed in the gaps can only be conjectured. It certainly joined on to the wall of the acropolis at two points, one to the north, the other to the south of the Lions' Gate, but neither point can be precisely determined. The eastern wall ran along the lower slope of the ridge, parallel to, though without touching, the edge of the *Chavos* ravine. Isolated remains of Cyclopean masonry which are found along the steep bank of the ravine appear to have belonged to supporting-walls. The eastern wall was apparently carried to a point about 350 yards south of the Treasury of Atreus. Here it turned westward, and passing the rocky height called *Makri-Lithari*, turned north and was carried along the western slope of the ridge till it again met the wall of the acropolis at a point to the north of the Lions' Gate. The numerous remains of Cyclopean walls immediately to the north of *Makri-Lithari* seem to show that at this, the extreme southerly point of the city, there was a gate. To the north of the Panagia chapel, which stands about the middle of the ridge, there is a series of large squared blocks in the line of the city-wall ; it would seem that Cyclopean houses and edifices of a later date were here built abutting against the city-wall. The area enclosed by the city-wall is about 1000 yards long from north to south by 275 yards wide from east to west. About the middle it seems to have been divided into two sections, a northern and a southern, by a cross-wall, the remains of which may be seen about 200 yards north of the Treasury of Atreus.

But the lower city was not confined to this ridge. Numerous remains, mostly of Cyclopean masonry, exist outside the line of walls which enclosed the ridge, showing that the city must have outgrown its original limits. Thus on the western slope of the ridge there are many Cyclopean supporting-walls, and on this side, immediately at the foot of the city-wall, are many ruins of ancient houses. This outer city seems to have extended to the glen of the *Elias* river on the north and north-west. On the left (south) bank of that glen, about 650 yards to the north-west of the Lions' Gate, are the ruins of a large building of the Mycenaean age. The four walls of the building are still visible. It is 93 feet long by 60 feet broad. The foundations of another large Cyclopean building are to be seen on the crest of a height about half a mile south-west of the acropolis, to the north of the village of *Charvati*. In two glens to the north-east and south-east of this height are the only two wells of Mycenae. The remains of Cyclopean buildings close to them, and the Mycenaean potsherds lying about, prove that both wells were within the suburb of the ancient city. Due

south of *Makri-Lithari* are the ruins of a great Cyclopean bridge over the bed of the *Chonia* stream. The eastern half of the bridge is still in perfect preservation. The high-road from Mycenae to the Heraeum passed over this bridge.

See Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 371 *sq.*; Mure, *Journal*, 2. p. 164 *sqq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 406 *sq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 308; Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 39 *sqq.*; Steffen, *Karten von Mykenai. Text*, pp. 9, 35 *sqq.*; Schuchhardt, *Schliemanns Ausgrabungen*,[2] p. 174 *sq.*; Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 6. p. 355 *sq.*; Tsountas, Μυκῆναι, p. 21 *sq.* As to the evidence which goes to show that the population of Mycenae was originally distributed in a number of separate villages, each with its own burying-ground, see below, p. 129.

The most important remains in the lower city are the so-called beehive tombs, which were formerly known as 'treasuries.' Eight of these edifices have up to the present (July, 1895) been found at Mycenae. Three of them lie inside the wall of the lower town, and the remaining five lie outside of it to the west and north.

The largest and best preserved is the one which is popularly called the Treasury of Atreus or Tomb of Agamemnon. It lies about the middle of the ridge, on its eastern slope, into which it is built. It faces the acropolis, from which it is distant only a few hundred paces. The structure consists of three portions, namely, a long approach or



FIG. 23.—SECTIONAL PLAN OF THE SO-CALLED TREASURY OF ATREUS.

dromos, as it is called, a large circular vaulted chamber, and a small square chamber opening off the large round one. The two chambers are subterranean, being built into the side of the hill. The *dromos* or passage leads horizontally into the hill from an artificial terrace paved with Cyclopean masonry. The passage or *dromos* is about 115 feet long by 20 feet wide. The walls of the passage, which of course increase in height as you advance inwards, are constructed of massive squared blocks laid in horizontal courses, like the masonry of the gates of the acropolis. At the further end of the passage is the door leading into the great circular chamber. According to Schliemann, the doorway is 18 ft. high, and is 8 ft. 6 in. wide at the top, and 9 ft. 2 in. wide at the bottom; according to Dr. Schuchhardt it is 17 ft. 9 in. high, 8 ft. 1 in. wide at the top, and 8 ft. 9 in. wide at the bottom. On the outside before each door-post stood, on a low quadrangular base, a peculiarly shaped half-column of dark grey alabaster (Adler, Schuchhardt) or green basalt (Leake). The fragments of these semi-columns

which have been found show that the shafts tapered downwards and were ornamented in relief with spirals arranged in zigzag bands, each band of spirals being bordered on each side by a narrower band of lozenges. A fragment of one of the capitals has been found; formerly it was taken to be a fragment of a base. Like the shafts it is adorned with bands of spirals and lozenges, and resembles in some points the capitals of the temples at Paestum. Messrs. Furtwängler, Löschcke, and Puchstein think that in this fragment we see the first stage in the development of the Doric capital. Over the lintel, as over the lintel of the Lions' Gate, a triangular opening was left in the massive wall, in order to reduce the pressure on the lintel. This triangular space, measuring about 10 ft. on the sides, was filled up with slabs of red porphyry laid horizontally upon each other and adorned with rows of spirals. The slab which filled the apex, and a few fragments of the other slabs, have been found and are now in the National Museum at Athens. The passage leading from the doorway into the great circular vaulted chamber is 18 ft. in length and "is roofed by two enormous slabs, beautifully cut and polished, of which the inner one measures 3 ft. 9 in. in thickness, and $27\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length on its lower and 29 feet on its upper surface; its breadth is 17 feet, and it is computed it weighs approximately 300,000 English pounds" (Schliemann). In the middle of this passage the stone threshold of the door, composed of three large blocks of conglomerate, is preserved; two holes which may be seen in it perhaps served to fasten a band or threshold of bronze, as Messrs. Perrot and Chipiez suggest. Others, however, suppose that pivots of the folding doors revolved in these holes.

Through the doorway we pass into the great circular chamber, which has the form of a dome or vast beehive. It is 50 ft. high and 50 ft. in diameter at the level of the floor. It is built of well-wrought blocks of hard breccia, placed in horizontal courses, and joined with the greatest precision without any binding material. "The stones, which on the inside are smooth and well-fitted, are on the outside very irregular, and, contrary to the general belief, they are not immediately covered with earth, but with enormous masses of stones, which, by their ponderous weight, keep all the stones of the circular layers of masonry in their position" (Schliemann). The dome is not constructed on the principle of the arch, in which the stones are cut in the shape of wedges and their joints converge towards the centre of a circle. On the contrary, the stones are laid in thirty-three horizontal circular courses, each course projecting inward over the course below and diminishing in diameter, till the whole is closed by a single block placed upon the last circular course. This highest block is therefore not like a key-stone of an arch, which cannot be removed without the whole arch tumbling down; it is simply superposed on the lower courses and might be removed without affecting their stability. The inner angles of the courses are cut away, so that the sides of the chamber are perfectly smooth and rise in a continuous, unbroken line from floor to summit, there being no distinction of wall and roof. The blocks of the lower courses are 1 ft. 10 in. high, and from 4 to 7 ft.

long; but towards the top of the dome the courses become gradually narrower. The floor of the chamber is the natural rock. From the third course upwards smaller and larger holes may be seen at regular intervals in the stones. Some of these holes still contain bronze nails, which were used to fasten bronze rosettes or similar ornaments to the walls. It was formerly supposed that the whole surface of the walls had once been covered with bronze plates; but this was not so, for there are no holes round the doorway such as there must have been if the whole surface had been lined with bronze plates.

On the right-hand (north) side of the great beehive chamber a doorway 9½ ft. high and 4 ft. 7 in. broad leads to a smaller dark chamber, which is nearly square, being 27 feet long and broad, and 19 feet high. It is entirely cut out of the rock. Over the door is a triangular niche, intended to keep off the weight of the masonry from the lintel. On the walls of the chamber Lord Elgin's engineer discovered remains of a lining of masonry, which may have been covered with sculptured slabs like those which adorned the roof in the corresponding chamber at Orchomenus. In the middle of the square chamber at Mycenae is a circular depression in the floor, in the form of a large wash-bowl, 1 ft. 9 in. deep and 3 ft. 4 in. in diameter. If this depression was, as some think, the tomb proper, the body must have been placed in it in a crouching or doubled-up posture. That these beehive structures were tombs, not treasuries as they were formerly held to be, has been conclusively proved by the discovery of six bodies, with all their ornaments, in a beehive structure of the same sort at *Menidi* in Attica (see below, p. 137 *sq.*) When the tombs were first rifled, the treasures which were doubtless discovered with the bodies would easily give rise to the notion that the buildings were treasuries. But what king would scatter his treasures in six separate buildings, all of them outside the fortifications of the acropolis? It is commonly supposed that in the Treasury of Atreus the side-chamber alone was the tomb, while the great circular vaulted chamber served as a mortuary chapel in which sacrifices were offered to the illustrious dead. But out of the many beehive tombs which have been discovered (see below) only two (namely the Treasury of Atreus and the tomb at Orchomenus) have side-chambers, and in the case of all the others it is certain that the beehive chamber was the actual tomb. Mr. Tsountas is therefore probably right in holding that the beehive chamber was in all cases the tomb proper, and that the side-chamber was a charnel-house, in which the bones of the less illustrious members of the royal family were collected.

See Clarke, *Travels*, 3. pp. 687-699; Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. pp. 220-235; Gell, *Itinerary of Greece*, pp. 29-33; Leake, *Morea*, 2. pp. 373-382; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. pp. 407-411; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, pp. 308-311; W. G. Clark, *Pelop.* pp. 73-81; Mahaffy, *Rambles*, pp. 395-406; Baedeker,[3] p. 266; Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 41 *sqq.*; Schuchhardt, *Schliemann's Ausgrabungen*,[2] pp. 175-180; Adler's Preface to Schliemann's *Tiryns*, p. xxxviii. *sqq.*; Thiersch, 'Die Tholos des Atreus zu Mykenae,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 4 (1879), pp. 177-182; Belger, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der griech. Kuppelgräber*, p. 26 *sqq.*; Tsountas, Μυκῆναι, pp. 123-127; Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans*

l'Antiquité, 6. pp. 356 *sqq.*, 608-641. Mr. Tsountas's views as to the respective uses of the beehive chamber and the side-chamber are stated in Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1889, p. 135 note; Μυκῆναι, p. 137 *sq.*

Northward from the so-called Treasury of Atreus and on the same side of the long ridge, a little to the west of the Lions' Gate, is another of these beehive structures. It was partially excavated by Mrs. Schliemann in 1876, and commonly goes by her name. Another popular designation for it is the Tomb of Clytaemnestra. It was more fully excavated by Mr. Tsountas in 1891 and 1892. In size it is little inferior to the Treasury of Atreus, but is built of smaller stones, and is not so well preserved, the upper part of the dome having long ago fallen in. It differs from the Treasury of Atreus in having no side-chamber. The *dromos* or horizontal approach to it is even longer than the approach to the Treasury of Atreus, measuring about 124 feet in length by 20 feet in breadth. The sides of this approach are built of hewn blocks of stone laid in horizontal courses. In the floor of the approach, about 16 feet from the façade of the tomb, an oblong hole is dug, 2.75 metres long, 1.20 metres wide, and 50 centimetres deep. It seems to have been a woman's grave; some golden ornaments and two bronze mirrors were found in it; the ivory handles of the mirrors are carved with figures of women, palm-trees, and doves in a very Semitic style. In the *dromos* Schliemann found some archaic pottery, including very rudely modelled figures of men on horseback holding the horse's neck with both hands; similar figures have been found in a tomb at Ialysus in Rhodes. The fragments of painted vases found by Schliemann in the *dromos* were "profusely covered with an ornamentation of key patterns, zigzag lines, stripes of ornaments like fish-spines, bands with very primitive representations of cranes or swans, or circles with flowers, and occasionally with the sign 卐." The doorway of the tomb is 5.50 metres (18 feet) high, 2.67 metres (12 feet 6 inches) wide at the bottom, and 5.48 metres (17 feet 9 inches) deep. It was flanked by two half-columns of dark grey alabaster, which were fluted in their whole length like Doric columns and rested on semi-circular bases. Part of one of these half-columns was found standing on its base. These columns tapered slightly downward and were of very slender proportions; their capitals, also made of alabaster, were smaller and simpler than those of the Treasury of Atreus. Over the doorway, as over that of the Treasury of Atreus, there is a triangular hollow space, which was similarly closed with slabs of red marble adorned with sculptured reliefs. Indeed this triangular space is still completely walled up within by flat square slabs, so that the notion that these triangular spaces served as windows must be abandoned. The relieving triangle rests on a lintel of leek-green marble; while, instead of the head-moulding of the door, there is a projecting slab of blue-gray marble, on which, frieze-like, is cut in flat relief a row of discs, which are believed by Dr. Adler to represent the ends of the round poles of a wooden roof. If this interpretation of them is right, it confirms the explanation given above (p. 102) of the similar discs over the column on the Lions' Gate. The roof of the doorway or passage leading from the

dromos into the vaulted chamber is roofed with three huge slabs of stone; in the middle slab, as in the threshold below, may be seen the pivot-holes in which the doors revolved. But as if the door was not enough to bar the entrance to the tomb, the doorway was built up with a wall of common stone in front of the door. This wall had to be taken down in the course of the excavations. A similar wall, about 7 feet high, blocked and still blocks the outer end of the *dromos* or approach to the tomb. The floor of the circular chamber is the levelled rock, covered with a coating of sand and chalk. In the walls of the chamber there are no holes for nails.

See Schliemann, *Mycenae*, pp. 102, 119 *sqq.*, 139 *sqq.*; Adler, Preface to Schliemann's *Tiryns*, p. xxxvi. *sqq.*; Schuchhardt, *Schliemann's Ausgrabungen*,[2] p. 181 *sq.*; *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 17 (1892), p. 94 *sq.*; Tsountas, in *Bull. de Corr. Hellén.* 17 (1893), p. 197; *id.*, Μυκῆναι, pp. 77 *sq.*, 127-129; Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 6. pp. 641-647.

Besides these two great beehive tombs, six other smaller tombs of the same sort have been discovered at Mycenae. Of these remaining six tombs only one is within the city-walls; it is situated between the so-called Tomb of Clytaemnestra and the wall of the acropolis. It was discovered in November 1892, and has not yet been fully excavated. Its approach or *dromos* is 5.7 metres (nearly 19 feet) wide, and is mostly hewn in the rock; but its sides are partly lined with a wall of small stones bonded with clay. The façade of the tomb is carefully constructed of large hewn blocks. Of the five beehive tombs outside the walls four have been excavated. The largest and best built of them is situated to the north of the Lions' Gate, not far from the city-wall. The approach to it is 22 metres (72 feet) long by 5 metres (16 ft. 5 in.) wide; the sides of the approach are built of quadrangular blocks of stone, and its outer end was closed with a wall. The doorway of the tomb is 5.45 metres (17 ft. 9 in.) high, 2.55 metres (8 ft. 4 in.) wide at the bottom, and 5.14 metres (nearly 17 feet) deep. The lintel of the doorway is formed of three large slabs: in one of these slabs is a hole in which the pivot of the door probably revolved. The upper part of the domed chamber of the tomb has fallen in, as it has in all the other beehive tombs at Mycenae except the Treasury of Atreus. The diameter of the domed chamber is 14.40 metres (47 feet 3 inches), which is very nearly equal to that of the Treasury of Atreus: its sides are built of small blocks of limestone; the floor is levelled and coated with cement, on which there are traces of red paint. Hewn in the floor of the chamber are two graves, one of which is about 18 feet long by 5 feet wide and 10 feet deep. The remaining beehive tombs are situated to the west of the city.

See Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 41; Adler's Preface to Schliemann's *Tiryns*, p. xxxiii. *sq.*; Belger, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der griech. Kuppelgräber*, p. 30; Schuchhardt, *Schliemanns Ausgrabungen*,[2] p. 182; *Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 9 (1889), p. 1410; *id.*, 13 (1893), p. 203; Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολ. Ἑταιρίας, 1891, p. 19 *sq.*; *id.*, 1892, p. 56 *sq.*; *id.*, 1893, p. 8; Tsountas, in *Bulletin de Corr. Hellénique*, 17 (1893), p. 197; *id.*, Μυκῆναι, p. 129 *sq.*; Perrot et Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 6. pp. 606-608.

Besides these great beehive tombs, it remains to notice a large number of lesser tombs which have been discovered at Mycenae in the course of excavations conducted by the Greek Archaeological Society in the years 1886, 1887, 1888, 1890, 1892, and 1893. The discovery of these tombs is of great interest and importance, inasmuch as it seems to throw light on the manner in which the ancient cities of Greece gradually sprang up. At least seventy-seven of these tombs have been found and excavated, not counting some very small ones. They do not form one continuous burying-ground; on the contrary they occur in separate groups scattered up and down the slopes to the west, north, and north-east of the city. Mr. Tsountas, the able Greek archaeologist who superintended the excavations, has explained the scattered position of the groups of tombs by supposing that each group of tombs was the burying-place of a separate village, and that each village was inhabited by a separate family or clan, who had their separate burying-ground attached to the village. This view is supported by two facts—(1) the tombs of each group have certain common characteristics, both in respect of their construction and of the nature of the objects found in them; (2) the tombs are never isolated, they are always found in groups. Thus it would seem that in prehistoric times Mycenae was simply a collection of villages, inhabited by distinct families or clans, each with its own burying-ground. We know that down to historical times Sparta was just such a collection of villages (Thucydides, i. 10); and the Spartans buried their dead "in the city" (Plutarch, *Lycurg.* 27), probably in separate burying-grounds situated between the villages which together composed the city. We know that the tombs of the Agids and Eurypontids were situated in different parts of Sparta (Pausanias, iii. 12. 8, iii. 14. 2). Thucydides (*l.c.*) states that this arrangement of the population in villages was the ancient custom in Greece; and Mr. Tsountas, arguing from the evidence of Mycenae, thinks that every Greek city was originally composed of a number of separate unwalled villages grouped round a fortified hill, each village being probably inhabited by a distinct family or clan, and the land being owned and cultivated, not by individuals, but by the families or clans. As the villages extended they in time met and formed a single city, so that the burying-grounds were surrounded with houses. Then walls would be built round the whole city, and the practice of burying within the walls would be forbidden. This union of scattered villages in a single city would be what the Greeks called *συνοικισμός*; the process would sometimes be carried out or at least completed by a powerful ruler like Theseus, who had his palace on the fortified hill or acropolis.

The seventy and odd tombs excavated by Mr. Tsountas at Mycenae, with which we are now concerned, are not beehive tombs, *i.e.* are not built of masonry in the shape of beehives and covered over with a mound, natural or artificial, of earth; they are chambers hewn out of the rock, and are approached by passages (*dromoi*) which are also hewn out of the rock. These passages are almost always smaller than those leading to the beehive tombs; they measure from 16 to 80 feet in

length by 3 to 7 feet in breadth. Sometimes they are horizontal, sometimes they slope down to the doorway of the tomb. One such passage has nine steps cut in the rock. The sides of the passages are generally not perpendicular, but slope inward so as, in some cases, almost to meet over head. The doorway of the tomb is always narrower than the passage, and was closed, not with a door, but with a wall of stones or (in one case) of unburnt brick. This wall, however, was never carried right up to the lintel; a small space was always left open at the top. Then the *dromos* or approach was filled up with earth; and when the earth was nearly level with the lintel, massive stones were placed in front of the opening, to prevent the earth from falling into the tomb. Above these massive stones were often piled other stones, right up to the surface of the ground. The fronts of five of the tombs, together with the sides of the doorways, are coated with cement; and in three at least of them the cement was decorated with wall-paintings of many colours. The rock-hewn chamber into which we pass through the doorway is generally quadrangular: only the smaller and more carelessly constructed tombs approach in shape to the circular. The roofs are not horizontal, but slope down from the middle on both sides, gable-fashion. The area of the chamber varies from 10 by 13 to 13 by 16 feet, and the height from 6½ to 8 feet in the middle, under the gable-ridge. Most of the tombs consist of a single chamber, but three at least have a second chamber: three others have niches; and one has both a second chamber and a niche. Each tomb contained the remains of several skeletons, and in the tombs which have two chambers bones were found in both. Some tombs contained five or six bodies, but the exact number in each could not be ascertained. The bodies seem to have been always buried, not burnt. Ashes indeed were found in almost all the tombs, but in such small quantities that they must have proceeded from very small fires, perhaps merely from the torches which must have been used at the burials to light up these gloomy subterranean chambers. In one tomb only was the floor completely strewn with ashes, but even here the bones seem not to have been subjected to fire, and the ashes may have been those of sacrifices burnt in the tomb. The bodies appear to have been deposited on the floor of the tomb in a sitting attitude, the back perhaps propped up with cushions and the knees bent. No trace of embalming was found on any of the bodies.

In the *dromoi* or passages leading to these rock-cut tombs there are always found potsherds and other objects, all belonging to the Mycenaean epoch, none to a later one. Further, in front of the doorways of the tombs there were often found the bones of animals, and in two or three cases the horns of an ox or of sheep. Bones of animals were also found on the top of the wall which blocked up the doorway, in the empty space under the lintel. Probably flesh was laid on the wall as food for the dead. Human bones, too, were often found in front of the doorway. In one tomb six complete human skeletons were found at different depths in the soil in front of the doorway: from various indications it appeared that they had all been buried simul-

taneously; probably they are the remains of slaves or prisoners who were slain to accompany their dead master to the other world.

Of the objects found in these tombs some had been purposely broken before they were deposited with the dead; this appears from the fact that many pieces of the same object (for example a vase) were scattered about in different parts of the tomb or even of the *dromos*. Much more rarely some of the objects bear traces of fire. Mr. Tsountas believes that small fires were lit in the tombs to burn the garments and some other ornaments of the dead in order to convey these personal possessions to him in the spirit land; with a like intention the tyrant Periander burnt a vast quantity of raiment for the use of his dead wife Melissa, whose ghost had complained of being cold and naked (Herodotus, v. 92). In the long list of objects found in or before the tombs are objects of gold, bronze, iron, ivory, and earthenware. Amongst them are a great many rude female idols of clay. These were generally found in the poorer graves. The goddess represented seems not always to be the same. The great majority of them portray a diadem-crowned goddess, who may perhaps be Hera; but one with naked breast and a large necklace may be Aphrodite. The latter goddess may also be represented by a number of small figures made of glass-paste, of which more than twelve were found in one tomb. They exhibit a woman, clad in a skirt from the waist downward, holding her two hands to her breasts. As these little figures were found along with a great many beads of red stone and glass-paste, they were probably worn strung on a necklace with the beads. A few figures representing a woman with a child in her arms were also found; they may be images of Demeter in her character of the Nursing Mother. A great many articles made of ivory were discovered in the tombs, including for example several ivory combs. Particularly notable are three ivory heads in profile, which were all found in the same grave. The heads are carved in relief, the back being left flat with holes for attaching them to something. The face is that of a beardless man with regular features; he wears what seems to be a mitre or conical helmet, though Dr. Schuchhardt explains it as hair coiled in long plaits round the head. A head almost exactly alike had been previously found at *Spata* in Attica (see below, p. 144). Another ivory figure, of which two fragments were found in a tomb, represents a woman with coarse, negro-like features, clad in a flounced skirt and wearing a sort of night-cap with a long tassel; a necklace composed of small triangular pendants is on her neck, and a bracelet of the same sort is on one of her arms; the other arm is broken off.

Other objects of interest found in the tombs are some bronze razors, three bronze brooches in the shape of safety pins, and round bronze mirrors, with ivory handles, which are adorned with figures carved in relief. Pieces of a small glass vase were also found. Particularly notable are two iron finger-rings, and two fragments of another iron object, perhaps also a ring. This is the first time that iron has been found in graves of the Mycenaean period, and the fact that finger-rings were made of it proves that the metal was rare and precious. The bronze

brooches, mentioned above, are also important, for at one time it was thought that brooches were unknown to the people of the Mycenaean period, and on this supposed fact was founded a distinction between the Mycenaean people and the Greeks of the Homeric age: the Mycenaeans, it was held, wore only sewed garments, which had no need of brooches to fasten them, whereas the Homeric Greeks wore unsewed garments which were held together by brooches. Another brooch of the same type was found on the acropolis of Mycenae, as we have seen already (p. 119). A number of engraved gems, of the class known as Island or Mycenaean gems (see above, p. 115 *sq.*), were also found in the rock-hewn tombs. They are all perforated, but show no trace of having been set in rings. Hence Mr. Tsountas believes that they were not used as signets, but worn as ornaments or amulets. The devices engraved on them mostly represent animals, as oxen, antelopes, lions, wild goats, etc. On one we see two lions standing face to face, their fore-paws resting on a base like the two bases on the Lions' Gate: the heads of the lions are united, and appear as one. The most artistically remarkable of the objects found in these tombs is perhaps a silver goblet adorned with inlaid work. It is shaped like a shallow bowl, and has a single handle. Round the rim of the goblet runs a band of leaves formed of inlaid gold, and a similar band of leaves encircles the body of the goblet. Between these two bands of leaves were originally twenty-one heads of men inlaid with gold and a dark alloy, the exact composition of which has not yet been determined. The features of the faces, which are represented in profile, appear to be Greek: each wears a beard, but no moustache; the hair is long and falls down on the neck in curls. Only seven of these heads are preserved, but the hollows prepared for the reception of the other fourteen are still to be seen.

The rock-cut tombs, which have just been described, appear to be contemporary with the beehive tombs but later than the shaft graves discovered by Schliemann on the acropolis. Amongst the differences between the contents of the rock-cut tombs and those of the shaft graves may be noticed that in the former the dead were not embalmed and did not wear masks on their faces. Again, while weapons abounded in the shaft graves, they are conspicuously absent in the rock-cut tombs, in which no swords and only three bronze spear-heads have been found. The greater abundance of clay idols and engraved gems is another feature which distinguishes the rock-cut tombs from the shaft graves. But in spite of these differences there is no room for doubt that shaft graves, palace, beehive tombs and rock-cut tombs, with their contents, are the products of a single uninterrupted development of society and art.

A full account of most of the rock-cut tombs and their contents is given by Mr. Tsountas in Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1888, pp. 119-180, with plates 7-10. See also Tsountas, Μυκῆναι, pp. 134-152; Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολ. Ἑταιρίας, 1887, p. 65 *sq.*; *id.*, 1888, p. 28 *sq.*; *id.*, 1890, p. 36; *id.*, 1892, p. 57 *sq.*; *id.*, 1893, p. 8 *sq.*; Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν, 1888, pp. 131, 170-172, 181; *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 12 (1887), p. 200; *id.*, 14 (1889), p. 125; *Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 9 (1889), pp. 1409-1411; *American Journal of Archaeology*, 4

(1888), pp. 498-500; *id.*, 5 (1889), p. 491 *sq.*; *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 10 (1889), p. 172; Schuchhardt, *Schliemanns Ausgrabungen*,[2] pp. 339-345; *Bulletin de Corr. Hellénique*, 17 (1893), p. 197 *sq.*; Perrot et Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 6. pp. 370-377, 809-812.

So much for the remains of Mycenae. The discoveries of recent years have shown that the civilisation of Mycenae, as revealed in its walls, its palace, its tombs, and its art treasures, was not isolated, but that a kindred civilisation was spread over a large part of the eastern coast of Greece, Crete, the islands of the Aegean, and the north-western coast of Asia Minor. Amongst the chief evidence for the wide diffusion of a civilisation akin to that of Mycenae is the existence of beehive tombs, like those of Mycenae, at widely separated points of continental Greece. Not only do these beehive tombs resemble in structure those at Mycenae, but the objects found in them (pottery, articles of gold and bronze, etc.) are so closely alike to those found at Mycenae, that they must have belonged to approximately the same epoch and the same civilisation. Of these beehive tombs, in addition to the eight at Mycenae, at least eleven are known to exist. They are, with the exception of the tomb at Orchomenus, inferior both in size and construction to the great beehive tombs at Mycenae. They are built of smaller stones, which are often quite unhewn. The façade of none of them is adorned with columns and coloured marble; none of them (except the tomb at Orchomenus) has a second chamber; and none of them, so far as appears, had a door, the entrance being merely blocked up with a wall of common stones. The tombs in question are as follows.

(1) About ten minutes' walk to the north-west of the Heraeum (see below, note on ii. 17. 1), beside the old carriage-road which led from it to Mycenae, a peasant accidentally discovered a beehive tomb in 1872. The tomb was excavated in 1878 by the Greek Archaeological Society. It consists of an approach or *dromos* 18 metres (49 feet) long, and a round chamber 9.70 metres (31 ft. 10 in.) in diameter. The doorway and the round chamber are built of large and small stones, not smoothed or wrought, but arranged in more or less horizontal courses. The doorway is blocked with a rough wall of stones about 10 feet thick, which is not, however, carried up to the lintel, an empty space having been left (as in the rock-cut tombs at Mycenae) between the top of the wall and the lintel. The upper part of the beehive chamber has fallen in; the wall is nowhere standing to a height of more than 6.50 metres (21 feet). Three quadrangular graves are dug out in the floor of the chamber. Mr. Stamatakis, who superintended the excavations, thought that these graves belonged to a later age than the tomb itself; but they may be contemporary with it, for similar graves have been found dug out in the floor of intact tombs of the Mycenaean age. Human bones, some of them charred with fire, were found in the tomb. The tomb had apparently been rifled, but contained sherds of Mycenaean pottery, small ornaments of gold and glass-paste, and fragments of stone implements, of weapons and vessels of bronze, and of articles of ivory. It seems that the

tomb was used as a sepulchre in the classical Greek age, for pottery of a later epoch, and two pieces of a plinth stamped with a Greek inscription (ΑΗΣΑΡΧΙΤΕΚΤΩΝ) of the fifth or fourth century B.C. were found in it.

See Stamatakis, Ὁ παρὰ τὸ Ἡραῖον τάφος, *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen.* 3 (1878), pp. 271-286; Adler, Preface to Schliemann's *Tiryns*, p. [illegible]; Perrot et Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 6. pp. 395-397.

(2) The beehive tomb at *Vaphio* (the ancient Pharis, see note on iii. 20. 3) has been known since 1805; it was excavated by Mr. Tsountas for the Greek Archaeological Society in 1889. The tomb is situated on the top of a conical hill about five miles south of Sparta. The *dromos* or approach to the tomb is 29.80 metres (about 98 feet long) by 3.45 metres (11 ft. 4 in.) wide in front of the doorway. In the soil with which the *dromos* was filled up Mr. Tsountas found a considerable number of potsherds of the Mycenaean style, many of them plain, and many of them painted, also a few small gold leaves, and a piece of an amber bead. In the gateway or short passage leading from the *dromos* into the beehive chamber there was found a hole about 6 feet square and 6 feet deep, the bottom of which was covered to a depth of about 4 inches with a layer of ashes. Probably the hole was one of those pits (βόθροι) in which the ancients sacrificed to the dead. The beehive chamber, or tomb proper, is built of hewn stones of no great size, laid in horizontal courses. The dome had long ago fallen in, but the walls are standing in places to a height of about 10 feet. The diameter of the chamber is about 10.25 metres (34 feet). There is no second chamber opening off the beehive chamber, as in the Treasury of Atreus at Mycenae. The floor of the chamber, which is uneven and formed of the natural rock, was found strewn with a layer of black earth mixed with ashes and a few charred bones, whether the bones of men or animals is uncertain. Many small objects were found scattered on the floor of the tomb. Among them were some engraved gems, about thirty amethyst beads, also beads of amber and crystal, two gold rings, two small gold fish, two bronze pins, some bronze nails, a few fragments of stone vessels, and a few bits of silver and ivory. The potsherds found were few in number and all undecorated. Far more important and valuable were the objects deposited in a grave which Mr. Tsountas found dug out in the floor of the chamber. The grave, which from its contents appears to have been that of a man, contained ashes, but no bones; however from the position of the objects found in it Mr. Tsountas inferred that the body had not been burnt but buried entire, and at full length. At the place where the head of the body probably lay were found a bronze sword, seven bronze knives, two bronze spear-heads, a bronze sceptre (?), a bronze mirror, five leaden discs, two stone vessels, two alabaster vessels, a small silver vessel, a few earthenware vessels, etc. At the place where the neck and breast of the body probably lay were found about eighty amethyst beads and two engraved gems; on the left side lay a dagger, and near it a silver saucer with gilt rim. About the middle of the

grave, where the hands of the dead may have lain, were found two silver cups, one at each hand, and two gold cups adorned with fine reliefs (see below). Here too were found, in two heaps, forty-one engraved gems, which were probably worn strung together as bracelets. Also there were found three rings, one of gold, one of bronze, and one of iron. At the feet of the dead lay a bronze knife, two bronze axes, and four leaden discs like those found at the head of the grave. The engraved gems found in the tomb are both of the lentoid and the glandular shape (see above, p. 115); the devices on them include dolphins, lions, oxen, geese, rams' heads, chariots driven by pairs of horses, a woman dancing, etc. But of all the objects found in the tomb at *Vaphio* by far the most remarkable are the two gold cups mentioned above. They are indeed generally regarded as the masterpiece of Mycenaean art and one of the most interesting monuments of prehistoric Greece. The cups resemble each other in size and shape; each has a single handle and no stem. Each of them is decorated, in its whole circumference, with admirable reliefs representing bulls, men, and trees. On one of them we see a bull caught in a net, which is fastened at each end to a tree; the beast is thrown on its fore-quarters on the ground, and is lifting up its head and bellowing in distress. To the right is seen another bull, which has apparently just cleared the toils at a bound and is galloping away. To the left a third bull is charging in the opposite direction. Two men, the huntsmen no doubt who had laid the toils, have attempted to bar his way, but the bull has knocked one of them down and is in the act of tossing the other on his left horn. Towards the extremities of the scene two palm-trees are represented. On the other cup the scene portrayed is more peaceful. On the right is a bull pacing slowly with lowered head, as if browsing. In the middle two bulls stand side by side, with their heads turned to each other in a friendly way. To the left walks another bull, with a man behind him, who holds firmly with both hands a rope, which is tied round the bull's left hind leg; the animal is lifting up its head and bellowing. In the background are two trees, of the same sort as those to which the net is fastened in the other scene; from their foliage and gnarled trunks they seem to be olives, but may possibly be pines. Both scenes are rendered with admirable vigour and truth to nature; in style they resemble each other so closely that they are probably works of the same artist. All the bulls have short curved horns, and are thickset, powerful animals. The men are lean and sinewy, with well-marked muscles. They are nearly naked, but wear a girdle and loin-cloth about the waist, shoes on their feet, and straps bound round their legs half-way up the calves. Further, the man who holds the bull by the rope wears bracelets. The faces of all the men are clean shaven, but their hair is long and streams down their back. In artistic execution the men are inferior to the bulls; in particular their bodies are too meagre and drawn in at the waist. The cups are most probably, as Mr. Perrot has argued at some length, works of a native Greek artist, and not imported from abroad. The subject of the reliefs (the capture and taming of wild bulls) has been

justly compared with a fragment of a fresco discovered in the palace at Tiryns, in which a bull is depicted galloping along, while a man, attired like the men on the *Vaphio* cups, seizes it by the horn (see note on ii. 25. 8). Mr. L. Heuzey has also compared the scenes on the *Vaphio* cups with the scenes sculptured in relief on a slab of green schist, found in Egypt and now preserved in the Louvre, which represents the combats of men with bulls; in one scene a bull is goring a man on the ground; in another, which is broken, a huntsman seems to have been represented tossed by a bull. The style of these reliefs is rather Assyrian than Egyptian. In comparing them with the reliefs on the *Vaphio* cups Mr. Heuzey suggests that the artist who made the cups may have been influenced by Oriental models.

On the beehive tomb at *Vaphio* and its contents see especially Mr. Tsountas, in Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1889, pp. 136-172, with plates 7-10. See also Tsountas, Μυκῆναι, pp. 130 *sq.*, 144-146; Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολ. Ἑταιρίας. 1889, p. 21 *sq.*; *American Journal of Archaeology*, 5 (1889), pp. 380 *sq.*, 493-495; Schuchhardt, *Schliemanns Ausgrabungen*,[2] pp. 345-351; Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 6. pp. 405-410. For earlier notices of the tomb see Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 415 *sq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 4; Mure, *Journal*, 2. p. 246 *sq.*; *id.*, in *Rheinisches Museum*, 6 (1839), p. 247 *sq.*; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. p. 210 *sq.*; Curtius, *Peloponnesos*, 2. p. 248; Vischer, *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke*, p. 384; Conze e Michaelis, 'Rapporto d' un viaggio fatto nella Grecia,' *Annali dell' Instituto*, 33 (1861), p. 49 *sq.*; Ch. Belger, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der griech. Kuppelgräber*, pp. 31-33. On the gold cups of *Vaphio* see also G. Perrot, 'Les vases d'or de Vafio,' *Bulletin de Corr. Hellénique*, 15 (1891), pp. 493-537; P. Gardiner, *New Chapters in Greek history*, p. 70 *sq.*; L. Heuzey, 'Un prototype des taureaux de Tirynthe et d'Amyclées,' *Bulletin de Corr. Hellén.* 16 (1892), pp. 307-319; H. Brunn, *Griechische Kunstgeschichte*, 1. pp. 46-52; Perrot et Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 6. pp. 784-793; A. Bertrand, 'Les vases de Vaphio,' *Comptes Rendus de l'Academie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres*, 22 (1894), pp. 363-367.

(3) In the autumn of 1889 Mr. Tsountas discovered another beehive tomb at *Arkina* or *Arkinai*, a place in Mount Taygetus about six hours to the south-west of Sparta, between the village of *Arna* and the monastery of *Gola*. The district is hilly, and is surrounded on all sides by higher summits except on the east, where a narrow glen affords a passage to the *Gourantiko* river on its way to join the Eurotas. The beehive tomb is poor in construction and contents. The *dromos* or approach to it is only 2.65 metres (8 ft. 8 in.) long. The doorway was built up. The beehive chamber measures 4.75 metres (15 ft. 7 in.) in diameter, and its walls are standing to a height of about 3.75 metres (12 ft. 3 in.) Except the three blocks which compose the lintel, the stones are all small and quite unhewn, so that the joints gape. In the tomb were found five beads of white stone, an elliptical stone perforated but not engraved, a small bronze nail, a gold ornament, and some fragments of undecorated pottery. There were no ashes. The bones were lying in confusion; of the skull only the teeth were preserved.

See Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολ. Ἑταιρίας, 1889, p. 22; Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1889, p. 132 *sq.*; Perrot et Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 6. p. 405.

(4) Another beehive tomb was discovered in Laconia about 1886. It is situated at *Kampos* on the western side of Mount Taygetus, at the

foot of the mountain which is crowned by the Frankish castle of *Zarnata* (see notes on iii. 26. 8 'Gerenia,' and iii. 26. 11 'Alagonia'). *Kampos* lies about two hours north of Cardamyle (iii. 26. 7 note) and is the chief place in the district (*deme*) of Abia. The tomb was excavated for the Greek Archaeological Society by Mr. Tsountas in 1891. It is in a ruinous condition, the upper part of the dome and most of the walls which flanked the approach having fallen down. The approach or *dromos* is 12.85 metres (42 feet) long by 2.18 metres (7 feet) wide; its sides were built of small unhewn stones bonded with clay. The doorway of the tomb is 2.65 metres (8 ft. 8 in.) high and is well preserved. Its sides are built of hewn quadrangular stones, and the lintel is formed by three great slabs of limestone. The walls of the beehive chamber are standing to a height of about 3.25 metres (10 ft. 7 in.); they are built of hewn stones, smaller than those of the doorway, and laid in courses which are meant to be horizontal; crevices in the joints are filled with pebbles. The tomb had been rifled, probably in antiquity; hence the objects found in it were few and insignificant. They comprised some ornaments of blue glass, a bone comb, an agate engraved with the figures of two goats, potsherds plain or only painted with bands, a few gold ornaments of Mycenaean type, some gold leaves, and two statuettes of lead, one representing a man and the other a woman. The statuette of the man is of some interest, since it resembles in style and its waist-cloth the huntsmen on the *Vaphio* cups.

See Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν, 1891, pp. 25, 68; Tsountas, in Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολ. Ἑταιρίας, 1891, p. 23; *id.*, in Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1891, pp. 189-191; *Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 11 (1891), p. 1187; Perrot et Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 6. p. 410. The leaden statuette of the man is figured in Tsountas's Μυκῆναι, pl. 11, and in Perrot et Chipiez, *op. cit.* 6. p. 759, fig. 355.

(5) In 1872 a beehive tomb was discovered about twenty-five minutes walk to the south of *Menidi*, a village of Attica situated at the foot of Mount Parnes, seven miles north-west of Athens (see note on i. 31. 6). The tomb was excavated for the German Archaeological Institute by the late Dr. H. G. Lolling. It is imbedded in the side of a flat-topped hillock of earth, called *Lykotrupa*, from the top of which there is a wide view over the Attic plain. The edifice consists as usual of two parts, a horizontal approach or *dromos*, and a circular chamber roofed with a dome. It is built in a cheap and rude way of rubble limestone, the interstices being filled with small stones. Architectural decoration there is absolutely none. The approach or *dromos* measures 26.52 metres (87 feet) long by 3 metres (about 10 feet) wide. Its outer end was blocked by a wall of stone. The doorway leading from the *dromos* into the circular chamber is 3.30 metres (10 ft. 10 in.) high by 1.55 metres (5 ft. 7 in.) wide at the bottom. It was barred with a wall of very poor masonry which did not reach up to the lintel, an empty space of about a foot high being left between the lintel and the top of the wall. The circular chamber measures 8.35 metres (27 ft. 5 in.) in diameter. The upper part of the vault is not intact; the present height of the wall is 8.74 metres (28 ft. 8 in.); the total

height originally may have been about 9 metres (30 feet). On the floor of the tomb were found the remains of six human skeletons, including the skulls. The objects of art found in the tomb and its approach were numerous but small and of little value. They included many little leaves of gold and some small gold ornaments, some silver bangles, many ornaments of glass-paste, various objects of ivory, in particular a casket adorned with two rows of animals in relief, various objects of bronze, and six engraved gems, some of the lentoid and others of the glandular shape (see above, p. 115). The potsherds discovered in the beehive chamber are of the Mycenaean style: they include fragments of thirteen of those stirrup-vases which are specially characteristic of Mycenaean pottery (see above, p. 112 *sq.*) In the *dromos* were found, along with potsherds of Mycenaean style, pieces of the later pottery known as Dipylum ware, which is decorated with geometrical and textile patterns, and which in Greece appears to have immediately succeeded to, and supplanted, the Mycenaean ware, being perhaps a product of the Dorian conquerors (see Furtwängler und Loeschcke, *Mykenische Vasen*, p. xi. *sq.*) Further, there were found in the *dromos* fragments of the still later style of pottery known as Corinthian, and even pieces of the best Attic black-figured vases, and of the earlier red-figured vases. Thus it would seem that in the *dromos* of this tomb we have specimens of all the chief sorts of pottery which succeeded each other in Greece from the Mycenaean period down to the classical era. The fact is instructive, for it appears to prove that the dead men in the tomb continued to be worshipped by successive generations through many centuries.

See *Das Kuppelgrab bei Menidi herausgegeben vom deutschen archaeologischen Institute in Athen* (Athens, 1880); *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 12 (1887), p. 139 *sq.*; F. Adler, Preface to Schliemann's *Tiryns*, p. xxxv. *sq.*; Ch. Belger, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der griech. Kuppelgräber*, pp. 12, 34; Tsountas, *Μυκῆναι*, p. 146; Perrot et Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 6. pp. 414-417. Messrs. Perrot and Chipiez are in error in saying (p. 416) that no precious metals were found in the tomb.

(6) In 1890 a beehive tomb was discovered and excavated by Mr. Staes at Thoricus in Attica. It was found buried in a mound of earth on the ridge or saddle which unites the hill of *Velatouri* with the lower hill to the north (see vol. 2. p. 408 *sq.*) The tomb, like that at *Menidi*, is built of small common stones. The approach or *dromos* is in so far peculiar that its sides are not perpendicular, but converge so as to meet overhead and form a vaulted passage: in this respect it resembles the approaches (*dromoi*) to the rock-cut tombs at Mycenae (see above, p. 130). The beehive chamber is also peculiar in being of an elliptical instead of a circular shape: it measures 9 metres (about 30 feet) in length by 3.22 to 3.55 metres (about 11 feet) in breadth. The upper part of the dome is in a very ruinous state: the total height is about 15 feet. The tomb had been rifled, but there were found in it a little gold, some potsherds of Mycenaean style, a fragment of a bronze spear, a piece of a bronze sword (?), and some charred bones.

See Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν, 1890, p. 159 *sq.*; Perrot et Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 6. p. 417 *sq.*; M. Mayer, in *Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 13 (1893), p. 1500.

(7) In 1893 another large beehive tomb was found at Thoricus. It is situated on the side of the hill of *Velatouri* which faces the sea. The beehive chamber is slightly elliptical in shape, but nearly circular. Its diameter is about 9 metres (30 feet). Three graves, covered with slabs of stone, were found in the chamber. In one of the graves a well preserved skull was discovered, and some vessels (of earthenware ?) were also found in the tomb. A remarkable feature of the tomb is that two sarcophagus-like structures, about 3 feet high, were reared on the floor of the beehive chamber; each of these structures is built in the same style as the walls of the chamber, against which it seems to have leaned. See M. Mayer, in *Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 13 (1893), p. 1501; Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολ. Ἑταιρίας, 1893, p. 13 *sqq.*

(8) A small beehive tomb has long been known to exist at Eleusis in Attica. It is situated on the south side of the acropolis. The approach or *dromos* is 4.80 metres (15 ft. 9 in.) long by 1.90 metres (6 ft.) wide, and, like the *dromos* of one of the beehive tombs at Thoricus, is roofed by the side walls converging till they meet in a vault overhead. The diameter of the beehive chamber is 3.20 metres (10 ft. 6 in.), and its height 3.85 metres (13 feet). The masonry is Cyclopean, the walls being built of great blocks almost unhewn; the crevices are filled with small stones. Mr. Tsountas inclines to believe that the structure was not a tomb but a cistern (Μυκῆναι, p. 123). But on the other hand Mr. Philios has justly pointed out that the existence of the approach or *dromos* is strongly in favour of its being a tomb (Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1889, p. 192 *sq.*)

See Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. p. 112; *Gazette archéologique*, 8 (1883), p. 248 *sq.*, with plate 42; Perrot et Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 6. p. 417 *sq.*

(9) A great beehive tomb exists at Orchomenus in Boeotia. Like the Treasury of Atreus at Mycenae it has been known since antiquity, and was viewed with admiration by Pausanias. For an account of its remains see the note on ix. 38. 2.

(10) At *Dimini*, about three miles to the west of *Volo* in Thessaly, is another beehive tomb. It was excavated at the cost of the Greek Government in February and March 1886. A supplementary excavation was made in April. The *dromos* or approach is 13.30 metres (43 ft. 8 in.) long by 3.30 metres (10 ft. 10 in.) wide. At its outer end it was blocked up with a wall of rough masonry. The doorway of the tomb is 3.60 metres (11 ft. 9 in.) high. It was blocked up with a roughly constructed wall, which, however, did not reach half-way up the doorway. The beehive chamber measures 8.50 metres (27 ft. 10 in.) in width by about 9 metres (30 feet) in height, but the top has fallen in. Its dimensions thus closely resemble those of the beehive tomb at *Menidi*, though they are slightly larger. The style of the masonry is also similar, the walls being built of small irregular blocks of limestone without any binding material, while the

interstices are carefully filled with smaller stones. The round slab which had formed the coping-stone of the dome was found in the middle of the chamber.

In the *dromos*, to the right and left of the doorway, were found remains of bones and ashes, with some fragments of pottery and scraps of gold leaf. As some of the bones are not human, they are probably the remains of sacrifices offered to the dead. The floor of the beehive chamber was covered with a layer of ashes about 2 inches deep, in which were found remains of the dead and of their ornaments. Some of the bones found in the tomb, including a comparatively well-preserved skull, had plainly not been subjected to the action of fire. Bones of animals also came to light in the chamber. Among the objects found in the tomb were many small ornaments of gold, including about sixty rosettes and a gold ring; a great many beads and other small ornaments of glass-paste, including some small tablets decorated with representations of the nautilus and the purple-shell; some small objects made of bone; five bronze arrow-heads, some of them broken; a signet-stone of lapis-lazuli perforated and retaining in the hole a thin wire; and twenty real shells of the sea-snail called *Conus*. The potsherds found in the interior of the tomb are either plain or adorned only with broad bands.

See *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 9 (1884), p. 99 *sqq.*; *id.*, 11 (1886), pp. 435-443; *id.*, 12 (1887), pp. 136-138; Perrot et Chipiez. *Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 6. p. 448 *sq.*

(11) In the island of Cephallenia, at the small village of *Masarakata*, a little to the west of the Venetian castle of *St. George*, there are the remains of a beehive tomb. The upper part of the dome is destroyed, and the wall is standing to a height of only about 5 feet. The circular chamber seems to have measured about 16 feet in diameter. Not far from this beehive tomb, a little to the south-east of the village, there are other Mycenaean tombs; they are of irregularly quadrangular shape, with passages leading to them; both tombs and passages are hewn out of the rock. See *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 11 (1886), p. 456; *Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 7 (1887), p. 867 *sq.*; P. Wolters, 'Mykenische Gräber in Kephallenia,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 19 (1894), pp. 486-490.

Thus, including the eight beehive tombs at Mycenae, nineteen tombs of this sort are at present (May, 1895) known to exist in Greece. Future excavations may bring to light many more. Indeed, already Mr. Tsountas is reported to have discovered in 1894 about twenty beehive tombs of the Mycenaean age in the island of Amorgos; they contained vases and figurines of terra-cotta, also lance-heads (*Athenaeum*, 24th November 1894, p. 722). And at *Erganos* in Crete Prof. Halbherr in 1894 excavated three beehive tombs of the Mycenaean age; one of them, which is perfectly preserved, contained six bodies and several Mycenaean vases (*American Journal of Archaeology*, 9 (1894), p. 541). But detailed accounts of these discoveries are not yet to hand, and we cannot even say whether these tombs in Amorgos and Crete are built of masonry (like all the other beehive tombs enumerated above) or merely hewn out of the rock (like a few which will be mentioned

immediately). No such doubt, however, attaches to one which was discovered a good many years ago at Kertch in the Crimea. It is completely buried in a mound called the Golden Mount. In plan and construction it resembles the beehive tombs of Greece, consisting of a circular vaulted chamber with the usual approach or *dromos*. The circular vault is built of courses of stones projecting one above the other in corbels, as they are called. Nothing was found in the tomb. See *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien*, Atlas, plate A a, with the Text, vol. 1, pp. cxxv, cxxvii.

Besides the beehive tombs which are built of masonry and buried under a mound or hillock, there have been found a few tombs of the Mycenaean age which resemble the preceding ones in shape and plan, but differ from them in that they are not built but hewn out of the living rock. A tomb of this latter type has been discovered in Crete. It is situated on the side of a hill in the territory of the ancient Gortyna, to the east of the modern village of *Anoja Messaritica*. It consists of a circular chamber, of the usual beehive shape, approached by a horizontal passage or *dromos*, the whole hewn out of the rock. The *dromos* is 5 metres (16 ft. 5 in.) long, but so low that it can only be traversed on hands and feet; its entrance was barred by a stone wall. In the beehive chamber were found three small ossuaries or sarcophaguses of terra-cotta, the largest of which was not more than 3 feet long. At the date of their discovery they seem to have contained some crumbling fragments of bones. That this tomb is of the Mycenaean period is proved by the discovery in it of painted vases of the kind called stirrup-vases, which are peculiar to Mycenaean pottery (see above, p. 112 *sq.*) The sarcophaguses are also painted with patterns in the Mycenaean style. See Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 6. p. 453 *sq.* A similar tomb was discovered by the French at Delphi in 1893 or 1894. It consists of a beehive chamber approached by a short passage or *dromos*, the whole being hewn out of the soft tufa in the mountain-side. In the tomb were found a dagger, knife, razor, and brooch, all of bronze; an idol of a type found at Mycenae and Tiryns; and pottery decorated with lines, circles, and geometrical patterns. One at least of the vases was characteristically Mycenaean, being a stirrup-vase adorned with two octopuses painted on its sides. See Th. Homolle, in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 12 (1894), p. 442. Further, two Mycenaean tombs of the same type (*i.e.* of the beehive shape, but hewn out of the rock, not built) were discovered by the Americans near the Heraeum in 1894. See below, p. 178.

But besides these beehive tombs, whether built or hewn out of the rock, two other sets of sepulchres have been found in Greece which deserve mention here, because their contents prove them to belong to the Mycenaean age.

(1) On the north-eastern slope of *Palamidi*, the imposing rock which forms the citadel of Nauplia, near the gateway of the fortress, some prehistoric tombs were excavated in 1878, 1879, and 1880. The tombs are hewn out of the tufa rock, and each of them consists of a

quadrangular chamber with a long narrow approach or *dromos*. The approaches (*dromoi*) are from 4 to 7 metres (13 to 23 feet) long; and the chambers from 2 to 3 metres (6½ to 10 feet) square. The entrances to the chambers were closed with masonry. The height of the chambers does not exceed 10 feet. The roofs are more or less convex, but of an indeterminate shape, like the roof of a cave. In the floor of some of the tombs are cut quadrangular shallow depressions, which were clearly graves, since bones mixed with Mycenaean potsherds have been found in them. These graves were covered by slabs, of which some pieces exist. A distinctive feature of these tombs are the niches which are cut in the walls either of the sepulchral chamber or of the *dromos ;* these niches were closed either with slabs or with a wall of stones, and were found to contain bones mixed with fragments of vases and of terra-cotta statuettes. The objects found in the tombs are in general poor and of little value, which goes with the smallness and plainness of the tombs to show that only people of the poorer class were buried in them. Among the objects found in them are many fragments of vases, which however would seem to have been small and of indifferent workmanship ; terra-cotta statuettes, including small figures of cows such as have been found at Tiryns, Mycenae, and in the lowest strata on the Acropolis at Athens ; pieces of necklaces ; some gold ornaments ; and beads and tablets of glass-paste, both blue and white. This is not much, but it is enough to prove that the tombs belong to the Mycenaean age. In two at least of the tombs were found bones of sheep or goats, the remnants of sacrifices offered to the dead.

See Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολ. Ἑταιρίας for 1878 (published 1879), p. 17 *sq.* ; H. G. Lolling, 'Ausgrabungen am Palamidi,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 5 (1880), pp. 143-163 ; Schliemann, *Tiryns*, pp. 82, 120, 124, 164, 176 ; Perrot et Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 6. pp. 397-401.

In 1892 thirty-one more tombs were excavated for the Greek Archaeological Society by Mr. Staes in the same place, the north-eastern slope of *Palamidi.* In plan and disposition the tombs resemble those described above. Almost all of them contained more than two skeletons, laid either at full length or in a sitting posture, as the exigencies of space required. In one tomb the bones of a horse were found beside those of a man. Of the objects brought to light in these tombs the majority were of terra-cotta, especially vases, of which about twenty-five were found entire. On each of the handles of one of the vases there is engraved a character resembling an H, which may be alphabetic ; for in the same year (1892) two vases were found at Mycenae with characters (five or six characters on the one and three on the other) inscribed on their handles : these characters resemble in form symbols of the Cypriote syllabary (Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολ. Ἑταιρίας, 1892, p. 57). Besides vases and potsherds a great many rude clay figurines of women, eight figurines of animals, and one representing a chariot were found by Mr. Staes in the tombs. Other objects discovered by him were a bronze spear-head, a bronze brooch, a bronze mirror ; six gold rosettes and two rings of gold leaf ; two necklaces of bone and glass-

paste, in the middle of one of which were two engraved gems with representations of animals like some found at Mycenae; and a vase of red and white marble of graceful shape and good workmanship. See Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολ. Ἑταιρίας, 1892, pp. 52-54; *Bulletin de Corr. Hellén.* 17 (1893), p. 198.

(2) The village of *Spata* lies about nine miles to the east of Athens, on the further side of Mount Hymettus. Here in December 1876 a rock-cut tomb was discovered in a small hill close to the village. In the following year it was completely excavated for the Greek Archaeological Society by Mr. Stamatakis, who discovered a second smaller tomb, also hewn in the rock, a little to the west of the first. The larger tomb consists of three quadrangular chambers united by two short passages and entered by an inclined road 74 feet long, which, like the chambers themselves, is hewn out of the rock. The outermost of the three chambers is the largest; it measures 20 feet in length by 15 feet in breadth and 16½ feet in height. The other two chambers are about 12 feet square and as many high. In all three chambers the roof slopes down from the middle on either side, like the roof of a house. The door of the outermost chamber was blocked with a wall, which did not reach up to the lintel. In each of the three chambers was found a human skeleton together with a quantity of ashes and charcoal; and in the smaller tomb a skeleton of a man was also found along with the skeleton of a large animal, perhaps a stag. The tombs appear to have been rifled, but a large quantity of small articles was found in the larger tomb and the passage or *dromos* leading to it; in the *dromos* alone more than 1300 articles were found, without counting potsherds. These articles are of gold, glass-paste, ivory, bronze, stone, and pottery. The gold found is in very small and thin leaves, which were either used to case other articles (especially ornaments of glass-paste) or worked up into small ornaments to be employed as pendants or to be attached to something else. Especially numerous are the articles of glass-paste and of ivory. The objects of glass-paste are most numerous of all. They have all been cast in moulds; no fewer than eighty of them have been turned out of the same mould. The paste is generally of a whitish tinge; less often it is bright blue. A great many, perhaps even all of these pastes, had been coated with gold leaf. They are in the shape either of small tablets adorned with reliefs or of pendants, beads, and other toilet articles. Many of them are perforated. The tablets form the largest class; more than 450 of them have been found adorned with leaves and flowers; and a great many are decorated with marine creatures, such as shells, dolphins, and, above all, the tentacles of a nautilus or some such animal. Four moulds have furnished more than 200 pieces decorated with tentacles alone. Another mould has furnished sixteen tablets adorned with a sphinx, who is represented in Oriental style seated on her hind-quarters with the head of a woman (?) and the body of a lion, her wings extended and her tail elevated. Next in number to the articles of glass-paste are the articles of ivory, the most interesting of which are the tablets decorated with carved reliefs. These reliefs represent sometimes leaves

(more than 160 such tablets have been found) and sometimes animals, among which marine creatures, such as shells and nautiluses, appear oftenest. On two tablets the combat of a lion with a bull is represented; a sphinx figures on twelve more. The only human head in ivory found in the tomb represents in profile the head of a man wearing a mitre or conical helmet; but others (Prof. Milchhöfer and Dr. Schuchhardt) take his headgear to be a wig. A similar head, made also of ivory, has been found at Mycenae (see above, p. 131). The articles of bronze found at *Spata* are comparatively few; they include, however, thirty-three arrow-heads and some pieces of quadrangular plates perforated at the ends. Among the potsherds (for no single vase was found entire) are remains of five stirrup-vases, one of which is adorned in its whole circumference with a band of large fishes painted in brownish red. Another of the stirrup-vases is painted in geometrical patterns. These vases alone would suffice to prove that the tomb in which they were found belongs to the Mycenaean phase of civilisation. Amongst the other objects found at *Spata* may be mentioned more than 500 fragments of obsidian, most of them cut in the shape of triangular prisms, and about fifty boars' teeth perforated as if for suspension. Moreover, many fragments of imitation boar's teeth, made of glass-paste and perforated as if for suspension, were also found at *Spata*.

While these graves at *Spata* are of the Mycenaean period, they are probably later than the royal graves on the acropolis of Mycenae. One proof of this is that, whereas the arrow-heads found in the graves at *Spata* are of bronze, those found in the royal graves at Mycenae are of obsidian; it was only in the upper layers of soil at Mycenae that Dr. Schliemann found some bronze arrow-heads.

See Milchhöfer, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 2 (1877), pp. 82-84. 261-276; U. Köhler, 'Ueber die Zeit und den Ursprung der Gräberanlagen in Mykene und Spata,' *ib.* 3 (1878), pp. 1-13; *Bulletin de Corr. Hellénique*, 1 (1877), pp. 261-263; B. Haussoullier, 'Catalogue descriptif des objets découverts à Spata,' *ib.* 2 (1878), pp. 185-228; Schliemann, *Mycenae*, pp. xli-xlviii; Perrot et Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 6. pp. 412-414; Dumont et Chaplain, *Les céramiques d. la Grèce propre*, 1. pp. 59-64.

(3) In 1894 the Swedish archaeologist Mr. S. Wide excavated a barrow at Aphidna in Attica (see vol. 2, p. 163). Twelve graves of the Mycenaean era were found in it. They contained a number of charred skeletons, vases of the Mycenaean style resembling those discovered at Thoricus, a golden necklace and golden earrings (found lying beside the skull of a woman's skeleton), bracelets, and two copper finger-rings. One of the skeletons was of gigantic size. See *Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 15 December, 1894, p. 1628; *Classical Review*, 9 (1895), p. 93. According to a later account, however, the pottery discovered in these graves was not Mycenaean, though Mycenaean pottery was found on the citadel. See *Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 25 May 1895, p. 699.

Thus it appears that at a very early period a civilisation of the Mycenaean type was diffused over the whole eastern coast of continental Greece, since remains of it have been found in Laconia (*Vaphio*, *Arkina*,

Kampos), Argolis (Tiryns, Mycenae, the Heraeum, Nauplia), Attica (Thoricus, Aphidna, Athens, *Spata*, *Menidi*, Eleusis), Boeotia (Orchomenus), and Thessaly (*Dimini*, near *Volo*). To these remains must be added the massive ruins of a great fortress built in the Tirynthian and Mycenaean style, which occupy the island of *Goulas* in the Copaic Lake; here excavations conducted by French archaeologists in 1893 brought to light the remains of a large building which appears to have been a palace of the Tirynthian style. See note on ix. 24. 1. It seems probable that future excavations will reveal the existence of Mycenaean remains at many other places on the Greek mainland.

The type of civilisation to which the epithet Mycenaean is now applied as a general designation was not, however, confined to the mainland of Greece; remains of a similar, if not identical, civilisation have been discovered in abundance eastward over the Greek islands of the southern Aegean as well as on the larger islands of Crete, Rhodes, and Cyprus. And the excavations of Schliemann and Dörpfeld have revealed the same type of civilisation at *Hissarlik*, the ancient Troy. The remains of "the second or burnt city" at Troy represent the oldest stage in the evolution of the Mycenaean civilisation; they include the ruins of a palace built on the same plan as the palaces of Tiryns and Mycenae, and golden jewellery adorned with the spirals and rosettes which are characteristic of Mycenaean gold-work. The pottery is mostly hand-made, and is adorned, either with incised lines and points sometimes filled in with white chalk, or with rude representations of the human face incised or modelled in the clay. See Schuchhardt, *Schliemanns Ausgrabungen*,[2] p. 60 *sqq.*; Busolt, *Griech. Geschichte*,[2] 1. pp. 39-44; Dumont et Chaplain, *Les céramiques de la Grèce propre*, 1. p. 3 *sqq.*; Perrot et Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 6. p. 176 *sqq.* But the excavations of 1890 and 1895 go to show that the ruins in the sixth layer at *Hissarlik* (counting from the bottom) are those of a citadel of the best Mycenaean period, for Mycenaean pottery, including some entire stirrup-vases, were found in this layer. Dr. Dörpfeld conjecturally dates this sixth citadel between 1500 and 1000 B.C.; while the citadel of the second or burnt city he would assign to the second half of the third millennium B.C. (2500-2000 B.C.) See W. Dörpfeld, *Troja*, 1893 (Leipzig, 1894), pp. 2, 5, 10 *sqq.*, 56 *sqq.*, 86 *sq.* A stage of the Mycenaean civilisation somewhat more advanced than that of the second or burnt city at Troy is attested by the remains found in the islands of the southern Aegean, such as Paros, Naxos, Ios, Amorgos, Melos, Thera, and Therasia. In these islands a number of small graves have been excavated, which contained bronze weapons (spear-heads, daggers, axes), pottery (mostly with incised patterns), marble vases, and marble statuettes of the rudest sort, generally representing a naked woman with her hands crossed on her breast. Amongst the pottery found in these graves some vessels resemble in form and decoration those found in the second city at Troy, but they mark an advance upon the Trojan pottery in the use of the potter's wheel and the decoration by means of dull pigments, which are laid on in linear patterns. In fact these vases form the transition to

the dull-painted ware of Mycenae. Indeed vases of the later lustrous-painted sort and of the characteristic Mycenaean shape known as stirrup-vases (see above, p. 112 *sq.*) have been discovered in some of the later graves in the islands. Bronze swords have been found in the islands, but not, so far as is known, in the graves; one of them, found in Thera, is decorated with inlaid golden axes in the Mycenaean style. See J. T. Bent, 'Researches among the Cyclades,' *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 5 (1884), pp. 42-58; F. Dümmler, 'Mittheilungen von den griech. Inseln,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 11 (1886), pp. 15-46; Busolt, *Griech. Geschichte*,[2] 1. pp. 48-50; Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 6. pp. 470-472; Tsountas, Μυκῆναι, pp. 202-212. Particularly interesting and important are the relics of the Mycenaean civilisation which have been discovered in the islands of Thera and Therasia, buried under the volcanic matter of an eruption which geologists believe to have happened about 2000 B.C. Here under a layer of pumice-stone ejected by the volcano were brought to light walls of houses, which are carefully coated with stucco and painted with stripes and floral decorations in colours like those of Tiryns (see below, p. 227 *sq.*) The pottery is mostly made on the wheel and is closely akin to the oldest Mycenaean ware. See Dumont et Chaplain, *Les céramiques de la Grèce propre*, 1. pp. 19-42, with pl. i. and ii.; Busolt, *Griech. Geschichte*,[2] 1. p. 50; Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 6. pp. 135-154; H. S. Washington, 'On the possibility of assigning a date to the Santorini vases,' *American Journal of Archaeology*, 9 (1894), pp. 504-520 (Mr. Washington maintains that the date of the eruption in Thera cannot be definitely fixed on geological evidence). In Aegina some well-preserved remains of houses of the Mycenaean period have recently been found, together with much pottery, under the soil which supported the so-called temple of Aphrodite near the capital of the island (*Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 19 (1894), p. 533).

The great island of Crete, though it has hitherto been little explored, is said to swarm with relics of the Mycenaean age. In the course of a six weeks' search in 1894 Mr. A. J. Evans discovered two prehistoric cities and "relics and remains which throw some entirely new lights on the art and religion of the Mycenaean peoples" (*Athenaeum*, 23 June, 1894, p. 82). In particular the ruins of a Mycenaean city at *Goulas*, a few miles from the sea, on the eastern side of the province of Mirabello, are described by Mr. Evans as stupendous. "Wall rises within wall, terrace above terrace, and within the walls, built of the same massive blocks of local limestone in rudely horizontal tiers, the lower part of the walls of the houses and buildings are (*sic*) still traceable throughout. The site had been observed by Spratt, but so incompletely was it known that I discovered here a second and higher acropolis with remains of primitive buildings on the summit, one containing, besides a fore-court, a chamber with *antae* recalling the ground-plan of more than one *megaron* of the sixth or Mycenaean stratum of Hissarlik. The whole site abounds with primeval relics, stone vessels of early 'Aegean type,' bronze weapons and Mycenaean gems. . . . In the mass of remains existing above ground, the ruins

of *Goulas* exceed those of any prehistoric site, either of Greece or Italy, and there cannot be a doubt that we are here in presence of one of the principal centres of the Mycenaean world" (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 14 (1894), p. 277). We have seen (p. 141) that in the district of Gortyna a beehive tomb, cut in the rock, was found to contain pottery of the most characteristic Mycenaean style, and that at Erganos three beehive tombs of the Mycenaean period have been discovered (above, p. 140). At *Kurtes*, near Phaestus and Gortyna, there is a very ancient necropolis in which Prof. Halbherr in 1894 excavated some graves containing Mycenaean pottery of the latest period (*American Journ. of Arch.* 9 (1894), p. 541). Remains of Mycenaean cities have also been found by Mr. L. Mariani at *Marathokephala* and *Anavlochos* (*Classical Review*, 9 (1895), p. 187 *sq.*) On the site of Cnosus, one of the chief cities of ancient Crete, some ruins of an edifice have been excavated which in style and date appears to have approached very closely to the palace at Tiryns. In it were found earthenware vases which in shape and decoration agree for the most part exactly with the pottery discovered at Troy, Mycenae, Tiryns, Nauplia, *Spata*, and other seats of Mycenaean civilisation. Amongst them was a stirrup-vase. In Crete, too, have been found many engraved gems of the Mycenaean type; indeed they are still worn by the Cretan women as amulets. See E. Fabricius, 'Fünde der mykenäischen Epoche in Knossos,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 11 (1886), pp. 135-149; A. Milchhöfer, *Die Anfänge der Kunst in Griechenland*, p. 125 *sqq.*; G. Busolt, *Griech. Geschichte*,[2] 1. p. 50 *sq.*; Perrot et Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 6. pp. 455-462; Dumont et Chaplain, *Les céramiques de la Grèce propre*, 1. pp. 64-66; A. J. Evans, in *Journ. Hellen. Stud.* 14 (1894), p. 276 *sqq.*; *Amer. Journ. of Arch.* 10 (1895), p. 100 *sqq.*; *Athenaeum*, 22 June, 1895, p. 812 *sq.*

Rhodes also shared in the Mycenaean civilisation. In 1868, 1870, and 1871 the English Vice-Consul, Mr. A. Biliotti, opened at Ialysus a large number of rock-cut tombs resembling in their arrangement the rock-cut tombs at Mycenae, Nauplia, and *Spata*. The contents of these tombs, now in the British Museum, are thoroughly Mycenaean in character. They include painted pottery; ornaments of gold, silver and bronze; bronze swords, daggers, arrow-heads, and spear-heads; engraved gems; and many ornaments of blue glass made in moulds. The pottery is of the lustrous-painted Mycenaean type, decorated with bands, spirals, and marine creatures, particularly the cuttle-fish and *murex* shell. It is later than the pottery of Thera, but contemporary apparently with that found at *Spata* and with the later pottery of Mycenae; it includes specimens of the characteristic Mycenaean stirrup-vase. The bronze swords are also later in style than those found in the royal graves on the acropolis of Mycenae. See Dumont et Chaplain, *Les céramiques de la Grèce propre*, 1. pp. 43-46, with pl. iii.; Busolt, *Griech. Geschichte*,[2] 1. p. 47 *sq.*; Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 6. pp. 463-465; A. S. Murray, *Handbook of Greek Archaeology*, p. 21 *sqq.*

Lastly, in very early, though not the earliest, graves of Cyprus pottery of the Mycenaean sort has been found. The vases are mostly of the later Mycenaean type. Stirrup-vases are especially common; they are decorated mostly with simple bands, but sometimes with seaweed patterns. Potsherds of the older Mycenaean sort, painted with broad spirals, have been found in the necropolis of *[illegible]* near *Maroni*. But all the Mycenaean pottery found in Cyprus appears to have been imported, since the clay differs from that of the native Cyprian pottery. It is very remarkable that even the stirrup-vases seem to have been imported at a time when the Phoenicians had not yet settled in the island. This gives us some idea of the antiquity of the Mycenaean civilisation. In later times the Mycenaean ware, including the stirrup-vases, were copied by the Cyprian potters. See F. Dümmler, 'Mittheilungen von den griech. Inseln,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 11 (1886), pp. 209-262, especially pp. 234 *sq.*, 255; Busolt, *Griech. Geschichte*,[2] 1. pp. 44-47; Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 6. pp. 465-467.

It remains to ask, what was the date of the Mycenaean civilisation? where did it arise? and to what race did the Mycenaean people belong?

(1) *What was the date of the Mycenaean civilisation?* Soon after Schliemann's discovery of the royal graves on the acropolis of Mycenae, a distinguished German archaeologist, the late L. Stephani of St. Petersburg, put forward a theory that the graves were those of barbarians who had invaded Greece in the third or fourth century of our era, and that the treasures found in the graves were part of the booty which these supposed invaders had collected in the course of their ravages (*Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg), 1877, p. 31 *sqq.*) This view was completely refuted by Prof. Percy Gardner (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1 (1880), pp. 94-106). The single fact that over the ruins of the palaces at Mycenae and Tiryns have been found the remains of two Doric temples built not later than the sixth century B.C. suffices to prove that the sixth century B.C. is the latest possible date for the end of the Mycenaean civilisation at these places. On the other hand its beginning goes back to a very much earlier date, since, as we have seen, Mycenaean remains have been found in Thera and Therasia buried under volcanic matter which geologists believe to have been thrown out about 2000 B.C. But the best clue to the date of the Mycenaean civilisation is furnished by its relations with Egypt. For on the one hand Egyptian objects have been found on Mycenaean sites, and on the other hand Mycenaean objects and representations of them have been found in Egypt. Thus at Mycenae two fragments of Egyptian porcelain have been found, each bearing the cartouche of king Amenophis III., who reigned in Egypt about 1440 to 1400 B.C.; one of them was discovered in a tomb in the lower city, the other in a house of the Mycenaean period on the acropolis. Further, a scarab bearing the name of Ti, the wife of Amenophis III., was found in another house on the acropolis of Mycenae; and in one of the Mycenaean tombs at Ialysus in Rhodes a scarab of Amenophis III.

himself was discovered. On the other hand, in Egypt a fresco in the tomb of Rameses III. (about 1200 B.C.) contains a representation of five of the characteristic Mycenaean vases known as stirrup-vases or false-necked amphoras; they are decorated with three bands each, the two zones between the bands being filled with interlacing lines and interspersed points. Further, wall-paintings in three Theban tombs of about the time of Thothmes III. (1600 B.C.) have been supposed to represent Mycenaean vases; but in this case the resemblance seems much more doubtful, the vases depicted being apparently not the characteristic stirrup-vases (see *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1892, p. 13 *sq.*) But actual Mycenaean vases, not mere pictures of them, have been discovered in Egypt. Thus at Gurob Mr. Flinders Petrie found five Mycenaean stirrup-vases decorated with iron-glaze bands; he assigns them to the reign of Amenophis III. (*Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, p. 16 *sq.*; *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, p. 42 *sq.*) Further, in a tomb at Kahun, which Mr. Petrie dates about 1100 B.C., he found a vase of Mycenaean type, though not a stirrup-vase; it is of a fine light-brown paste, with a red iron-glaze pattern. Still more recently, in excavating at Tel-el-Amarna, Mr. Petrie has lighted upon a large quantity of Mycenaean potsherds, which he dates between 1400 and 1340 B.C. These facts seem to prove that from the middle of the fifteenth century onward to about 1100 B.C. Egypt stood in commercial relations with Mycenae or at all events with lands in which the Mycenaean type of civilisation prevailed. It is to be observed, however, that the Mycenaean pottery found at Gurob and Kahun, being of the glazed or lustrous sort, represents the later and more advanced pottery of Mycenae rather than the earlier and more primitive (see above, p. 111 *sqq.*) From this it follows that we ought to date the foundation of Mycenae considerably earlier than the middle of the fifteenth century B.C.; probably the city existed at least in the sixteenth century B.C. Mr. Flinders Petrie considers that many of the products of Mycenaean art are derived from Egyptian models of 1600 or 1500 B.C. (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 12 (1891), p. 202). On the whole we shall hardly err in assuming that the artistic and commercial activity of Mycenae began not later than 1600 B.C. and lasted till somewhere about 1100 B.C. That it must have stretched over a considerable period of time is proved by the monuments of Mycenae itself, in particular by the royal graves. For the wide difference in construction between the shaft graves of the acropolis and the beehive tombs of the lower city points to the conclusion that the kings who were buried in them belonged to two separate dynasties. The number of kings buried in the shaft graves has not been exactly determined; there would seem to have been at least five or six. And as each of the beehive tombs was probably the sepulchre of a king, and eight such tombs have been up to the present time discovered at Mycenae, it will follow that at least thirteen or fourteen kings reigned at Mycenae.

(2) *Where did the Mycenaean civilisation originate?* That the Mycenaean civilisation was deeply influenced and partly moulded by the ancient civilisations of the East, particularly by those of Egypt and

Syria, is admitted on all hands. We have seen that Egyptian products have been found in Mycenae, and Mycenaean products in Egypt. But in addition to this some branches of the native Mycenaean art were clearly derived from Egypt; the native craftsmen worked upon Egyptian models. This is conspicuously the case with the inlaid dagger-blades, especially the one on which cats are represented hunting ducks among lotus or papyrus plants. As these plants are Egyptian and the cat seems not to have been known to the west of Egypt until historical times, it is certain that this scene on the dagger-blade was derived from Egypt. We have seen (p. 114) that the same subject is depicted in Egyptian wall-paintings. Moreover, a dagger similarly inlaid with a gold pattern on a middle strip of black metal has been found in Egypt with the mummy of Queen Aah-hotep; it is believed to date from before 1600 B.C. Further, the pattern of the elaborately carved roof of the beehive tomb at Orchomenus (see note on ix. 38. 2) closely resembles the patterns painted on some Egyptian roofs. The spiral ornament itself, so characteristic of Mycenaean art, is believed by Mr. A. J. Evans to have been copied from Egyptian scarabs of the twelfth dynasty, instead of having been, as is commonly supposed, imitated from native metal-work (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 14 (1894), p. 326 *sqq.*) Again, the sphinxes which appear on Mycenaean jewellery are ultimately derived from Egypt, and so perhaps was the art of glass-making, of which so many specimens have been found in the later Mycenaean graves, as for example in the tombs at *Spata*. The numerous articles of ivory found in Mycenaean graves, and the ostrich egg discovered in one of the shaft graves at Mycenae, also point to African and probably Egyptian influence. Yet connoisseurs seem to be agreed that, in spite of the close relation of Mycenaean art to Egyptian art, the former is not a product of Egypt. Thus Prof. Reisch says that "any one who is at all familiar with both styles of art, can with ease and certainty distinguish Mycenaean from Egyptian products." Prof. Percy Gardner says: "Notwithstanding this close relation to Egyptian art, the masterpieces of Mycenae have much in them which is non-Egyptian, and which seems to mark a native style of art. There is a freedom from convention and a vigour about them which is unmistakable" (*New Chapters in Greek History*, p. 72 *sq.*) And even of the inlaid daggers, which are held especially to reflect the art of Egypt, Mr. Flinders Petrie says: "The work of the inlaid daggers has long been recognised as inspired from Egypt; but we must note that it is native work and not merely an imported article. The attitudes of the figures and of the lions, and the form of the cat, are such as no Egyptian would ever have executed. To make such things in Greece implies a far higher culture, and a more intimate intercourse with Egypt, than merely to import them" (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 12 (1891), p. 203). Again, the Semitic influence of Syria may be traced in the golden figurines of Aphrodite (Astarte) with her doves, and the little golden models of temples with doves perched on them, which were found in the royal graves on the acropolis at Mycenae. And to the same influence may be ascribed the griffins and perhaps the palm-trees

and lions of Mycenaean art; though in regard to the palms and lions it is to be remembered that the Mycenaeans may have found them nearer home than in Syria. As to lions see vi. 5. 4 note; as to palms see ix. 19. 8 note. Again, the heraldic device of the lions rampant over the gateway at Mycenae has been held to be borrowed from Phrygia (see above, p. 102 *sq.*), and a Phrygian origin has also been attributed by Dr. Adler to the beehive tombs (Preface to Schliemann's *Tiryns*, p. xlvi.) The device of the lions rampant has undoubtedly its counterparts in Phrygia, but it is too common to allow us to use it with confidence as a proof of Phrygian influence at Mycenae. It may be traced back to the art of Cappadocia and Babylon (P. Gardner, *New Chapters in Greek History*, p. 81). And there is no sufficient evidence that the principle of the beehive tomb was derived from Phrygia. No beehive tomb has been as yet discovered in Phrygia or indeed in any part of Asia. The nearest analogies, perhaps, are some tombs in Caria (W. R. Paton, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 8 (1887), pp. 67 *sq.*, 79 *sqq.*; Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 5. p. 317 *sq.*); but even these differ from the beehive tombs and cannot have furnished the models for them, since they are of much later date than the Mycenaean age.

On the other hand, the characteristic Mycenaean pottery, with its decoration drawn from the observation of marine plants and animals, has no analogy in Oriental art, and is to all appearance an independent product of the Mycenaean people.

Thus on the whole, though individual elements in Mycenaean art may be traced to Oriental prototypes, we are not justified in placing the original home of the Mycenaean civilisation in any region but that in which alone examples of all its characteristic products have been found; that region consists of the coasts and islands washed by the southern Aegean. Rhodes is excluded because its Mycenaean remains, so far as we know at present, all belong to the period of full development, not to that of birth and growth. Thera, though it presents us with a very ancient phase of Mycenaean art, is too small to have originated the movement. Besides its development was cut short at a very early stage by the great catastrophe which has helped to preserve the evidence of the civilisation which it destroyed. It would seem, therefore, that the birthplace of the Mycenaean civilisation was either Argolis or Crete. Argolis possesses by far the most numerous, most imposing, and most splendid relics of the Mycenaean age with which we are at present accurately acquainted. Crete on the other hand has been little explored, but what little we know of it tends to prove that it teems with Mycenaean remains. Moreover in the traditions of Minos we have evidence, apparently trustworthy, of a great Cretan kingdom which, at a time previous to the Trojan war and hence to the period of Mycenae's greatest splendour under Agamemnon, dominated the sea, conquered and levied tribute from parts of the Greek mainland, and extended its influence as far as Sicily. The existence at this early date of a great maritime power in Crete, which by its central position between Greece and the empires of the East was well fitted to receive and amalgamate

the characteristics of both, is just what is needed to explain the rise and wide diffusion of a type of civilisation like the Mycenaean in which Oriental influences seem to be assimilated and transmuted by a vigorous and independent nationality endowed with a keen sense of its own for art. The spade will probably one day decide the question of priority between Argolis and Crete, but in the meantime the probability appears to be that the Mycenaean civilisation rose in Crete and spread from it as a centre, and that it was not until the Cretan power was on the wane that the palmy days of Tiryns and Mycenae began.

Of the rich harvest that awaits the archaeologist in Crete Mr. A. J. Evans brought home in 1894 a first-fruit in the shape of evidence that the people of the Mycenaean age in Crete possessed a system of writing long before the time when the Phoenician alphabet was first introduced into Greece. Most of the symbols which he interprets as writing are engraved on the facets of certain small three-sided and four-sided stones, and are arranged in groups on what seem to be fixed principles. The stones, most of which have been found in Crete, though several have been found elsewhere, are perforated through their axis, and Mr. Evans believes that they were used as seals like the Babylonian cylinders. The extremely early date of these engraved stones is inferred from their having been found apparently in tombs at Phaestus along with Egyptian scarabs of the twelfth dynasty and a painted vase like the vases of Thera. Hence Mr. Evans would date these tombs roughly between 2500 and 1800 B.C. Two at least of these engraved stones were found at Cnosus, the ancient capital of Minos, and here, too, on the gypsum blocks of a prehistoric building, which from the pottery found in it appears to have belonged to the best period of Mycenaean art, are carved symbols of the same sort as these on the faceted stones. Similar symbols occur on potsherds found at Kahun and Gurob in Egypt by Mr. Flinders Petrie, who assigns the deposits in which they were discovered to the twelfth dynasty. This date, it will be observed, tallies with the date at which, on independent grounds, Mr. Evans would place the engraved stones found at Phaestus. The writing on these various materials is of two sorts: one is pictographic, the other is linear and quasi-alphabetic. The pictographic is the older of the two, and though it survived into Mycenaean times, it can be traced far back into the third millennium B.C. To all appearance it was evolved in Crete itself by an aboriginal race, which did not belong to the Greek stock. This race was probably the people whom the ancients called the Eteocretes or 'true Cretans.' Their principal city was Praesus, and near it has been found a remarkable inscription, which, though written in archaic Greek characters, is in an unknown language. This unknown language was probably the speech of the Eteocretes, and hence of the people who originated the two systems of writing in question, the pictographic and the linear; and the fact of the inscription being in Greek characters seems to prove that the old language continued to be spoken even after the aboriginal race had come in contact with the Greeks and had exchanged its own system of writing for the Greek alphabet. Though it may have been modified by

Egyptian influences, the Cretan pictographic writing is not a mere copy of Egyptian hieroglyphs. Mr. Evans regards it as probably akin to the so-called Hittite hieroglyphs of Asia Minor or Northern Syria, and as perhaps shading off into them by intermediate phases. Yet as a written system it would seem to have been confined chiefly, if not exclusively, to Crete, though a signet engraved with these pictographic characters has been found at Sparta. The linear system of writing, on the other hand, had a far wider range; for specimens of it have been found in Peloponnese (at Mycenae and Nauplia), in Attica (at *Menidi*), in Siphnos, and on the early potsherds of Kahun and Gurob in Egypt. This linear writing is certainly connected with the pictographic, and may perhaps have been evolved out of it. In character it is probably alphabetic or at all events syllabic. It partially agrees with the Cypriote and Asiatic syllabaries, and shows many striking resemblances to Semitic letters. See Mr. Evans's letter in the *Athenaeum*, 23 June, 1894, p. 812 *sq.*, and his paper 'Primitive pictographs and a prae-Phoenician script from Crete and the Peloponnese,' *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 14 (1894), pp. 270-372. Thus it would seem that the Mycenaean civilisation flourished in Crete at the end of the third and the beginning of the second millennium B.C. This, too, is about the date to which, on other grounds, we must assign the remains of early Mycenaean type in the "second city" at Troy, since these remains are more archaic than the Mycenaean remains of Thera, which was destroyed by the eruption of about 2000 B.C. In this connexion it is worthy of note that Teucer, the legendary founder of the oldest city in the Troad, is said to have been a Cretan (Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 1301). Such traditions are not to be lightly set aside. For the progress of archaeological discovery tends more and more to show that Greek traditions, which not so long ago it was the fashion to pooh-pooh, rest on a solid basis of historical fact.

(3) *To what race did the Mycenaean people belong?* We have seen a certain amount of evidence (pp. 142, 152 *sq.*) that both in Crete and on the mainland of Greece the people of the Mycenaean age possessed the art of writing. If this evidence should prove not to be fallacious, and we should succeed in reading the Mycenaean inscriptions, we shall know what language they spoke, and shall thus possess a clue, not of course an infallible one, to their nationality. In the meantime we must seek to determine their racial affinities by other tests.

When the royal graves were discovered by Dr. Schliemann on the acropolis of Mycenae, archaeologists were at first so much struck by the Oriental affinities and the barbaric splendour and profusion of the ornaments lavished on the dead, that they were inclined to attribute them to an eastern and semi-barbarous race. Professor U. Köhler accordingly propounded a theory that the graves were those of Carian settlers in Greece (*Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 3 (1878), pp. 1-13), and this view was adopted and reinforced with fresh arguments by Professors Dümmler and Studnizcka ('Die Herkunft der mykenischen Cultur,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 12 (1887), pp. 1-24). The grounds on which it rests are chiefly these. The Carians

are said on the authority of Aristotle (cited by Strabo, viii. p. 374) to have occupied Epidaurus and Hermion; in the time of Minos they held the islands of the Aegean, and were a powerful seafaring people (Herodotus, i. 171). When the Athenians opened the graves and removed the dead from the island of Delos in the fifth century B.C., more than half of the dead were recognised as Carians by the fashion of the weapons which were buried with them (Thucydides, i. 8). Moreover, one of the two citadels at Megara was called Caria after the legendary Car (Paus. i. 40. 6; cp. i. 39. 5 *sq.*); and the double axe, which occurs as an ornament on some of the Mycenaean jewellery, was a symbol of the Carian Zeus (Preller, *Griech. Mythologie*,[4] 1. p. 141, note 2). But this theory of the Carian origin of the Mycenaean civilisation has not been confirmed by subsequent research and is now generally abandoned. It has been pointed out that the Mycenaean civilisation extended over a far wider area than that which is said to have been occupied by the Carians, and that in Caria itself no architecture or sculpture of the Mycenaean type is known to exist.

At the date when the Homeric poems, the earliest literary record of the Greek race, were composed, somewhere about 1000 B.C. or not very long after it, we find from the poems that the whole region which had been the seat of the Mycenaean civilisation was occupied by a Greek race, the Achaeans, whose civilisation closely resembled in many respects that of the Mycenaean age, and whose principal cities (including Orchomenus, Mycenae, Tiryns, and Amyclae) were just those which have been found to contain the most striking relics of Mycenaean art. From this it is a reasonable inference that the Achaeans were the people who reared the imposing fortifications, palaces, and tombs of these cities, and created the Mycenaean art, and that the differences between the Achaean civilisation, as revealed to us by Homer, and the Mycenaean civilisation, as exhibited in the monuments, are to be explained by the somewhat later date of the poems, which on this view portray a later and perhaps decadent phase of the Mycenaean age, having been possibly composed at a time when the old civilisation was either being slowly worsted in conflict with a younger and more vigorous rival, or had actually been extinguished in its native home and survived only in popular tradition and the lays of minstrels as the fading memory of a golden age in the past.

Among the resemblances which can be traced between the Homeric and Mycenaean civilisation may be mentioned the fortification of the cities, the plan and disposition of the palaces, and the rich and elaborate metal-work; in particular the scenes inlaid in diverse metals on the shield of Achilles (*Il.* xviii. 478 *sqq.*) tally remarkably with the scenes, similarly inwrought, on the dagger-blades found at Mycenae. Further, a comparison of the defensive armour used in the Mycenaean and Homeric age respectively appears to show that the two were closely alike, if not identical (see W. Reichel, *Ueber die homerischen Waffen*, Wien, 1894). Again, in the Homeric poems Mycenae is still "the golden city" (*Il.* vii. 180, xi. 46; *Od.* iii. 304), and the treasures of Orchomenus are ranked with those of Egyptian Thebes (*Il.* ix. 381 *sq.*)

On the other hand, among the real or apparent differences which have been noted between the Mycenaean and the Homeric modes of life the most striking are as follows. First, in Homeric times iron was in use, at least for certain implements, whereas the Mycenaeans were essentially in the Bronze Age, a very little iron only having been found in some of the later, and none at all in the oldest, graves at Mycenae. Second, in the Homeric age the dead were burnt; in the Mycenaean age they were buried. Third, the Homeric women wore garments fastened with brooches, whereas the Mycenaeans would seem to have worn sewn garments almost universally, since very few brooches have been found in their houses and graves.

But even these differences between the Mycenaeans and the Homeric Greeks have turned out, with increased knowledge and more careful research, to be less than was at first supposed. For, first, in the Homeric poems iron plays a very subordinate part; we hear of iron axes, knives, and arrow-heads, but most of the weapons and implements mentioned in the poems are of bronze; in fact while iron is mentioned in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* only fifty-eight times, bronze is mentioned no less than three hundred and fifty-nine times. See F. B. Jevons, 'Iron in Homer,' *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 13 (1892-3), pp. 25-31. Thus it would seem that the Homeric Greeks lived at a very early period of the iron age, when bronze was still the metal in commonest use (cp. Pausanias, iii. 3. 8); and nearly the same thing can be said of the Mycenaeans, for though bronze was the metal of which they commonly made their weapons and some of their domestic utensils, they were not wholly unacquainted with iron, as the occurrence of a few iron rings in some of the graves of the lower city at Mycenae has sufficed to demonstrate. In short, all the difference in this respect between the Homeric and the Mycenaean age is that in the former iron was in somewhat more general use than in the latter, a fact which confirms the conclusion, reached by other methods, that the Homeric poems are of later date than the remains of Mycenaean art as a whole.

Second, though the Homeric Greeks burnt their dead and the Mycenaeans buried them, yet even in Homer there are traces of a custom of embalming corpses instead of burning them (*Il.* vii. 85, xvi. 465, 674; Helbig, *Das homerische Epos*,[2] p. 54); and the belief of the later Greeks touching the bones of some of their ancient heroes, as Orestes and Theseus (Herodotus, i. 68; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 36), seems to show that they had a lingering tradition of a time when their forefathers buried their dead. Moreover, when an ancient Greek cemetery was excavated in 1891 to the north-east of the Dipylum at Athens, it was found that in all the oldest graves, with a single exception, the dead were buried and not burnt; the date of these oldest graves seems to be the eight or seventh century B.C. See A. Brückner, in *Jahrbuch d. arch. Instituts*, 7 (1892), Archäologischer Anzeiger, p. 19 *sqq.*; A. Brücker und E. Pernice, 'Ein attischer Friedhof,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 18 (1893), p. 73 *sqq.*

Third, though brooches were not found in the oldest graves at Mycenae, namely the shaft graves on the acropolis, one was found in

a house on the acropolis and a few were found in the graves of the lower city. This proves that at some period of their history the Mycenaeans at least occasionally wore garments fastened with brooches instead of sewed garments, and that therefore no such sharp distinction can be drawn between the Homeric and the Mycenaean costume as some archaeologists, especially Prof. Studnizcka, were formerly disposed to make.

On the whole, then, the evidence thus far tends strongly to show that there was no sudden and violent breach between the Mycenaean and Homeric civilisation, but that the latter was merely the natural continuation and outgrowth, perhaps in a somewhat degenerate shape, of the former. The continuity of the history of Greek art from the Mycenaean epoch down to the classical age is confirmed by those features of classical Greek architecture which seem to be directly descended from corresponding features in Mycenaean architecture. Thus the fundamental parts of a Greek temple, namely the sacred chamber or *cella* and the portico leading into it, seem to be a copy of the hall and portico of the palaces of the Mycenaean age, such as have been found at Troy, Tiryns, and Mycenae. The grand portal or propylaeum at Tiryns (see below, p. 222) is identical in plan with the similar portals which the Greeks of the classical age erected as entrances to their greatest sanctuaries, for example, the Acropolis at Athens and the precinct of Demeter at Eleusis (see vol. 2. pp. 243 *sqq.*, 505 *sq.*) Again, the Doric column seems to be derived from the Mycenaean column, so far as the latter is known to us from the half-columns of the tomb of Clytaemnestra (above, p. 127) and from an ivory model of a column fluted in the Doric way. Lastly, the sloping gable-roofs of Greek temples, so different from the flat roofs which prevail in the hot climates of Asia and Northern Africa, had their counterparts in the sloping roofs of the Mycenaean houses; for that the Mycenaeans built their houses with gable-roofs may be inferred with certainty both from the similar roofs of the rock-cut tombs at Mycenae (above, p. 130) and from two sepulchral urns of the Mycenaean period, found in Crete, which are fashioned in the shape of tiny houses with gable-roofs.

The semi-Oriental style of the Mycenaean civilisation is no serious objection to the view that the people who evolved and spread that civilisation were of the Greek stock. For Greece after all is at the gateway of the East, and the Homeric Greeks themselves would seem to have been under the influence of the Orient to an extent which the ordinary reader of Homer hardly realises. "If the modern reader," says Prof. Helbig (*Das homerische Epos.*[2] p. 425 *sq.*) "were suddenly transported by magic into the hall of an Ionian king in which an Homeric minstrel were in the act of trolling out a new lay, the artificial style and the gay and varied colours which would everywhere meet his eye might well make him feel as if he were not in a Greek assembly, but in Nineveh at the court of Sennacherib or in the palace of King Hiram at Tyre."

The catastrophe which put an end to the Mycenaean civilisation in Greece would seem to have been the Dorian invasion, which, according

to the traditional Greek chronology, befell about the middle of the twelfth century B.C. (Busolt, *Griech. Geschichte*,[2] I. p. 259 *sq.*) That the end of Mycenae and Tiryns was sudden and violent is proved by the conclusive evidence which shows that the palaces were destroyed by fire and that, once destroyed, they were never rebuilt. The date, too, of the Dorian invasion, so far as we can determine it, harmonises well with this view; for the Egyptian evidence of the existence of Mycenae comes down to about the time of the Dorian invasion, and there significantly stops. The cessation also of the characteristic Mycenaean pottery about the same date points to the same conclusion. It is not indeed to be supposed that the Dorians swept over Greece in one unbroken wave of conquest. The tide of invasion probably ebbed and flowed; raids were met and repelled, but were followed by incursions of fresh swarms of invaders, the new-comers steadily gaining ground, encroaching on and enveloping the ancient Mycenaean kingdoms till, the last barrier giving way before them, the capitals themselves were stormed, their treasures plundered, and the palaces given to the flames. The conflict between civilisation and barbarism, the slow decline of the former and the gradual triumph of the latter, may have lasted many years. It is thus that many, if not most, permanent conquests have been effected. It was thus that the Saxons step by step ousted the Britons, and the Danes obtained a footing in England; it was thus that the Turks strangled the Byzantine empire. Events like the fall of Constantinople and the expulsion of the Moors from Granada are only the last scenes in tragedies which have been acting for centuries.

To attribute, with some writers, the creation instead of the destruction of the Mycenaean civilisation to the Dorians is preposterous, since the Dorian immigration did not take place till the twelfth century B.C., while the Mycenaean civilisation is known from Egyptian evidence to have existed from the middle of the fifteenth century B.C. at least. But this attribution involves other than chronological difficulties. The typical Dorians were the Spartans, and no greater contrast can well be conceived than that between the luxurious, semi-Oriental civilisation of Mycenae and the stern simplicity of Sparta. On the one side we see imposing fortifications, stately tombs, luxurious baths, magnificent palaces, their walls gay with bright frescoes or glittering with burnished bronze, their halls crowded with a profusion of precious objects of art and luxury, wrought by native craftsmen or brought by merchants from the bazaars of Egypt and Assyria; and in the midst of all a sultan, laden with golden jewellery, listening to minstrels singing the tale of Troy or the wanderings of Ulysses. On the other side we see an open unfortified city with insignificant buildings, where art and poetry never flourished, where gold and silver were banned, and where even the kings prided themselves on the meanness of their attire (Plutarch, *Agesilaus*, 36; Cornelius Nepos, *Agesilaus*, 8). The Dorians, if we may judge of them by the purest specimens of the breed, were just as incapable of creating the art of Mycenae as the Turks were of building the Parthenon and St. Sophia.

Of the Greeks who were rendered homeless by the Dorian invasion

most fled to Asia. There, on the beautiful island-studded coast, under the soft Ionian sky, a new Greece arose which, in its splendid cities, its busy marts, its solemn fanes, combined Greek subtlety and refinement with much of Asiatic pomp and luxury. By this long and brilliant after-glow of the Mycenaean civilisation in Asia we may judge, as it has been well said, what its meridian splendour had been in Europe.

On the Mycenaean art and civilisation, its character, date, affinities, etc., see U. Köhler, 'Ueber die Zeit und den Ursprung der Grabanlagen in Mykenae und Spata,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 3 (1878), pp. 1-13; F. Lenormant, in *Gazette Archéologique*, 5 (1879), pp. 197-209; C. T. Newton, *Essays on Art and Archaeology* (London, 1880), pp. 246-302; P. Gardner. 'Stephani on the tombs at Mycenae,' *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1 (1880), pp. 94-106; *id.*, *New Chapters in Greek History* (London, 1892), pp. 55-152; A. Furtwängler und G. Loeschcke, *Mykenische Vasen* (Berlin, 1886), Introduction; F. Adler, Preface to Schliemann's *Tiryns* (London, 1886), pp. v-liii; Dümmler und Studnizcka, 'Die Herkunft der mykenischen Cultur, *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 12 (1887), pp. 1-24; W. M. Flinders Petrie, 'The Egyptian bases of Greek history,' *Journal of Hellen. Studies*, 11 (1890), pp. 271-277; *id.*, 'Notes on the antiquities of Mykenai,' *Journal of Hellen. Stud.* 12 (1891), pp. 199-205; Schuchhardt, *Schliemann's Ausgrabungen*,[2] pp. 368-389; Cecil Torr, in *Classical Review*, 6 (1892), pp. 127-131; Cecil Smith, 'Egypt and Mycenaean antiquities,' *ib.* pp. 462-466; Steindorff, 'Aegypten und die mykenische Kultur,' *Jahrbuch d. archäol. Inst.* 7 (1892), Archäologischer Anzeiger, pp. 11-16; M. Collignon, *Histoire de la Sculpture Grecque*, 1. pp. 59-64; H. Brunn, *Griechische Kunstgeschichte*, 1 (München, 1893), pp. 1-64; G. Busolt, *Griech. Geschichte*,[2] 1. pp. 3-126; Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alterthums*, 2 (Stuttgart, 1893), §§ 81-84; Tsountas, Μυκῆναι (Athens, 1893), pp. 172-264; E. Reisch, 'Die mykenische Frage,' *Verhandlungen der 42. Versammlung deutsch. Philologen* (Leipzig, 1894), pp. 97-122; Perrot et Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiquite*, 6. pp. 983-1010; A. J. Evans, 'Primitive pictographs and a prae-Phoenician script from Crete and the Peloponnese,' *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 14 (1894), pp. 270-372.

Mr. Tsountas, the distinguished Greek archaeologist who has done much to advance our knowledge of Mycenaean art, has endeavoured from a study of Mycenaean architecture to arrive at some conclusion as to the original home of the Mycenaean people before they migrated into Greece. His speculations are so ingenious and interesting that they deserve a brief notice here.

He points out that in the beehive tombs we probably possess models of the primitive dwellings of the Mycenaean people. For when men believe, as the Mycenaeans apparently did, that the dead live in the grave a shadowy life which is the reflexion of the life they led on earth, they naturally make their tombs like their houses, and place in them the tools, weapons, and ornaments which the departed had used in life. Now it seems clear that houses of the beehive pattern, built into the side of a hillock or covered over with a mound of earth, are most suitable to a country where the winters are long and cold, and where consequently people construct their houses underground for the sake of warmth and shelter. Such houses have been used and are still used by primitive races in many parts of the world. In the Bronze Age, to which the Mycenaean people essentially belonged, the rude tribes of northern Europe appear to have constructed both their houses and their tombs in this fashion (see Sir J. Lubbock, *Prehistoric Times*,[5]

pp. 56 *sqq.*, 113 *sqq.*) It is therefore a legitimate inference that the Mycenaean people, before they migrated into the sunnier climate of Greece, inhabited a bleak northern country, where they dwelt in round huts dug out in the sides of hills or covered over with earth, stones, and branches. Other evidence, such as the remains of prehistoric villages in the valley of the Po, and sepulchral urns shaped like round huts, which were found under a layer of volcanic matter at Albano in 1817, confirms the view that while the ancestors of the Greeks and Latins lived together in some part of central Europe, they made their houses of a circular shape. See Lubbock, *op. cit.* p. 54 *sq.*; W. Helbig, *Die Italiker in der Poebene* (Leipzig, 1879); *Journal of Philology*, 15 (1886), pp. 145-148.

But the shaft graves on the acropolis at Mycenae differ so totally in plan from the beehive tombs that we can hardly suppose them to have been constructed by the same people. Now on the acropolis at Mycenae, as we have seen (p. 122), remains have been found of two-storied houses, in which the inhabitants appear to have lived in the upper story and to have used the ground story either as a store-room or merely as a place in which to deposit rubbish. Houses of this type, raised above the ground, are naturally built by people who have previously been accustomed to erect their houses on raised platforms over marshes and lakes. The remains of prehistoric villages discovered within recent years in Switzerland, Italy, Germany, and other countries prove that in the Stone and Bronze Ages people in many parts of Europe dwelt over lakes and marshes in huts built on wooden platforms, which were supported on piles (see Lubbock, *Prehistoric Times*,[5] pp. 181-226; R. Munro, *The Lake-Dwellings of Europe*, London, 1890). Herodotus has graphically described (v. 16) one such village which existed in Paeonia down to the fifth century B.C. Mr. Tsountas has accordingly conjectured that one branch of the Mycenaean people, that perhaps which made the shaft graves, were originally lake-dwellers, inhabiting villages raised on piles over lakes and swamps. This conjecture is confirmed by the stone model of such a village which was found many years ago in Melos, and is now in the Museum at Munich. It represents seven round huts forming three sides of a square; on the fourth side there is a wall with a gateway and porch. The huts are decorated on the outside with the characteristic Mycenaean spirals. The platform on which they stand is supported by four pillars, which are represented as made of logs laid one upon the other. See Lubbock, *op. cit.* p. 55. As Melos is one of the Greek islands in which early Mycenaean remains have been found, it seems not improbable that in this model we have a copy of a lake-village of the early Mycenaean period. Lastly, Mr. Tsountas has pointed out that some of the most important cities of the Mycenaean age in Greece, as Orchomenus, Tiryns, and Amyclae, seem to have been originally surrounded by marshes, and that the Greeks had traditions of towns which had been swallowed up by the Copaic Lake (Strabo, ix. p. 413; Pausanias, ix. 24. 2). The remains of a great fortress of the Mycenaean era are still to be seen on the island of *Goulas* in the Copaic Lake (see note on ix. 24. 1). Mr. Tsountas

suggests that the choice of such sites was determined by old habit, the people settling among marshes because their fathers had done so before them, although much stronger situations might have been found close at hand.

Thus, according to Mr. Tsountas, there were two branches of the Mycenaean people; one dwelt in underground huts, the other in pile-villages built on lakes and marshes; the former he would identify with the Homeric Achaeans, the latter with the Homeric Danai. He considers that the Minyans of Orchomenus, the Tirynthians, and the inhabitants of the Greek islands belonged to the lake-dwellers or Danai. Mycenae itself, on his theory, was founded by the lake-dwellers or Danai from Tiryns, who after occupying the coast and founding Tiryns gradually spread inland, and whose kings, the first dynasty of Mycenae, were buried in the shaft graves on the acropolis. At a later time the Achaeans, moving southward from Corinth, made themselves masters of Mycenae, and their kings, forming the second dynasty, were buried in the beehive tombs. This theory he supports by the tradition that Mycenae was founded by Perseus, king of Tiryns and son of Danae (Paus. ii. 16. 2 *sq.*), that two generations of Perseus's descendants reigned at Mycenae after him, and that thereupon a new and more powerful dynasty, that of the Pelopids, succeeded to the throne (Thucydides, i. 9; Apollodorus, ed. R. Wagner, p. 185; Strabo, viii. p. 377; Eusebius, *Chronic.* i. vol. 1. p. 179, ed. Schoene). He holds that the shaft graves on the acropolis are the graves of the older Perseid dynasty, and that the beehive tombs are the sepulchres of the later Pelopid dynasty.

See Tsountas, Μυκῆναι, pp. 193-199, 204 *sq.*, 221-245.

16. 6. **a conduit called Persea.** The source of this conduit was probably the copious spring which rises in the glen about 400 yards east of the acropolis of Mycenae. Its water, which is still famous for its purity and salubrious properties, flows southward into the Chavos ravine. In antiquity the water of the spring seems to have been brought in a conduit or aqueduct along the northern foot of the acropolis, where a ruined Turkish aqueduct may still be traced. On this northern slope of the acropolis there are some cuttings in the rock which may have belonged to the ancient aqueduct. At the north-west corner of the acropolis there are unmistakeable remains of an ancient aqueduct; but as the stones in which the water-channel is cut are great blocks of breccia which once formed part of the fortification-wall of the acropolis, it seems that the aqueduct was not made until after the fortress had been dismantled. There is no evidence that the water was ever brought within the walls of the citadel. It is true that there is a deep rock-cut cistern in the ancient house which Dr. Schliemann discovered immediately to the south of the circle of graves on the acropolis; and a Cyclopean conduit leads down into it from the higher part of the acropolis-hill, but this conduit seems to have had no connexion with the Persea spring. It is possible, however, that it was this conduit, and not the one outside the north wall of the acropolis, which Pausanias observed and to which he gave the name of Persea.

But the garrison of the acropolis were not wholly dependent for their water-supply on the cisterns within the walls and on the aqueduct at the northern foot of the hill. Outside the north wall of the fortress they had a secret reservoir, to which an underground passage gave access from within the walls of the acropolis. This reservoir and passage were discovered by Mr. Tsountas in 1889, and the present writer visited them not long afterwards. The passage begins in the form of a vaulted gallery extending through the thickness of the north wall at a place between the north gate or postern and the north-west corner of the acropolis. It is then continued underground outside the walls, running first due north for a short way, then bending to the west, and afterwards to the north-east. Its whole length outside the walls is about 40 yards. As the passage descends, there are 16 steps in the thickness of the wall, and 83 steps outside. The roof of the first part of the passage outside the wall has fallen in; but in the second part, where the passage turns westward, the roof is mostly preserved. It is here formed by blocks laid horizontally on vertical side-walls. But in the last part of the passage, the part which runs north-east and is the longest and best preserved, the roof is formed by the inclination of the side-walls towards each other till they meet overhead, in the style of the galleries in the walls at Tiryns (see below, p. 219 *sq.*) At its end the passage is about 15 feet high and 4½ feet wide. It terminates in a well, or rather in a cistern shaped like a well, about 3 feet wide and 12 feet deep. Immediately over the cistern there is a hole in the roof, to which a conduit, formed of earthenware water-pipes, leads underground from the north. This conduit is now preserved for a length of only about 11 yards, but it appears to have originally supplied the cistern with water from a small but perennial spring which rises about 100 yards north of the wall of the acropolis. By means of this subterranean cistern and the underground passage leading to it the garrison of Mycenae could always, in case of siege, obtain a supply of water unknown to the enemy. The existing water-pipes which supplied the cistern are of Roman date, and the steps and walls in the last part of the passage are coated with Roman cement.

See Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 130 *sq.*; Steffen, *Karten von Mykenai, Text*, p. 14 *sq.*; Tsountas, in Πρακτικὰ τῆς 'Αρχαιολ. 'Εταιρίας for 1889, pp. 18-20; *id.*, Μυκῆναι, pp. 25-27; Ch. Belger, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der griech. Kuppelgräber*, p. 15; *id.*, in *Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 11 (1891), pp. 449-452; Schuchhardt, *Schliemanns Ausgrabungen*,[2] p. 167 *sq.*; Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 6. pp. 310-313.

16. 6. **underground buildings of Atreus and his children, where their treasures were kept.** By these 'underground buildings' Pausanias must mean the beehive tombs, since he describes the beehive tomb at Orchomenus as a treasury (ix. 38. 2). We now know that these structures were tombs, not treasuries. See above, p. 126.

16. 6. **There is a grave of Atreus** etc. In this passage, which has been much discussed, Pausanias appears to mention eleven persons who were buried at Mycenae, namely Atreus, Cassandra, Agamemnon, Eurymedon, Teledamus, Pelops, Electra, Medon, Strophius, Clytaem-

nestra, and Aegisthus. But we cannot be quite sure of the number, since there is a lacuna in the text. See Critical Note on § 7 (vol. i. p. 571). Even assuming eleven to be the right number, we cannot be sure of the number of the graves, for Electra and her sons, Medon and Strophius, may have been buried in a single grave, like Teledamus and Pelops, and so too may Aegisthus and his paramour Clytaemnestra. If we assume that this was so, then the number of the graves was seven, of which six were within, and one was without, the walls. But if Electra was buried in one grave, and her sons in another, and Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra were also laid in separate graves, then the number of the graves was nine, of which seven were within, and two were without, the walls.

A much-debated question is, Where exactly were these graves? which of the many tombs at Mycenae were pointed out to travellers in antiquity as the graves of Atreus, Agamemnon, and the other famous personages enumerated by Pausanias?

Even before his great discovery of the royal graves on the acropolis, Dr. Schliemann had always maintained that all the graves here mentioned by Pausanias, except those of Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra, were on the acropolis, since in saying that Agamemnon and his companions were buried within, and Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra without, the walls, Pausanias can only be referring to the walls of the acropolis. Accordingly, when he discovered the shaft graves on the acropolis, just inside of the wall, Schliemann at once identified them with the graves of Atreus, Agamemnon, etc., mentioned by Pausanias. This identification has been disputed, but there are strong grounds for believing it to be correct. The question turns mainly on the interpretation of the word 'wall' (τεῖχος) in the present passage of Pausanias (§ 7). That τεῖχος in Greek writers generally, and in Pausanias invariably, means a fortification-wall is certain (cp. Ch. Belger, in *Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 12 (1892), p. 131 *sq.*): but here it might be applied either to the walls of the acropolis or to the walls of the lower city. That Pausanias here applied it to the massive ring-wall of the acropolis, which still exists, and not to the much slighter wall of the lower city which has now nearly disappeared, seems to be proved by the fact that a few lines above (§ 5) he had spoken of the circuit-wall (περίβολος) of Mycenae in a way which makes it indubitable that by the circuit-wall of Mycenae he meant the wall of the acropolis. Elsewhere (vii. 25. 6) he speaks of the walls (τεῖχος) of Mycenae in terms which hardly leave room for doubt that there also he had in view the wall of the acropolis, not the wall of the lower city. The remains of the latter wall may very well have been nearly as ruinous and inconspicuous in his time as they are at present. Thus it may be taken as nearly certain that Pausanias meant us to understand that the graves of Atreus, Agamemnon, etc., were within the acropolis. Now just within the wall of the acropolis Schliemann found graves which in respect of number tally either exactly or approximately with those enumerated by Pausanias, and which from the profusion and splendour of the jewellery they contained can only have been the tombs of the

royal family of Mycenae. This coincidence is too great to be accidental. The inevitable conclusion is that by the graves of Atreus, Agamemnon, etc., our author designated the graves discovered by Schliemann on the acropolis.

This, however, still leaves open the question whether or not Pausanias actually saw the burial-ground with its tombstones and the two circles of slabs which enclose it. Some writers have held that in the time of Pausanias (the second century A.D.) the whole burial-ground must have been completely hidden under a deep layer of soil washed down from the higher terrace. This view was formerly held by Dr. Ch. Belger (*Beiträge zur Kenntniss der griech. Kuppelgräber*, p. 19), and has been accepted, seemingly on his authority, by Messrs. Perrot and Chipiez. But a more exact study of all the evidence has since led Dr. Belger to the conclusion that "the circle of graves must have remained visible so long as the entrance to the acropolis was still through the Lions' Gate. The gradual disappearance of both the graveyard and the gateway under an accumulation of soil must have gone on contemporaneously. But since the acropolis was inhabited, though probably only to a small extent, down to Roman times, we cannot shut our eyes to the possibility that Pausanias may still have seen the tombstones projecting from the soil" (*Die mykenische Lokalsage* (Berlin, 1893), p. 32). The stratum of soil, twelve to fourteen feet deep, which Schliemann found overlying the tombstones, may all have been accumulated in the sixteen centuries which have elapsed between the age of Pausanias and our own. But even if when he visited Mycenae the graveyard had already disappeared beneath the soil, the memory of the number and position of the graves may well have been kept alive in the local tradition, and travellers may still have been shown the spot within the Lions' Gate where the old kings of Mycenae lay buried. Scholars who live mainly among books are apt to underestimate the persistency and strength of local tradition as it is handed down orally from generation to generation among the natives of a district. An instance of this persistency and fidelity of local tradition came to light some years ago in Norway. Near the head of the Sandefjord there is a mound which had been known for centuries as 'the King's Mound,' and tradition said that a king had been buried there with all his treasures. The mound was excavated in 1880, and it proved to have been indeed the grave of an old sea-king; for a ship containing his bones was discovered in it. But the treasures had nearly disappeared, for the tomb had been rifled. See G. H. Boehmer, 'Prehistoric naval architecture of the North of Europe,' *Report of the U.S. National Museum* (*Smithsonian Institution*) for 1891, p. 618 *sqq.*

It has been suggested that Pausanias derived his knowledge of the graves neither from local tradition nor from personal observation, but from the work of some earlier writer, such as Hellanicus, who lived in the fifth century B.C. and wrote a work on Argolis, and whom in fact Pausanias cites in this very passage (§ 7). This is of course possible, but as we possess only a few fragments of the writings of Hellanicus the theory is incapable of verification. It is also superfluous,

since, as has just been shown, there is no reason why Pausanias should not have seen the tombstones for himself, or at least have had the situation of the graves pointed out to him.

Dr. Belger has attempted to show that the local tradition which Pausanias has preserved, whether at first or at second hand, as to the number of the graves and the persons buried in them, arose from a comparison of the Homeric narrative with the tombstones which stood over the graves on the acropolis, the Homeric legend having been so manipulated as to fit the number of the tombstones and the character of the carving on them. But this theory, more ingenious than convincing, can hardly be held to have been made out.

It is hardly necessary to consider seriously the view, advocated by Dr. Schuchhardt and formerly at least by Prof. Adler, that by the graves of Atreus, Agamemnon, etc., our author meant the beehive tombs in the lower city. For, as we have seen (p. 161), Pausanias has already described these edifices as underground treasuries, in ignorance of the fact that they were tombs. Besides, on this theory the wall inside of which were all except one or two of the royal graves must have been the wall of the lower city; and accordingly we should expect, if this theory were true, to find that all the beehive tombs except one or two were within the city walls. But the reverse is the case. Three only of the beehive tombs are inside of the city walls, and all the rest (five in number) are outside of it.

On this question of the graves see Schliemann, *Mycenae*, pp. 59 sqq., 334 sqq.; Adler, Preface to Schliemann's *Tiryns*, p. xxxii. sqq.; C. T. Newton, *Essays on Art and Archaeology*, p. 296 *sqq.*; Schuchhardt, *Schliemann's Ausgrabungen*², pp. 189-199; P. Gardner, *New Chapters in Greek History*, p. 70 sqq.; Ch. Belger, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der griech. Kuppelgräber* (Berlin, 1887), p. 14 sqq.; *id.*, in *Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 11 (1891), pp. 1160 sqq., 1189 sq.; *id.*, in *Berl. phil. Wochenschrift*, 12 (1892), p. 131 sq.; *id.*, *Die mykenische Lokalsage* (Berlin, 1893); Perrot et Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 6. pp. 381-394; Tsountas, Μυκῆναι, pp. 153-157.

16. 6. **The tomb of Cassandra is disputed** etc. This implies that there was a tomb at Mycenae which was called Cassandra's tomb, though the people of Amyclae denied the correctness of this designation. At Amyclae there was a sanctuary of Alexandra, whom the Amyclaeans identified with Cassandra (iii. 19. 6); but this sanctuary need not have been the tomb which the Amyclaeans claimed to be that of Cassandra. It is possible that, as Prof. Reisch has suggested (*Zeitschrift f. die österreich. Gymnasien*, 42 (1891), p. 231), the tomb at Amyclae which was pointed out as Cassandra's grave was no other than the beehive tomb of *Vaphio* (see above, p. 134 *sqq.*) Dr. Belger has denied this (*Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 11 (1891), p. 1189), but on insufficient grounds.

16. 6. **Teledamus and Pelops.** Teledamus, son of Agamemnon and Cassandra, is mentioned by a scholiast on Homer (*Od.* xi. 420, ed. Dindorf). Otherwise these twins seem to be mentioned by no ancient writer except Pausanias. Cp. v. Wilamowitz-Mollendorff, *Homerische Untersuchungen*, p. 156 note 18; Ch. Belger, *Die mykenische Lokalsage*, p. 35 *sq.*

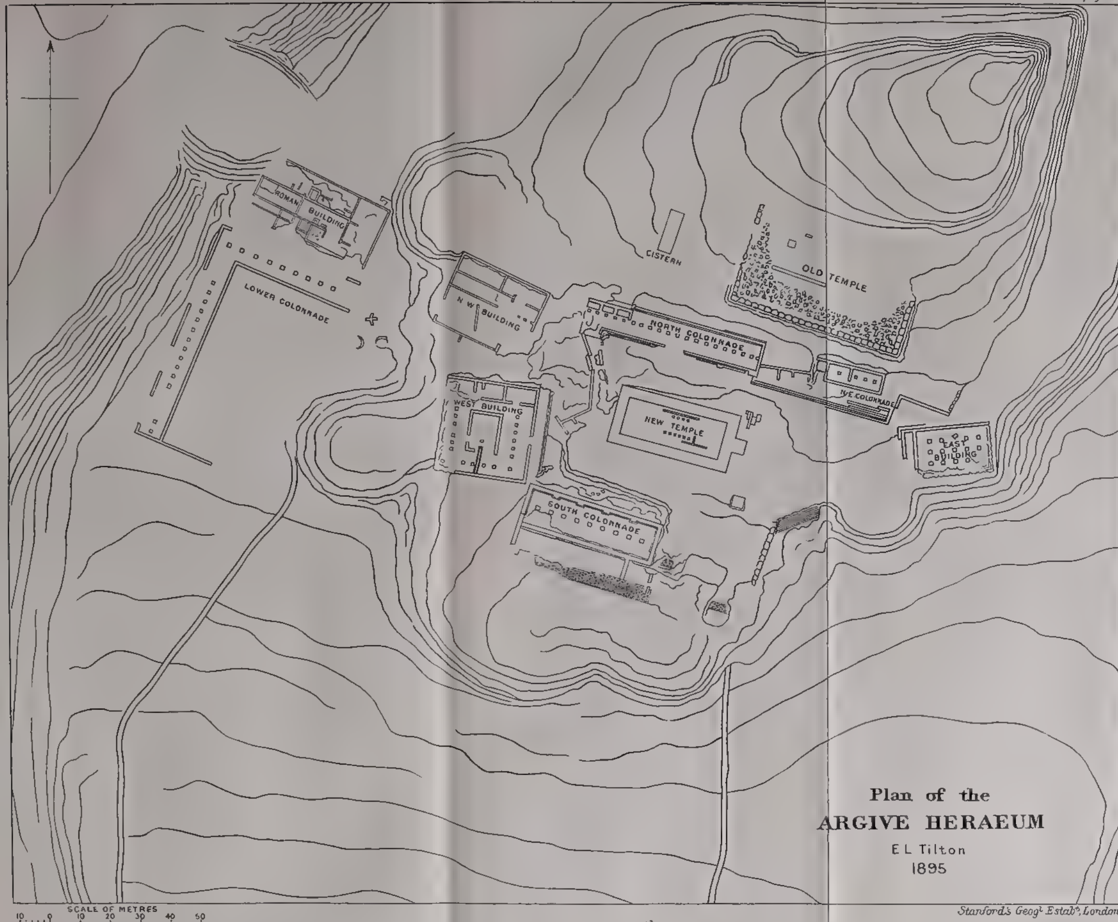
16. 7. **Aegisthus.** The murder of Aegisthus by Orestes is depicted on red-figured vases. See C. Robert, *Bild und Lied*, pp. 149-191. Prof. Robert holds that these representations may be traced to the influence of Polygnotus. The scene does not appear on black-figured vases.

17. 1. **the Heraeum.** The site of the Heraeum or sanctuary of Hera, the chief temple of Argolis and one of the oldest and most famous temples in Greece, was accidentally discovered in 1831 by Colonel (afterwards General) Gordon of Cairness, while he was out shooting. It had been sought in vain by former travellers. The site is a terraced hill (420 feet high), rising in a somewhat insulated position at the foot of a bare, steep mountain, one of the highest that bound the plain of Argolis on the east. This steep, arid mountain (1744 feet) is probably the Mt. Euboea of Pausanias, as Captain Steffen held; indeed it bears the name Euboea in a slightly modernised form (*Evvia*) to this day (see Steffen, *Karten von Mykenai*, *Erläuternder Text*, p. 39). Commonly, but less correctly, the ancient Euboea is identified, not with the mountain, but with the terraced hill at its foot, on which the sanctuary stands. The place is distant about 25 Greek furlongs (somewhat under three miles) south-east of Mycenae in a straight line, so that Pausanias's estimate of the distance (15 furlongs) is much under the mark, and Strabo's estimate of 10 furlongs (viii. p. 368) is still more so. The ancient road which led from Mycenae to the Heraeum can be traced at intervals. It keeps well up on the steep mountain-side, crossing the beds of several torrents on Cyclopean bridges, the ruins of which can still be seen (Steffen, *op. cit.* p. 9). The bare terraced hill on which the Heraeum stands is about three quarters of a mile to the east of the road which leads from *Charvati* (the village near Mycenae) to Nauplia. It forms a rough triangle with its apex turned to the mountains and its base to the plain. On the north the hill is divided by a deep depression from the main mass of the mountain (Mt. Euboea), and is enclosed on the north-west and south-east by two deep ravines, the *Revma tou Kastrou* and the *Glykia*, in neither of which does water flow except after rain. The ravine on the north-west is commonly identified with the Water of Freedom (Eleutherium), and the ravine on the south-east with the Asterion. But these identifications are perhaps incorrect (see the notes below, p. 179 *sqq.*) The higher ridge or rocky summit to the east, distant only some 300 yards from the Heraeum and separated from it by the *Glykia* ravine, is no doubt the Mt. Acraea of Pausanias (§ 2). Prosymna was the low ground beneath the sanctuary. The apex of the triangular height on which the Heraeum stands is a rocky peak, below which the hill descends in two or rather three terraces to the plain. Each of the two upper terraces is about 55 yards square; a short slope intervenes between them; the difference of level between the two terraces is only some 40 feet. On the uppermost terrace stood the old temple which was burnt down in 423 B.C. (Thucydides, iv. 133); the new temple was built on the second or middle terrace.

Excavations on the site of the Heraeum were made on a small scale by General Gordon in 1836, and on a larger scale in 1854 by Rangabé

and Bursian, who laid bare some of the foundations of the second temple, determined to a certain extent its plan, and discovered a great many fragments of marble sculptures. In 1892 more extensive and systematic excavations were undertaken by the American School of Classical Studies and have been successfully prosecuted in that and subsequent years (1892-1895) under the direction of Prof. Waldstein. The result of their labours has been to uncover foundations both of the first and second temple and of several large buildings within the sacred precinct, and also to bring to light a few fine pieces of sculpture and an immense quantity of archaic pottery, terra-cottas, bronzes, and other small objects. A full account of these interesting discoveries has not yet (July, 1895) been published. The following brief description of the sanctuary is derived mainly from the preliminary reports of the American excavators; but for some details, as yet unpublished, I am indebted to the courtesy of Prof. Waldstein.

The uppermost terrace, on which the old temple stood, is bounded on the south side, toward the plain, by a retaining-wall some 54 metres (59 yards) long, built of huge irregularly shaped blocks of conglomerate heaped together in a rough Cyclopean style. The interstices were probably filled originally with small stones or clay, which have now disappeared. Three courses of these Cyclopean blocks are in general remaining. One triangular stone measures 12 feet on the sides, and is 4 or 5 feet thick; another is 18 feet long and 6 feet thick. This Cyclopean wall is a conspicuous object at some distance; its massive remains first drew Col. Gordon's attention to the spot. When Bursian examined the upper terrace in 1854, he observed, projecting from the soil, the beginning and end of a long limestone wall, which probably inclosed the sacred precinct, but did not form part of the temple itself, since it began and ended on the edge of the terrace and was nearly as long as the retaining-wall. On this upper terrace the American excavators cleared away all the top soil down to the early substructure, which measures about 45 metres (140 feet) in length by 35 metres (115 feet) in width. Two layers or platforms of hard black earth were found extending parallel to each other for a distance of 33 metres (108 feet), nearly to the western end of the terrace. The breadth of each platform is rather less than 4 metres (13 feet), and its depth from one to two inches; the space between the two platforms is 7 metres (23 feet) in width. Under each platform is a layer of dark red soil. In or near these platforms of black earth were found pieces of charred wood, flat bricks which showed plainly the action of fire, and masses of common stone which had evidently been split by the heat of a great conflagration. That we have here remains of the old temple which was burnt in 423 B.C. is obvious. It has been suggested that the two platforms of black earth mark the lines of the temple's walls. We have good grounds for believing that in the old temple of Hera at Olympia the upper walls were built of unburnt (sun-dried) brick, and that the columns and superstructure were originally of wood (see note on v. 16. 1). Now if the old temple on the terrace were similarly constructed, the two black platforms may be the remains of the burnt columns and



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roof, and the red layers beneath them may be all that is left of the brick walls. However this may have been, the temple was not built entirely of wood and brick; the lower parts at least of the walls were of stone. For in 1893 the Americans found a piece of an ancient wall 14.30 metres long by rather more than a metre broad, which had certainly belonged to the temple. To the west and south of the layers of black earth portions of a pavement constructed of irregular polygonal slabs were unearthed; they probably formed part of a pavement which completely surrounded the temple. At various points on the upper terrace fragments of pottery and of melted metal (iron and bronze) came to light; the pottery is mostly plain, but some of it exhibits very archaic Mycenaean patterns. Further, in a sort of pocket or recess near the western end of the terrace three basketfuls of potsherds (mostly thick, heavy, and unpainted) were gathered, also some pieces of a lighter ware, and bits of melted iron, plates and rods of bronze, glass beads, smaller beads of bone, and a curious bronze goat.

The second or middle terrace was also enclosed by a retaining-wall, of which portions can be seen at intervals. Unlike the retaining-wall of the highest terrace, it is built of regular masonry, though of an inferior sort; but an angle towards Nauplia, seen by Finlay in 1831, was of fine workmanship, and differed from all the remaining walls in consisting of two layers of large blocks, surmounted by a narrower course. The newer temple stood exactly in the centre of this terrace, with its narrow ends facing east-south-east and west-north-west. Nothing of it remains standing except foundations, which were excavated partially by Bursian and Rangabé, and completely by the American archaeologists. Even the steps and the stylobate of the temple have disappeared. All that remains is the broad outer foundation on which steps and columns rested, and the foundations for the walls of the *cella* and for the interior columns. The material of which they are built is a common coarse-grained stone, one of the many sorts which archaeologists lump together under the vague name of *poros*. The blocks measure uniformly 1.20 metre by .60 metre and .35 metre. The columns of the temple, as we see from their remains, were constructed of the same coarse stone; but the walls of the *cella* were built of a whitish-grey limestone, as blocks of them, found by Bursian and Rangabé, sufficed to prove.

The outer foundation, which is preserved in its entire extent, measures 39.60 metres in length by 19.94 metres at the two narrow ends. It is from 3.50 to 3.60 metres broad, and is very carefully built in alternate courses of 'headers and stretchers' (blocks laid crosswise and lengthwise respectively). The depth of the foundation varies with the level of the underlying rock. On the north side, where the rock lies just below the surface, the foundation consists of only one or two courses. At the west end, where the rock slopes away with the inclination of the hill, the foundation deepens from two to eight courses; while a shaft which the Americans sunk at the east end of the temple revealed ten courses (3.50 metres) without reaching the lowest.

Contiguous to the eastern end of the foundation, just at the middle, is a platform 4 metres (13 feet) square, which perhaps supported a

ramp leading up to the temple. The chief altar seems to have been at the north-east corner of the temple, for here Bursian and Rangabé found two square pavements of black stone outside of, but close to, the foundations; and on these pavements were discovered potsherds and bones of animals, as well as many fragments of sculpture. The larger of the two pavements was on the east, the smaller on the north side of the temple, but they met at the angle.

The architectural fragments which have been found prove that the temple was of the Doric order. In 1831 Finlay found the shaft of a Doric column, 11 feet 6 inches in circumference, with twenty flutes; he described it as of limestone, coated with cement. Bursian and Rangabé found three fairly preserved drums of columns, all of *poros* stone; the diameter of the largest was 1.30 metre. They also discovered a fragment of a smaller column of the same material, with twenty flutes; its diameter was .49 metre. A Doric capital, much damaged, was judged by Bursian to have belonged to this smaller column or to one of the same set. On the site of the temple the Americans found two drums and a single Doric capital, with twenty flutes. From the size of the columns (1.02 metre in diameter at the neck, as determined by the existing capital) and the dimensions of the foundations Mr. Brownson thinks it probable that the temple was peripteral, that is, was surrounded by a colonnade, and that the columns at each of the narrow ends were six in number, while the number of the columns on each of the long sides was twelve. Bursian also had concluded that the temple was probably peripteral and hexastyle. Other architectural fragments found by Bursian and Rangabé were a triglyph and many blocks of the *geison*, all of *poros* stone. Each block of the *geison* had on its lower side three rows of *guttae*, six *guttae* in each row. Finally, in excavating the great colonnade to the south of the second temple in 1895 the Americans found masses of architectural fragments of the temple littering the floor of the colonnade: it would seem that the temple was thrown down by an earthquake, and that its shattered pieces had rolled down the slope to the place where they were found. These architectural fragments include drums and capitals of Doric columns, metopes, fragments of sculptures from the metopes, marble roof tiles, and pieces of the entablature (an architrave block, a *geison* block, etc.) sufficient to allow of a reconstruction of the whole entablature. Here, too, were found two marble heads and two torsoes which had probably belonged to the second temple.

The temple was roofed with marble tiles, some of which were found by Bursian and Rangabé. These tiles were of three shapes: some had raised edges ('gutter-tiles'); others were roof-shaped ('covering-tiles'); others again were roof-shaped, but solid, not hollowed out. On the *sima*, or overhanging extremity of the sloping part of the roof, were placed marble heads of lions, whose open mouths served as water-spouts. Three at least of these marble lion-heads, as well as a great many fragments of others, have been found at various times. They were of two sizes, a larger and a smaller; the larger no doubt came at longer intervals, perhaps only at the corners. The marble blocks of

the *sima* between the lion's heads were elegantly decorated with a pattern exquisitely cut in low relief. The pattern consists of two volutes meeting, with a floral decoration (palmette or modified lotus) rising from their junction, and a bird perched on the volute between each pair of palmettes. The bird perhaps represents the cuckoo, the bird of Hera. Other architectural decorations discovered by the earlier excavators were painted antefixes of terra-cotta; one of them, found by Finlay, was painted to imitate the tail of a peacock, another of the sacred birds of Hera.

The internal arrangement of the temple would seem to have been the one usually adopted in peripteral temples, comprising an ante-chamber or portico (*pronaos*) on the east, a central chamber or *cella* in the middle, and a back-chamber or portico (*opisthodomos*) on the west. But the imperfect state of the inner foundations leaves this uncertain; all that can be made out is the side walls of the temple proper, the end wall at the east, and the wall dividing the *cella* from the ante-chamber (*pronaos*). The ante-chamber was 6.79 metres wide by 4.6 metres deep. The *cella* was divided into a central nave (3.75 metres wide) and two very narrow aisles by two rows of columns extending along the length of the chamber. Mr. Brownson thinks that there were five columns in each row, and that the length of the *cella* was 11.60 metres. The internal decoration of the *cella* seems to have been in the Ionic style; for various architectural ornaments, carved in marble and of the Ionic style, were found by Bursian and Rangabé; one piece was adorned with a *cymatium* exactly like those of the Erechtheum. The walls of the *cella* were built of limestone; a great many of the blocks were discovered by Bursian and Rangabé. Many of them, decorated with three simple fillets, may have formed part of the cornice. Further, the walls of the *cella* were apparently painted in fresco; for Bursian and Rangabé brought to light two fragments of stucco painted in fresco, one with yellow palmettes and vine-shoots on a brown background, the other with a brown maeander pattern on a greenish yellow ground.

Fragments of marble sculptures have been found in great numbers on the site of the second temple. No less than 550 such fragments were discovered by Bursian and Rangabé, most of them at the east and west ends of the temple. Most of them are of great beauty and belong to the best period of Greek art, but they are unfortunately so broken that it is impossible to say what they represent or to unite them into complete figures and groups. In their portrayal of the nude human body they are characterised, according to Bursian, by "a softness and tenderness, which distinguish them from the dignified seriousness and severity of the Attic sculptures executed under the superintendence of Phidias, and at the same time by a rich variety of forms, always graceful but never excessive or extravagant." The best specimen discovered by him is a female head with the neck, half the size of life, which was found at the western end of the temple. A sweet smile plays round the closed mouth; the hair is simply parted over the brow and held together at the back by a ribbon. At the eastern end of the temple

was found the lower part of the head of a young man; it is of life size; the mouth exhibits an almost feminine tenderness. The sculptures found by Rangabé and Bursian were deposited in Argos, but most of them have recently been removed to Athens.

The marble sculptures discovered by the Americans on the site of the second temple include, in addition to a few important pieces which will be mentioned presently, a great many fragments of hands, feet, arms, legs, drapery, and so on. The smaller of these, in Prof. Waldstein's opinion, belonged to metopes in high relief; and there are so many of them that he believes the sculptured metopes to have extended



FIG. 24.—MARBLE HEAD FROM THE HERAEUM.

all round the four sides of the temple. Other fragments are too large for metopes, and Prof. Waldstein thinks that they probably came from groups

which occupied the gables. In particular, an arm resting on a cushion must almost certainly, he thinks, have been placed in the angle of a gable; and he refers to the analogy of the nymphs resting on cushions in the west gable of the temple of Zeus at Olympia. Bursian had previously come to the conclusion that both gables and metopes of the temple were adorned with marble sculptures.

Among the best of the pieces found by the Americans is a beautiful female head of Parian marble and life size (Fig. 24). It was found at the west end of the temple, immediately in front of the west foundation-wall, a little to the north of the middle of the west front. It represents a woman of refined features and grave, sweet expression, looking straight forward. Her wavy hair comes low down on her brow and falls in a mass over the back of her neck; it was formerly encircled by a fillet or ribbon, probably of metal, which has, however, disappeared. Prof. Waldstein interprets the head as that of Hera, and assigns it to a sculptor of the school of Polyclitus living in the fifth century B.C. The head most akin to it he holds to be that of the Farnese Hera at Naples, which in its severe, cold beauty has been supposed to reflect the art of Polyclitus (see Friederichs-Wolters, *Gipsabgüsse*, No. 500; A. S. Murray, *Hist. of Greek Sculpture*,[2] 1. p. 309 *sqq.*; Collignon, *Hist. de la Sculpture Grecque*, 1. p. 512, with Fig. 264; Roscher's *Lexikon*, 1. p. 2118 *sq.*) Prof. Waldstein thinks that the statue may have stood in the western gable of the temple, and may have represented Hera standing beside the central figure or figures in the scene of the departure of Agamemnon and the Homeric heroes for Troy (see § 3 of this chapter, with the note). On the other hand, Prof. Furtwängler denies that the head is that of Hera or has anything to do with Polyclitus and his school; he considers that the sculptures found at the Heraeum are Attic in style, and are most nearly related to the sculptures of the Erechtheum and of the temple of the Wingless Victory on the Acropolis of Athens (*Archäo-*



FIG. 25.—MARBLE TORSO FROM THE HERAEUM.

logische Studien H. Brunn dargebracht (Berlin, 1893), p. 90; *Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, p. 413 note 1).

Another fine fragment which the Americans brought to light is the torso of a naked warrior fighting (Fig. 25). From the stump of the right arm which remains we can see that his right hand was raised to strike at a foe in front, whose exquisitely modelled left hand still adheres to the right side of the torso. The head and limbs (except stumps of the right arm and left leg) are missing. The work, which seems to be of Pentelic marble, is in such high relief as almost to be in the round; but a piece of the flat background remains behind the left shoulder. The surface is in excellent preservation; the modelling very true and delicate. Especially remarkable are the ripples of the muscles on the flanks, and the softness and grace of the clinging hand (a



FIG. 26.—MARBLE HEAD FROM THE HERAEUM.

woman's hand?), which with its supple shapely fingers pressed hard against the body of the stalwart foe is almost pathetic in its expressiveness. The torso was found at a considerable depth in the interior of the temple. From its dimensions Prof. Waldstein judges that it formed part of a metope. In its exquisite finish he thinks it bears evidence of the style or influence of Polyclitus.

A second fine head was found in 1894 to the north-east of the temple. It is of Parian marble, about half the size of life, and represents a square-faced young man with regular but heavy features (Fig. 26). Prof. Waldstein holds that its resemblance to the famous Spearman (*Doruphoros*) of Polyclitus, of which so many copies and imitations have come down to us, is undeniable. It therefore confirms, in his judgment, the view that all the sculptures of the second temple are Argive works of the school of Polyclitus, and not of Attic sculptors.

as Prof. Furtwängler maintains. It seems to have formed part of a metope. Two other marble heads (Figs. 27 and 28), both in high relief, were found to the north of the temple. One of them (Fig. 28) wears a sort of Phrygian helmet. Prof. Waldstein suggests that it is the head of a wounded Amazon; but the features, though full and rounded, seem to me masculine. From its dimensions it may have belonged to a metope. The other head (Fig. 27) is rather larger; Prof. Waldstein does not venture to assign it to a metope. It also is helmeted, but the soft rounded features are those of a woman; the lips are parted, and the head droops slightly, as if in pain or weariness. Lastly, a beautiful torso of a draped female figure, found in a building to



FIGS. 27 AND 28.—MARBLE HEADS FROM THE HERAEUM.

the east of the temple (see below, p. 174), is referred by Prof. Waldstein to a metope.

Prof. Waldstein considers that the ground on which the second temple was built had previously been occupied by an older structure, whether temple or altar; to this earlier building some rough stones still lying within the second temple may perhaps have belonged.

On the slope between the two upper terraces the American excavations laid bare the foundations of a long building or series of buildings of white limestone, extending east and west, parallel to the temple, for a distance of about 100 metres (109 yards), with an average depth or width of 10 metres (32 ft. 10 in.), inclusive of the back wall. It would seem to have been a colonnade (the North Colonnade), with a projecting central portion or hall. The steps are preserved for a considerable length. A row of at least nineteen pillars ran along the middle of the colonnade; some of these pillars were found

in their original positions. The back-wall of the colonnade, about 10 feet thick, was built against the slope. Toward the north-east corner of the east end of the colonnade there is a depression which measures 3.80 metres in length by 3 metres in width, and is paved with cement. Prof. Waldstein thinks it may have been a bath, like the bath in the palace at Tiryns. The central portion of the colonnade was found to be crowded with the bases of statues and monuments of all shapes and sizes, packed together without any attempt at order or arrangement. Some of these bases must have supported single statues or groups of considerable size. Still more bases stood in front of the colonnade, in the area between the central hall and the wings. Connected with the colonnade is a system of drains and waterworks.

In a line with the North Colonnade, but farther to the east, are the remains of a somewhat intricate structure (the 'East Chambers'), comprising several rooms, the purpose of which has not yet been ascertained. Here was found a large quantity of pottery, terra-cottas, bronzes, and small objects, as well as the torso of a draped female figure (mentioned above), three marble heads, and other fragments. A cutting, 20 feet deep, which was carried to the east of these chambers for a length of 90 feet, revealed some complicated early walls of different periods. Here, acting as a support to the upper terrace, below and to the east of the great Cyclopean wall of the upper terrace, there runs another Cyclopean wall for about 8 feet. Below and partly under this second Cyclopean wall were found large masses of pottery, iron, bronze, and smaller objects, most of them belonging to the so-called Dipylum and Mycenaean periods. The head of the youth figured above (p. 172) was found to the south of the Cyclopean wall. Among the many objects of iron discovered here was a mass of iron spears, bound together with iron bands at both ends, and making up a bundle about 5 feet long and a foot thick. At the same place was found a large solid rectangular bar of iron, flattened out about a foot from one end.

To the south of this Cyclopean wall, and at the easternmost angle of the terrace of the second temple, another building was discovered in 1894, which the Americans have called the East Building. It is supported on the south and east by strong walls built against the hill slope; on the north it has a wall of *poros* stone strengthened by a limestone wall. The bases of three rows of columns (five columns in each row) are extant in the interior, while at the west front, facing the temple, the building had a portico. In this building were found many objects of gold, silver, bronze, and terra-cotta, as well as a scarab with a cartouche, probably that of Thothmes III.

On the slope of the hill above the North Colonnade, immediately below the great Cyclopean wall which supports the upper terrace, the Americans found portions of walls built of loose unhewn stones, which are laid together without mortar or clamps. From the objects found among them Prof. Waldstein was led to conjecture that these structures may have been the houses of the priestesses or attendants of the earlier temple. Further, on the slope at the back of the North Colonnade

there are some traces of a rough pavement, the remains perhaps of an ancient road which led up to these dwellings.

On the slope to the west of the second temple, about 25 to 30 feet below the top of the foundation walls of the second temple, the Americans discovered a large building which they have called the West Building. It measures 100 feet (33 metres) by 93 feet (30 metres), and consists of a colonnade surrounding an open court on the east, south, and west, while on the north there are three chambers running from east to west, which communicate with the colonnade and the open court. In these chambers are the remains of what seem to have been tables or couches extending along the walls. The entrance to the building was in the north wall of the most westerly of the three chambers. In the colonnade there are bases of columns, with some drums of columns still in their original places. In some places the walls are standing to a height of several courses. Many fragments of the architectural ornaments, as well as pieces of sculpture and smaller objects, were found in this building. What purpose the edifice served is not clear. It seems to be older than the second temple, being not later than the first half of the fifth century B.C. The Doric capitals are flatter than those of the temple, and there are a few letters of inscriptions which point to a much earlier date.

To the north of the West Building were found in 1894 the ruins of an early structure, 31 metres long by 11.40 metres wide. In excavating it the Americans found the face of a colossal female head, heads of cows in bronze and terra-cotta, a silver ring studded with gold and inscribed, etc.

On the south slope of the hill, below the second temple, the Americans excavated in 1894 and 1895 a large colonnade extending east and west parallel to the temple. The colonnade is 45 metres (148 feet) long by 13 metres (43 feet) broad. The west and north walls of the colonnade are finely constructed of limestone. The west wall reaches to the south-eastern corner of the West Building. The whole of the north wall is preserved to a height of four courses: on the outside (north) it is backed by a thick wall of *poros* stone: on the inside (south) it is adorned with pilasters, one of which is placed opposite or nearly opposite every second column of the colonnade. Of these columns there were nine, extending in a row along the middle of the colonnade from west to east. The bases of all these nine columns are preserved, and on four or five there are still standing drums of fluted Doric columns. On the last base to the east there are two drums still in position, and three more drums, with the capital, were found fallen in front of it, so that the whole of this column is preserved. On the slope of the hill to the south of the colonnade is a grand staircase in two flights with a landing between them. The staircase extends along the whole length of the colonnade, to which it led up; it is built of *poros* stone. Further to the east the Americans discovered the remains of another grand staircase, also of *poros* stone, which led up to the second temple at its south-eastern corner.

On the north side of the colonnade which has just been described

the excavations revealed some early graves of the Mycenaean period. One of them—a shaft grave—contained the bones of the dead and several vases of the earliest Mycenaean style. Here, too, between the colonnade and the second temple the Americans laid bare a Cyclopean wall, which Prof. Waldstein takes to have been the original boundary-wall of the sacred precinct before the second temple was built. Remains of what seem to have been Mycenaean houses exist on the east side of the West Building, at the foot of the slope which leads up to the second temple.

To the west of the second temple the ground slopes gradually down to the third or lowest terrace, which is considerably larger than either of the two upper terraces, and is bounded on the west by the *Kephalari tou Kastrou*, commonly identified with the Water of Freedom. On this lowest terrace, towards its western side, the American excavators laid bare the foundations of a long colonnade (the Lower Colonnade) extending north and south for a length of 69.60 metres, with a breadth of 8.10 metres. The colonnade fronted east; its back was formed by a retaining-wall built to support the terrace. The foundation-wall which supported the front row of columns was found to be in a very ruinous and battered state. But on the other hand the end wall of the colonnade on the south, which was also a retaining-wall built to support the terrace on this side, is very well preserved. The masonry is here very fine, consisting of well-hewn quadrangular blocks, some of which measure as much as 4 metres (13 feet) in length; and the whole is set off by a projecting string-course, still more carefully wrought. The edifice would thus seem to belong to a very good period: it may have been built at the same time as the second temple. The colonnade was double, that is, it had an inner as well as an outer row of columns, for bases of columns were found extending in a line, at approximately equal intervals of about 3 metres (10 feet), down the middle of the building. The excavations of 1895 proved that at its northern extremity this long colonnade was joined at right angles by another colonnade which extended eastwards for a considerable distance. Immediately to the north of this second colonnade the same excavations revealed a large building of Roman date, containing bath rooms with hypocaust floors.

On the upper or eastern side of the lowest terrace there was discovered a cistern shaped like a cross. It is a deep subterranean basin hewn out of the solid rock, and is open only at the cross. The eastern arm of the cross is the longest; it measures 4.50 metres (14 ft. 9 in.) in length. Each arm is about 10 feet wide and high enough to admit of easy passage, the pavement sloping from each extremity to the cross, where it drops suddenly into a deeper basin. The roof is arched, and both roof and sides are coated with cement.

Close to this cistern, on the south, the Americans discovered what seems to have been a stone bath. It is hollowed out of a single stone and is shaped like the half of a huge shallow bowl, with a gutter on the lower side to carry off the water. An iron scraper (*strigil*) was found near it.

The inscriptions hitherto brought to light at the Heraeum seem to be few, fragmentary, and for the most part insignificant. They include a fragment of a list of precious objects stored in the sanctuary; many such lists have been found at Athens and elsewhere. Another fragmentary inscription appears to have formed part of a record of certain specifications touching the sale or lease of a piece of property. More interesting than these is a *boustrophedon* inscription of eleven lines engraved on a bronze plate. The characters belong to the earliest Argive alphabet, and the inscription is not later than the sixth century B.C. It has not yet been fully read, but it certainly relates to Hera and the Argives, and seems to contain an imprecation.

On the other hand the pottery, terra-cottas, bronzes, engraved gems, and other small objects which have been found by the Americans at the Heraeum are immense in point of numbers and of great interest and importance for the early history of art. Unfortunately very few of them have as yet been published, and we possess only rough general statements as to the character and number of the objects found. Thus on the site of the second temple there came to light, some at a slight depth, others far below and inside of the temple foundations, a great quantity of archaic pottery, terra-cotta heads, figures, and masks, pins and clasps of bronze, a bronze cock, several scarabs (one of them threaded on a bronze pin), pieces of gold-leaf, a spiral ornament of gold, seals made of stone, bone, and ivory, beads of various sorts, and so on. Again, a little to the south-east of the second temple some trenches dug by the Americans yielded a rich harvest of pottery, bronzes, engraved gems, and plaques of terra-cotta painted with decorative designs. But the place where the greatest quantity of such objects was found was the slope of the hill a few yards to the west of the second temple. Here at a depth of 10 to 15 feet below the surface the Americans came upon a curious layer of black earth, of varying thickness, which sloped with the slope of the rock underneath. The layer consisted of decayed organic matter, with masses of bones of animals, and many fragments of pottery, terra-cottas, bronzes, etc. Amongst the objects found here were great quantities of female heads and figures in terra-cotta, of all shapes and sizes; many are of the archaic bird-faced sort, some retain traces of colour, and all exhibit the most varied styles of dress and ornament. They were no doubt votive offerings to Hera, and may represent the goddess herself. The potsherds are of the Primitive Mycenaean, Geometrical, and Proto-Corinthian styles; they are thus all very early. Indeed nothing found in this layer seems to be of so late a date as even the beginning of the fifth century B.C. Other objects discovered in the same place were many iron and bone rings, plaques of terra-cotta and ivory adorned with reliefs of a very primitive style, scarabs, seals, beads, small sculptured figures of animals in stone, mirrors, pins, clasps, and so on. Most of the objects found were deposited in Argos, but a select number of them was sent to Athens. This selection included 230 bronze rings, 26 lead and silver rings, a bronze statuette of a cow, a bronze swan's head, a bronze goat, 2 bronze horses, a bronze cockatrice, a bronze peacock, 4 bronze

clasps, 2 bronze chisels, 4 terra-cotta plaques with inscriptions, 5 terra-cotta plaques with archaic incuse figures, 60 terra-cotta idols, 21 terra-cotta images of animals, 7 ivory incuse seals, an ivory cow, a gold rosette of the Mycenaean style, 2 gold and silver rings, 10 scarabaeids, 22 copper and silver coins, a porphyry lion with hieroglyphics, 12 glass and porcelain beads, a porcelain monkey, a porcelain cat, 32 amber beads, etc. Mingled with these varied objects in this layer of black earth were the teeth and bones of animals. The most probable explanation of this layer seems to be that it consists partly of the refuse which had gathered about an altar, and partly of old votive offerings which had been thrown away as valueless, and that when the new temple was about to be built the whole mass was shot down here for the purpose of levelling up the ground.

Further, in 1894 the Americans found two rock-hewn tombs of the beehive shape and of the Mycenaean period. One of them is situated about 300 yards north-west of the temple, beyond the ravine : the other is only about 60 yards north-west of the ravine. They are both of the beehive shape, but hewn in the rock, not built nor lined with masonry. Each has a narrow approach or *dromos* leading to the doorway, which after the burial was blocked with large stones. The diameter of the beehive chamber is about 2.46 metres, the height about 3.38 metres. The more distant of the two tombs contained at least three bodies, perhaps more ; the bones were found huddled together without order. In this tomb were discovered forty-nine vases (nearly all in perfect preservation, with the decorations fresh and brilliant) ; three terra-cotta figurines of the earliest type ; a small terra-cotta chair, about 6 inches high, gaily painted in the Mycenaean style ; an engraved stone of the Mycenaean or Island type ; four steatite whorls ; one ivory needle ; and some beads. No metal of any kind was found in the tomb. The other tomb, nearer the Heraeum, contained many beads and whorls, but only one complete vase and some fragments.

It was in the old sanctuary of Hera on the uppermost terrace that Agamemnon was said to have been chosen leader of the expedition against Troy (Dictys Cretensis, i. 16). Thither Cleobis and Biton drew their mother in a chariot all the way from Argos (ii. 20. 3 note). Strangers were not allowed to sacrifice on the altar (Herodotus, vi. 81). Similarly strangers were not allowed to sacrifice in the sanctuary of Hera in Amorgos (Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 358). After ravaging the Argolic plain, Cleomenes III., King of Sparta, mockingly asked for the keys of the temple that he might sacrifice to Hera. But the temple was locked ; the heights above were occupied by the enemy : and he had to content himself with sacrificing below the temple (Plutarch, *Cleomenes*, 26). The sanctuary belonged in common to Argos and Mycenae (Strabo, viii. p. 372).

See Mure, *Journal*, 2. pp. 177-182 ; Leake, *Pelop.* pp. 258-264 ; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. pp. 396-400, 560 *sq.* ; W. G. Clark, *Pelop.* p. 81 *sqq.* ; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 316 *sq.* ; C. Bursian, 'Scavi dell' Heraeon Argivo,' *Bullettino dell' Instituto di Corrisp. Archeol.* 1854, pp. xiii-xvii. ; *id. Geogr.* 2. p. 47 *sq.* ; Baedeker,[3] p. 264 ; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 227 *sq.* ; *Eleventh Annual Report of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, 1891-92, pp. 29-31 ; *Thirteenth*

Annual Report of the Archaeological Institute of America, 1891-92, pp. 54-66; *Twelfth Annual Report of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, 1892-93, pp. 27-35 (reprinted in *American Journal of Archaeology*, 9 (1894), pp. 63-67); *Thirteenth Annual Report of the American School*, etc., 1893-1894, pp. 41-49; Ch. Waldstein, *Excavations of the American School of Athens at the Heraion of Argos*, No. 1 (London, 1892); *id.*, 'Some sculptures from the Argive Heraeum,' *American Journal of Archaeology*, 8 (1893), pp. 199-204; Overbeck, in *Berichte d. k. sächs. Gesell. d. Wiss.*, Phil. hist. Cl. 45 (1893), pp. 31-34; C. L. Brownson, 'Excavations at the Heraeum of Argos,' *ib.* pp. 205-225; *American Journ. of Archaeology*, 9 (1894), pp. 287-291; Ch. Waldstein, 'A head of Polycletan style from the metopes of the Argive Heraeum,' *ib.* pp. 331-339; R. B. Richardson, 'Stamped tiles from the Argive Heraeum,' *ib.* pp. 340-350; J. R. Wheeler, 'Some inscriptions from the Argive Heraeum,' *ib.* pp. 351-360, 548; *The Times, Weekly Edition*, 19 April 1895, p. 312; *The Classical Review*, 9 (1895), p. 237; *Amer. Journ. of Archaeology*, 10 (1895), p. 109 *sq.*

17. 1. **the Water of Freedom.** In one of his comedies Antiphanes made a slave-girl say, "If I do not do so and so, may I never drink the Water of Freedom" (Athenaeus, iii. p. 123 c). We are told that at Argos there was a fountain or conduit (κρήνη) called Cynadra, the water of which was drunk by slaves at the time when they received their freedom; hence the water was called the Water of Freedom and was used as a proverbial expression for a free life (Eustathius, on Homer, *Od.* xiii. 408; Hesychius, *s.v.* ἐλεύθερον ὕδωρ). It seems probable that the fountain or conduit named Cynadra was identical with the Water of Freedom which Pausanias mentions as being on the way from Mycenae to the Heraeum, and that the statement that the Cynadra was in Argos is not to be taken literally. The Water of Freedom (Eleutherium) is commonly identified with the *Revma tou Kastrou*, the rocky ravine which bounds the hill of the Heraeum on the north-west. In the bed of this ravine Finlay discovered in 1831 a subterranean aqueduct, hewn out of the rock, which might conceivably be identified with the Cynadra. The aqueduct was explored more fully by the American archaeologists in 1892, but they did not get to the end of it. On the western side of the ravine a square shaft or 'man-hole,' with shallow notches cut in the side to facilitate descent and ascent, was found to lead down into the aqueduct. On reaching the bottom, at a depth of 4.40 metres (14 ft. 5 in.), the Americans found three avenues all hewn in the solid rock, one leading in the direction of Argos, the second back toward the temple, and the third south-east. "The second and third soon led out of the rock back to the Eleutherium, a little below the present level of its bed. We did not follow the third in its further course: the second, however, not only crossed the stream but entered the rock on the eastern side, the side towards the temple. Through a distance, therefore, of 13.70 metres walls and roof of hewn stone were necessary. How much further the passage continues as a rock-cut tunnel we could not tell. The first-mentioned avenue we followed for a distance of 34.25 metres, all the way through native rock." In the sides of the tunnel there are niches at short intervals, in which the ancient workmen probably placed their lamps when they were hewing out the tunnel. It seems doubtful whether this aqueduct was fed by the water which flows in the bed of the ravine after heavy rain. On the other hand, it may have been con-

nected with a series of cisterns which are still to be seen on the left bank of the ravine, both above and below the sacred precinct. One of these, within the precinct, has been already described (p. 176). A group of four others may be seen lower down, about 200 yards from the temple.

See Finlay, in Leake's *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 260; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2 p. 399 *sq.*; *Excavations of the American School at the Heraion*, No. 1 (London, 1892), p. 4; *American Journal of Archaeology*, 8 (1893), p. 211 *sq.*

Captain Steffen, however, has adduced good reasons for believing that the Water of Freedom was not in this ravine at all, but about three-quarters of a mile to the north-west of the Heraeum, on the road to Mycenae. For Pausanias's statement that the water was "beside the road" seems to imply that it was at some point intermediate between Mycenae and the Heraeum, not that it was (like the ravine in question) just beside the precinct. Moreover, if the Water of Freedom issued from a spring (which is, however, uncertain), this would also be against the identification of the *Revma tou Kastrou* with the Water of Freedom: for in this rocky ravine there seems to be no spring: any water that flows in it is rain-water. On the other hand, about three-quarters of a mile to the north-west of the Heraeum, on the road to Mycenae, there is a spring enclosed by ancient masonry, which would answer very well to the Water of Freedom. The place is in a ravine immediately to the east of the ancient ruins at *Vraserka*. Here, a few steps above the spot where the old road to the Heraeum probably crossed the ravine, not far from a chapel of the Panagia, there is a modern water-basin, which is fed from a spring higher up. This spring is itself enclosed by ancient masonry, consisting of large finely-cut blocks of marble: and marble fragments are strewed about. With great probability Captain Steffen has conjectured that this fountain was the Cynadra, and that its water was the Water of Freedom. See Steffen, *Karten von Mykenai, Erläuternder Text*, p. 41 *sq.*

Prof. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff agrees with Captain Steffen in identifying the Cynadra and the Water of Freedom with this spring on the road from Mycenae to the Heraeum. Yet though he assumes on the authority of Pausanias that the Water of Freedom was here, and not at Argos, he charges Pausanias with having taken his information from the book from which Eustathius and Hesychius (see above) derived their information—that is, from a book which stated that the water in question was at Argos. It would thus appear, on Prof. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff's own showing, that the book from which Pausanias copied made a mistake, and that Pausanias in copying it made another mistake, which fortunately cancelled the original error of his authority, with the net result that he finally blundered into placing the water quite correctly where Captain Steffen found it. It requires less credulity to suppose that Pausanias saw the water for himself. See U. v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, in *Hermes*, 19 (1884), pp. 463-465.

When Pausanias says that the women who ministered at the sanctuary employed the Water of Freedom for purifications, he may mean that they had to wash in it before they officiated in the temple.

Cp. vii. 20. 1 *sq.*; ix. 39. 5; x. 34. 8; Bötticher, *Die Tektonik der Hellenen*,[2] 2. p. 477 *sq.* These washings may have taken place in the baths which have been found at the Heraeum (see above, pp. 174, 176); if this were so, the water must have been conveyed to the sanctuary in pitchers or by means of an aqueduct. Is it possible that it may have been so conveyed in one branch of the rock-hewn aqueduct which has been found the *Revma tou Kastrou*?

17. 2. **Prosymna.** Prosymna is mentioned by Strabo (viii. p. 373) as being next to Midea: Stephanus Byzantius (*s.v.*) says it was a part of Argos: Statius calls it "lofty" and "green" (*Theb.* i. 383, iii. 325, iv. 44). According to Pausanias it would seem to have been the low ground at the foot of the hill on which the Heraeum stood.

17. 2. **The Asterion flowing above the Heraeum** etc. The river Asterion, mentioned only by Pausanias (ii. 15. 5; ii. 17. 1 *sq.*), is commonly identified with the *Glykia* brook, a small torrent which descends from the mountain at the back of the Heraeum, and after flowing in a deep bed on the eastern side of the plateau, disappears without leaving a trace a few hundred yards beyond the Heraeum in the direction of the plain (cp. Mure, *Journal*, 2. p. 180). But from the legend of the arbitration of the rivers related by Pausanias (ii. 15. 5) we naturally infer that the Asterion was one of the three chief rivers of the Argolic plain, the Inachus and Cephisus being the two others. Now the *Glykia* has no claim to such a distinction; it is a mere brook, the bed of which is dry except after rain. Probably Captain Steffen is right in identifying as the Asterion the river which, rising among the mountains to the north-east of Mycenae, flows down the eastern flanks of the *Prophet Elias* mountain and Mt. Euboea, and then after traversing the narrow glen of the *Klisura* enters the Argolic plain about two and a half miles to the south-east of the Heraeum. Many small tributaries descend to it from the slopes of Mt. Euboea and Mt. Acraea, the two mountains which were mythically represented as the daughters of the river. Pausanias's statement that the Asterion disappeared in a gully applies well to the river in question, the water of which, about a quarter of a mile south of its entrance into the narrow *Klisura* glen, vanishes wholly among the shingle and boulders of its rugged bed. See Steffen, in *Karten von Mykenai*, *Text*, p. 40 *sq.*

17. 2. **a plant which they also name Asterion.** Eustathius (on Homer, *Od.* xxii. 481) states on the authority of Pausanias that the plant Asterion was used for purificatory ceremonies. Pausanias makes no such statement here. Probably Eustathius's memory played him false, and he confused what Pausanias says about the Asterion plant with what he had said just before about the Water of Freedom. What the plant was we do not know. Schliemann, indeed, calls it a kind of aster (*Mycenae*, p. 25), but this may be a mere inference from the name.

17. 3. **The sculptures over the columns represent** etc. The expression "the sculptures over the columns" is ambiguous. It would apply equally to sculptures in the metopes only, or in the gables only, or both in the metopes and the gables. We are thus left in uncertainty as to the places which the sculptured scenes occupied on the outside of the

temple. But Pausanias, by distinguishing the sculptures into two groups (first, the birth of Zeus and the battle of the gods and giants; second, the Trojan war and the taking of Ilium) seems clearly to imply that these two groups were fixed on different parts of the temple. Probably the first group occupied the front (east end), and the other group the back (west end) of the temple. As the existing remains of the sculptures are on two different scales, a larger and a smaller, it seems probable that the larger occupied the gables and the smaller the metopes (see above p. 170 *sq.*) Now the birth of Zeus is a subject suitable for a gable; and the capture of Troy, as the most famous exploit of the Argive arms, would be a natural and appropriate subject to adorn a gable of the chief temple of Argolis. On the other hand, scenes of battle, in which the combatants can be broken up into pairs, naturally lend themselves to the decoration of metopes. Hence we may conjecture, with Prof. Curtius (*Pelop.* 2. p. 570), that the birth of Zeus was represented in the eastern and the capture of Troy in the western gable; and that the battle of the gods and giants was sculptured in the eastern, and the Trojan war in the western metopes. This was Welcker's view also, at least so far as regards the sculptures of the gables (*Antike Denkmäler*, 1. pp. 191-194). Prof. Waldstein, also, accepts this arrangement of the sculptures in the eastern gable and the eastern metopes; but with regard to the sculptures at the west end of the temple, he prefers to suppose that the Departure for Troy occupied the gable, and the Capture of Troy the metopes. He says that "in the western pediment [gable] we should naturally find the scene of the Departure for Troy, with Agamemnon in the presence of Hera and the other divinities, most appropriately represented on this spot where, according to tradition, Agamemnon offered sacrifice before leaving for Troy" (*Excavations of the American School at the Heraeum*, No. 1 (London, 1892), p. 7). The suggestion is plausible: but Pausanias's words, though vague (τὰ ἐς τὸν πρὸς Τροίαν πόλεμον), seem to imply that the subject of these sculptures was not the departure for Troy, but the actual war itself; and this latter theme would, as I have said, lend itself naturally to treatment in a series of detached representations, each pair or group of combatants having a metope to itself.

From the number of fragments which have been found of sculptures which clearly belonged to metopes, Prof. Waldstein concludes (*l.c.*) that the metopes on all four sides of the temple were sculptured, though Pausanias appears to have mentioned only the subjects of the eastern and western metopes.

17. 3. **statues of women who have been priestesses of Hera.** So at Hermion images of the priestesses of Demeter stood in front of her temple (ii. 35. 8); and at Cerynea in Achaia there were statues of women, said to be priestesses, at the entrance to the sanctuary of the Eumenides (vii. 25. 7). At Paestum has been found a statuette, dedicated to Athena, representing one of the girl Basket-bearers (κανηφόροι) who figured in her worship. Prof. Curtius thinks that there may have been whole rows of such statuettes in the temples. See *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 1880, pp. 27-31; Curtius, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 2. pp. 286-294. The Argives dated their years by the priesthoods of Hera.

Hellanicus the historian (480-395 B.C.) wrote a history of the priestesses of the Argive Hera, which must have been of great importance for Greek chronology. See Preller, *Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, p. 51 *sqq.*; *Fragmenta histor. Graec.* ed. Müller, 1. pp. xxvii. *sq.*, 51 *sq.* Cp. note on i. 27. 4, 'a well-wrought figure of an old woman.'

17. 3. **the statue —— is really Orestes.** Bachofen (*Die Sage von Tanaquil*, p. xxxvii. note) suggested that the reason for converting a statue of Orestes into one of Augustus may have been that both of them avenged their fathers' murder. (Of course Augustus was only the adopted son of Julius Caesar.) On this custom of transforming ancient statues into portraits of living men by altering the inscriptions, see note on i. 18. 3, 'the statues of Miltiades and Themistocles.'

17. 3. **a couch of Hera.** This was perhaps used for the dramatic representation of the marriage of Zeus and Hera, which took place at annual festivals in various parts of Greece, as at Cnosus in Crete (Diodorus, v. 72), at Samos (Lactantius, *Instit.* i. 17), and at Athens (Photius, *s.v.* ἱερὸν γάμον; *Etymol. Magn. s.v.* ἱερομνήμονες, p. 468. 52). Cp. K. O. Müller, *Die Dorier*,[2] 1. p. 400; *The Golden Bough*, 1. p. 102 *sqq.* However, the couch may only have been intended for the goddess to rest upon. There was a couch beside the image of Aesculapius near Tithorea in Phocis (x. 32. 12).

17. 3. **the shield which Menelaus once took from Euphorbus.** In Homer (*Il.* xvii. 1 *sqq.*) Menelaus kills Euphorbus the Trojan, and is about to strip him of his arms, when he is forced to retire by the advance of Hector and the Trojans; it is not said that Menelaus actually carried off the shield of Euphorbus. The combat of Menelaus and Hector over the fallen Euphorbus is painted on an old Greek plate found at Camirus in Rhodes. See A. Schneider, *Der troische Sagenkreis in der älteren griechischen Kunst*, p. 11 *sqq.*; Kekulé, 'Euphorbos,' *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 43 (1888), pp. 481-485. A woodcut of the painting is given by Kekulé, *l.c.*, and is prefixed to the second vol. of Paley's ed. of the *Iliad.* Pythagoras alleged that in one of its transmigrations his soul had animated the body of Euphorbus; and in proof of this he recognised the shield of Euphorbus in the temple of Hera. See Diogenes Laertius, viii. 1. 4 *sq.*; Maximus Tyrius, *Dissert.* xvi. 2; Jamblichus, *Vit. Pythag.* 63; Porphyry, *Vit. Pythag.* 26, 27, 45; Horace, *Odes*, i. 28. 9 *sqq.* Diogenes speaks of the shield of Euphorbus as having been dedicated in the temple of Apollo at Branchidae; Jamblichus and Porphyry speak of it as being at Mycenae.

17. 4. **The image of Hera** etc. This was one of the most famous works of Polyclitus, the great master of the Argive school of sculpture. Strabo says (viii. p. 372) that the works of Polyclitus at the Heraeum were the most beautiful in the world, though in size and costliness they were surpassed by those of Phidias. Plutarch couples the Hera of Polyclitus with the Olympian Zeus of Phidias (*Pericles*, 2). Martial says (x. 89) that Phidias would have been glad to have been able to claim the image of Hera as his own. Maximus Tyrius tells us (*Dissert.* xiv. 6) that Polyclitus portrayed the goddess in queenly fashion sitting on a golden throne. The statue is also alluded to in terms of admira-

tion by Philostratus (*Vit. Apollon.* vi. 19. 2) and in an epigram of the Anthology (*Anthol. Planud.* 216). But Pausanias is the only ancient writer who has described the image exactly. From his detailed description we are able to identify copies both of the head and of the whole image on coins of Argos (Fig. 29). These copies seem fairly accurate; even the cuckoo on the goddess's sceptre is represented on some of them. But on the other hand the figures of the Graces and Seasons which adorned the goddess's crown are omitted on the coins, and a floral decoration is substituted for them. Perhaps the artist who cut the dies despaired of reproducing the figures on so small a scale. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 34, with pl. I xii. xiii. xiv. xv.; Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, p. 137 *sq.* 1, with pl. viii. 13; Overbeck, *Griech. Kunstmythologie*, 3 (Besonderer Theil. 2), p. 41 *sqq.*, with Münztafel ii. and iii.; Head, *Historia Nummorum*, p. 367. Three marble heads of Hera which have come down to us have by some been supposed to reproduce more or less freely the type of the Hera of Polyclitus. They are the Farnese Hera at Naples, the Juno Ludovisi at Rome, and a head in the British Museum. See Murray, *History of Greek Sculpture*,[2] 1. p. 303 *sqq.*; Lucy M. Mitchell, *History of Ancient Sculpture*, p. 390 *sqq.*; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik.*[4] 1. pp. 509-511; Collignon, *Histoire de la Sculpture Grecque*, 1. p. 511 *sqq.*; Friederichs-Wolters, *Gipsabgüsse*, Nos. 500, 501; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1352 *sqq.* To these supposed copies or imitations of the head of Polyclitus's Hera may now be added the fine head found by the Americans at the Heraeum. See above, p. 170 *sq.* The image of Hera was probably made for the new temple in or soon after 423 B.C., the date of the destruction of the old temple. Polyclitus was a contemporary of Phidias (Plato, *Protagoras*, p. 311 c). According to Pliny (*N. H.* xxxiv. 49) he flourished in Ol. 90 (420-417 B.C.) Aristotle regarded him as the great master of bronze-casting, and Phidias as the great master of sculpture in marble (*Eth. Nicom.* vi. 7, p. 1141 a. 9-11).


FIG. 29.—IMAGE OF HERA (COIN OF ARGOS).

17. 4. **in one hand she carries a pomegranate.** On this attribute of Hera see Bötticher, in *Archäologische Zeitung*, 1856, pp. 169-170. The pomegranate has sometimes been taken as a symbol of fertility, appropriate to the goddess who presided over marriage. Bötticher, however, interpreted it differently. He pointed out that, from the blood-red appearance of the inside of the fruit, it was associated with ideas of blood and death. It was said to have sprung from the blood of Dionysus (Clement of Alex., *Protrept.* ii. 19, p. 16, ed. Potter). The Furies planted a pomegranate tree on the grave of the slain Eteocles; when the fruit was pulled, blood flowed from it (Philostratus, *Imag.* ii. 29). A pomegranate tree grew over the grave of the suicide Menoeceus (Pausanias, ix. 25. 1). To dream of pomegranates foreshadowed wounds (Artemidorus, *Onirocr.* i. 73). Proserpine, after she had been carried off by Pluto to the lower world, would have been allowed to return to the upper world if she had not eaten a seed of a pomegranate

(*Homeric hymn to Demeter*, 371 *sqq.*; Apollodorus, i. 5. 3; Ovid, *Metam.* v. 530 *sqq.*) Hence the plant was hateful to Demeter (see note on viii. 37. 7). For these reasons Bötticher concludes that the pomegranate in the hand of Hera was a symbol of her triumph over her rival Demeter and her rival's daughter Proserpine. See also Overbeck, *Kunstmythologie*, 3 (Besonderer Theil, 2), pp. 48, 192 *sq.* The statue at Olympia of Milon the athlete, who was a priest of Hera, had a pomegranate in the left hand (Philostratus, *Vit. Apollon.* iv. 28; Pausanias, vi. 14. 6). The statue of Victory Athena at Athens had a pomegranate in her right hand (Harpocration, *s.v.* Νίκη Ἀθηνᾶ). See Bötticher, *Der Baumkultus der Hellenen*, p. 471 *sqq.*; Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Hausthiere in ihrem Uebergang aus Asien*,[4] p. 192 *sqq.*; J. Murr, *Die Pflanzenwelt in der griech. Mythologie* (Innsbruck, 1890), p. 50 *sqq.*

17. 4. **the cuckoo perched on the sceptre.** See ii. 36. 1 note.

17. 5. **an image of Hebe.** On an Argive coin of the reign of Antoninus Pius (Fig. 30) the image of Hebe is represented standing opposite the seated statue of Hera, with the peacock between them (Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 34, pl. I xv.) On the sculptor Naucydes see note on vi. 6. 2.



FIG. 30.—HERA AND HEBE (COIN OF ARGOS).

17. 5. **her most ancient image is made of the wood of the wild pear-tree.** There was a festival at Argos at which the children called each other in sport 'throwers of wild pears' (βαλλαχράδες). Plutarch, who mentions this (*Quaest. Graec.* 51), suggests as an explanation that the first people who were brought by Inachus down from the mountains to the plains may have lived upon wild pears. Amongst the archaic terra-cottas found by the American excavators at the Heraeum are some rude figures of a seated goddess. These may perhaps be rough copies of the very ancient image of Hera made of pear-tree wood. See *Excavations of the American School at the Heraion*, No. 1 (London, 1892), p. 19, with pl. vii. 15, 20. It may here be mentioned that at the Heraeum the Americans found what they took to be a very rude stone idol. "It is an octagonal shaft, having a very slightly projecting base, narrowing toward the top and broken off at a height of about two feet and a half" (*American Journ. of Archaeology*, 8 (1893), p. 225).

17. 6. **the fabled marriage of Hebe and Hercules.** This subject is represented on ancient vases, notably on a large Apulian amphora now at Berlin. See Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 628 *sqq.*; Roscher, *Lexikon*, 1. p. 1870.

17. 6. **a peacock of gold and shining stones.** On an Argive coin of Hadrian's time a peacock is represented with its tail spread. It is probably a copy of Hadrian's votive offering. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 34 *sq.*, with pl. I xvi. In his excavations on the site of the Heraeum General Gordon discovered part of a marble peacock, and part of a large antefix of terra-cotta painted like the tail of a peacock (Leake, *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 261; Mure, *Journal*, 2. p. 179); and the Americans in their excavations found a

bronze peacock (*Excavations of the American School at the Heraeum*, No. 1. p. 5). Sacred peacocks seem to have been kept in the great sanctuary of Hera at Samos, and the peacock appears on Samian coins (Athenaeus, xiv. p. 655 ab; Gardner, *Samos and Samian Coins*, p. [illegible], pl. v. 5). On a wall-painting in an ancient tomb discovered at Kertch a peacock is represented; but the colours are conventional, so nothing can be determined from it as to the species or variety of peacocks in antiquity. See *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg), 1872, p. 263 *sqq.*, with plates iii. and viii. A peacock is also represented on an ancient medallion and an ancient bowl (the latter of Christian times), both found in the south of Russia (*op. cit.* 1874, p. 34; see also *ib.* 1878-79, p. 166). Peacocks seem to have been first brought to Mediterranean lands by merchants from India. For peacocks were brought to King Solomon in ships (1 Kings x. 22): and the Hebrew word for a peacock is a slightly modified form of the Sanscrit name of the bird (*çikhi*); so the Ophir of the Bible may have been a place on the coast of India, perhaps in Malabar. In a grove in India, on the banks of the river Hyarotis, Alexander the Great saw multitudes of wild peacocks (Quintus Curtius, ix. 1. 2), and he admired them so much that he ordered that no one should kill a peacock under pain of his severe displeasure (Aelian, *Nat. An.* v. 21). The Greeks seem to have first received the peacock through the Phoenicians, for the Greek name (ταώς) for the bird is derived from the Semitic and hence, indirectly, from the Sanscrit word for peacock. Peacocks could not have been imported very early into Greece, for in the fifth century B.C. they were still a raree-show at Athens. A man named Demus kept a number of peacocks, and on one day each month he exhibited them. People paid to see the birds, and came in crowds for the purpose, even from Thessaly and Sparta (Athenaeus, ix. p. 397 cd: Aelian, *l.c.*). See Movers, *Die Phoenizier*, Theil iii. p. 94 *sq.*: Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Hausthiere*,[4] p. 286 *sqq.*

17. 7. **It was burned down through Chryseis** etc. This is from Thucydides, iv. 133. Thucydides says that the priestess (whom he names Chrysis) fled to Phlius. The wreaths which caught fire were perhaps the garlands of *asterion*, which Pausanias mentions in § 2 of this chapter. Cp. iii. 5. 6.

18. 1. **a shrine of the hero Perseus.** On coins of Argos, Perseus is represented standing with the Gorgon's head in his right hand and the scimitar in his left (Fig. 31). As the type is repeated without variation from the time of Hadrian to that of Severus, it is probably copied from a statue. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 35, with pl. I xvii. xviii.

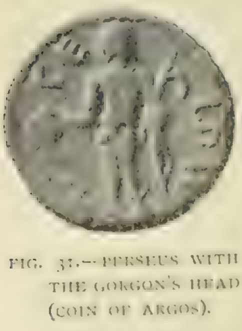


FIG. 31.—PERSEUS WITH THE GORGON'S HEAD (COIN OF ARGOS).

18. 1. **he is most honoured in Seriphus.** The infant Perseus, the son of Zeus and Danae, was shut up with his mother by Acrisius, father of Danae, in a chest, and set floating on the sea. The chest landed at the island of Seriphus, where it was found by the fisherman Dictys in his nets. See Strabo, x. p. 487; Apollo-

dorus, ii. 4. 1; Hyginus, *Fab.* 63. There was a certain fish called the τέττιξ ἐνάλιος (Liddell and Scott take it to be the lobster) which the fishermen of Seriphus always threw back into the sea when they found it in their nets; and if they found a dead one they mourned over it. Most Greeks refused to eat of this fish, deeming it sacred. The people of Seriphus thought it was a plaything of Perseus. See Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* xiii. 26.

18. 1. **in Athens there is a precinct of Perseus.** See the Critical Note on this passage (vol. 1. p. 572). If K. O. Müller's emendation of this passage be accepted, the translation will run: "He is most honoured in Seriphus, where there is a precinct of Perseus beside a shrine of Athena." Perseus is said to have been brought up in a sanctuary of Hera at Seriphus (Hyginus, *Fab.* 63).

18. 1. **Clymene.** This may perhaps be the sea-goddess, daughter of Ocean and Tethys (Hesiod, *Theog.* 351).

18. 1. **Over the grave is the stone figure of a ram.** In the village *Es Ta Phichthia*, about two miles from Mycenae, a curious monument, apparently sepulchral, has been discovered in a chapel. Two rams' heads are carved on it; one of them is on a sort of round pillar, about which a band is chiselled, encircling the pillar several times. The ram's head is the termination of this band, which may be meant to represent a serpent. There is a mutilated inscription on the monument. From the mention of Hecate and Proserpine in the inscription the monument appears to be a tombstone. See *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 8 (1883), pp. 141-148. It seems that rams, carved in the round and adorned with sculptures in relief on their sides, are common ornaments of tombs in Armenia. The tombs are of Christian times, some of them very late; but Prof. Milchhöfer thinks that this type of sepulchral decoration may be very ancient. In Phrygia Prof. W. M. Ramsay discovered a large stone ram, its sides carved with reliefs representing goats, horsemen, and birds. On the analogy of the Armenian tombs, Prof. Milchhöfer concludes that the monument found near Mycenae was also a tombstone. See A. Milchhöfer, in *Archäologische Zeitung*, 41 (1883), p. 263; W. M. Ramsay, in *Journ. of Hellenic Studies*, 3 (1882), p. 25 *sq.*, with plate xx. On the representation of rams in ancient art see Stephani in *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg), 1869, pp. 18-128. On the ram in connexion with various deities (Hermes, Athena, etc.) see E. Gerhard, 'Widdergottheiten,' *Archäologische Zeitung*, 8 (1850), pp. 149-160.

18. 1. **Thyestes obtained the golden lamb.** The story of the golden lamb, as told by Apollodorus in the epitome of his work which was discovered a few years ago in the Vatican, is as follows. Atreus once vowed to sacrifice the fairest animal of his flocks to Artemis. But when a golden lamb appeared among them, instead of sacrificing it to the goddess, he strangled it and kept it in a box. But his wife Aerope contrived to get possession of the lamb and gave it to her paramour Thyestes, the brother of Atreus. Now it came about that the people of Mycenae were commanded by an oracle to choose a king of the Pelopid family; so they sent for Atreus and Thyestes. In the

assembly of the people Thyestes said that the one who had the golden lamb ought to be king, to which Atreus agreed, not knowing that the lamb had been filched from him by his brother. So Thyestes exhibited the lamb and obtained the kingdom. See *Epitoma Vaticana ex Apollodori Bibliotheca*, ed. R. Wagner, pp. 60 *sq.*, 166 *sq.*; *Mythographi Graeci*, ed. R. Wagner, p. 185. The abridged and somewhat confused version of the legend told by a scholiast on Homer (*Il.* ii. 106) and a scholiast on Euripides (*Orest.* 811) was probably derived from Apollodorus. A less fabulous account of the way in which the change of dynasty at Mycenae from the Perseids to the Pelopids was brought about may be read in Thucydides (i. 9). Cp. above, p. 160.

18. 2. **the avenging ghost of Myrtilus.** See viii. 14. 10 *sq.*

18. 2. **the Spartan Glaucus** etc. See Herodotus, vi. 86; Juvenal, xiii. 199 *sqq.* Cp. Paus. viii. 7. 8.

18. 3. **Mysian Demeter.** Cp. vii. 27. 9 *sq.*

18. 3. **another temple, built of burnt bricks.** The only other building (I think) of burnt brick which Pausanias mentions is the Philippeum at Olympia (v. 20. 10). The use of burnt bricks (that is, bricks baked in a kiln) was characteristic of Roman rather than of Greek architecture. On the other hand, the Greeks made great use of unburnt bricks, that is, bricks dried in the sun, not fired in a kiln. But edifices built of sun-dried bricks soon moulder away when exposed to the action of the weather. Hence Greek buildings of this sort have almost wholly disappeared. See note on v. 16. 1.

18. 4. **three kingdoms.** On the genealogies of the kings of Argos see Schol. on Pindar, *Nem.* ix. 30; Eustathius on Homer, *Il.* ii. 566.

18. 4. **Melampus —— cured them on condition that** etc. See Herodotus, ix. 34; Diodorus, iv. 68; Schol. on Pindar, *Nem.* ix. 30; Apollodorus, ii. 2; and the note on Paus. viii. 18. 7.

18. 7. **Temenus and Cresphontes** etc. As to the foundation of the three Doric kingdoms of Argos, Messene, and Sparta under Temenus, Cresphontes, and the sons of Aristodemus respectively, cp. Plato, *Laws*, iii. p. 683 c *sqq.*; Isocrates, *Archidamus*, 17-33; Apollodorus, ii. 8. 4 *sq.*

18. 8. **Melanthus.** Though Melanthus was not a direct descendant of Nestor, he belonged to the same family, his ancestor Periclymenus having been a brother of Nestor (Homer, *Od.* xi. 286). The father of Nestor and Periclymenus was Neleus. Hence Pausanias speaks of the family collectively as the Neleids. See the genealogical table in Töpffer's *Attische Genealogie*, p. 320.

18. 9. **the rest of the Neleids went to Athens.** Cp. i. 3. 3 with the note on 'the kings from Melanthus to Clidicus.' Mr. Töpffer has argued ingeniously and plausibly that the whole story of the emigration of the royal family of Messenia to Attica was concocted in the fifth century B.C. in order to represent Athens as the metropolis of the Ionian cities which were really founded by Messenian leaders. See Töpffer, *Attische Genealogie*, pp. 225-247, and Paus. vii. 2. 1 with the note. The legend as to the accession of Melanthus to the throne of Athens was that, in a war between Athens and Boeotia, Thymoetes, the last

king of Athens of the house of Theseus, refused a challenge to single combat sent him by Xanthus, king of Boeotia, but offered to resign the throne to any one who would accept the challenge in his stead. Melanthus accepted the challenge, defeated his adversary, and was placed on the throne of Athens. See Hellanicus, in the Schol. on Plato, *Symposium*, p. 208 d; Conon, *Narrationes*, 39; Strabo, ix. p. 393; Eusebius, *Chronic.* vol. 2. p. 56, ed. Schoene; Harpocration, *s.v.* Ἀπατούρια; Polyaenus, i. 19; Schol. on Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, 146; Suidas, *s.v.* Ἀπατούρια. One legend was that the point in dispute between Athens and Boeotia was the possession of a place on the borders called Melaenae or Melania (see Hellanicus, Polyaenus, and Harpocration, *ll.cc.*; the scholiast on Aristophanes, *l.c.*, whom Suidas copies, calls the place Celaenae, which may be a wrong reading for Melaenae). From this and the legend of the appearance of Dionysus at the combat clad in a black goat's skin, Mr. Töpffer has argued that Melanthus was a local hero of Melaenae, an embodiment of Dionysus Melanthides or Melanaegis, and had originally no connexion either with Messenia or Athens (*Attische Genealogie*, p. 231 *sq.*)

19. 2. **was condemned by the people and actually deposed.** The Argives were governed by at least a nominal king as late as the time of the great Persian war. For at that time the Spartan envoys who were sent to Argos are said to have contrasted the two kings of Sparta with the one king of Argos (Herodotus, vii. 149).

19. 3. **Argos.** The modern town of Argos stands on the site of the ancient city. It lies on the western side of the broad Argolic plain, at the eastern foot of the steep mountain (950 ft. high) which formed the citadel of ancient Argos and was known as the Larisa. The sea is distant about four miles to the south, being separated from the town by a stretch of level plain. The citadel (the Larisa) is a projecting spur of the line of mountains which bounds the Argolic plain on the west. Across the plain, to the south-east, at the head of the Argolic gulf, but at its eastern side, Nauplia is in full view, with its lofty citadel, known as the *Palamidi*. A little way inland from Nauplia (which is the natural harbour of Argos) Tiryns is also plainly visible in the form of a low isolated eminence rising on the eastern side of the plain. Still on the eastern side of the plain, but away to the north, Mycenae lies inconspicuous at the foot of the mountains which form the eastern boundary of the plain. According to Strabo (viii. p. 370) Argos stood mostly on the plain at the foot of the Larisa. The modern town is wholly on the plain. It covers a considerable extent of ground, being interspersed with gardens. Though a rather dirty and untidy town, it is not unpicturesque with its low red-tiled houses. In particular, the main street, lined with shops and coffee-houses, presents a gay and animated scene when it is thronged with white-kilted, red-capped peasants who have come in from the hills and the neighbouring plain to market. Almost the only remains of antiquity to be seen in the town are the ruins of the theatre (ii. 20. 7 note). See *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 217 *sq.*, *Baedeker*,[3] p. 261.

19. 3. **a sanctuary of Wolfish Apollo.** Of all the buildings

of ancient Argos, as described by Pausanias, the only one (if we except the citadel) of which the site can now be identified with certainty is the theatre, hewn out of the rock at the south-eastern foot of the Larisa. The site of all the other ancient buildings is matter of inference and conjecture. As Pausanias, coming from the Heraeum, entered Argos from the north, and after describing the sanctuary of Wolfish Apollo proceeds to the theatre (ii. 20. 7), which must have been towards the southern end of the city, Leake supposed that the temple of Wolfish Apollo stood in the northern part of the modern town, not far from the foot of the Larisa (*Morea*, 2. p. 403). A fragmentary inscription has been found at Argos containing part of an honorary decree with a direction that a copy engraved on stone should be set up in the sanctuary of Wolfish Apollo (Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1885, p. 57). Inscriptions containing dedications to Apollo (*C. I. G.* Nos. 1142. 1143. cp. No. 1152) have been found in a church of St. Nicholas, from which Bursian (*Geogr.* 2. p. 53 *sq.* note) inferred that the temple in question must have been near this church. From Thucydides (v. 47), Sophocles (*Electra*, 6 *sq.*, with the Scholiast), and Plutarch (*Pyrrhus*, 32, compared with Pausanias, ii. 19. 7) we know that the temple abutted on the market-place; and from Livy (xxxii. 25) we learn that the market-place was at the foot of the citadel. Opposite the temple was a temple of Nemean Zeus (Schol. on Sophocles, *Electra*, 6).

The wolf very commonly appears on coins of Argos. Sometimes he is represented in full between two dolphins, sometimes alone: sometimes only his head or forepart is given. See Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 366 *sq.*; *id.*, *Coins of the Ancients*, p. 47, pl. iii. B. 36; Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, p. 44; Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 35; *British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins, Peloponnesus*, p. 136 *sqq.*, plates xxvii. xxviii. Some iron coins of Argos with a half wolf on them have been found (*Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 7 (1882), p. 2. *sq.*) A scholiast on Sophocles (*Electra*, 6) says that wolves were represented on the coins of Argos like owls on the coins of Athens. A wolf's head, in terra-cotta, well modelled, has been found at Argos (*Archäologische Zeitung*, 1864, p. 144).

19. 3. **Attalus, an Athenian.** The date of this sculptor is unknown. The name Attalus was inscribed on one of sixteen marble statues, of good style, which were found near the theatre at Argos. See Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 217; Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 558; *C. I. G.* No. 1146; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, No. 436.

19. 3. **in those days all images were of wood.** In Italy, down to the conquest of Western Asia in the first half of the second century B.C., most of the images of the gods are said to have been of wood or earthenware (Pliny, *N. H.* xxxiv. 34).

19. 3. **The reason why Danaus founded a sanctuary of Wolfish Apollo was this etc.** A slightly different version of the following story is told by Servius (on Virgil, *Aen.* iv. 377) as follows. Danaus received an oracular response from Apollo bidding him journey till he saw a bull and a wolf fighting. He was to watch the issue of the fight, and if the bull conquered, he was to found a temple in honour of Neptune

(Poseidon); but if the wolf was victorious, he was to dedicate a shrine to Apollo. The wolf conquered the bull, so Danaus built a temple to Wolfish Apollo. Cp. Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, 32.

19. 3. **he claimed the kingdom.** Doubtless he was supposed to have grounded his claim to the kingdom of Argos on his descent from Io, daughter of Argus or of Inachus. See Apollodorus, ii. 1. On the lineage of his adversary, Gelanor, see Paus. ii. 16. 1. Gelanor was king of Argos at the time when Danaus landed (Apollodorus, ii. 1. 4; Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, 32).

19. 3. **Gelanor.** Stephanus Byzantius (*s.v.* Σουάγελα) mentions a town of Caria called Souagela, at which, he says, "was the tomb of the Carian. For the Carian name for a grave is *sūa*, and for a king *gela*." On the strength of this statement Preller (*Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, p. 287) was disposed to derive the name Gelanor from the Carian name for king. From the same word he would derive the Sicilian Gelon; the family of Gelon came from the island of Telos, off Caria. Further, he suggests that we have the same root in *Geleontes*, the name of one of the four ancient Ionic tribes; the name would thus mean 'royal' or 'kingly.' He thinks that Zeus Geleon, whose name appears in an Attic inscription (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 2), was perhaps the tribal god of the Geleontes. This trace, if it be such, of a Carian settlement in Argolis might be used as an argument by those who hold that the people who created the civilisation of Tiryns and Mycenae were Carians. See above, p. 153 *sq.*

19. 4. **Gelanor was like the bull and Danaus like the wolf.** Cp. Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, 32. Prof. W. Robertson Smith suggested (article 'Sacrifice,' *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 9th ed. vol. 21, p. 135) that in this legend we have a reminiscence of a struggle between two clans, one of which had for its totem the wolf, and the other the bull..

19. 5. **the fire of Phoroneus.** From a scholiast on Sophocles (*Electra*, *vv.* 4, 6) we learn that this fire was in the sanctuary of Wolfish Apollo, and that it was thought to have come down from heaven. On Phoroneus see ii. 15. 5. Before his time men all spoke one tongue; Hermes introduced a diversity of languages, and hence arose discord for the first time (Hyginus, *Fab.* 143). Ad. Kuhn (*Herabkunft des Feuers*,[2] p. 25 *sqq.*) connected the name Phoroneus with the Sanscrit *bhuranya*, 'rapid' (applied to Agni, the deified fire), and the Latin Feronia, the goddess worshipped at the foot of Mount Soracte. As to Feronia see W. Mannhardt, *Antike Wald- und Feldkulte*, p. 327 *sqq.*

19. 5. **that Prometheus gave fire to men.** The story that fire was stolen from heaven and given to men by Prometheus has its analogue in many savage stories of the origin of fire. A powerful being (who is sometimes an animal) is said to have got possession of fire and to have kept it all to himself; a beneficent hero (who himself is sometimes an animal) contrives to steal a light from him and gives it to men. See for examples of such tales Mr. A. Lang's article 'Prometheus,' in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 9th ed. vol. 19, p. 807 *sq.* Many more examples might be added. Ad. Kuhn (*Herabkunft des Feuers*,[2] p. 35 *sqq.*)

derived the name Prometheus from the Sanscrit *pramantha*, the name for the fire-sticks, by the friction of which savages produce fire. But it is hard to separate the name Prometheus from *promethes*, 'prudent,' *prometheia*, 'prudence,' etc. Cp. H. Flach, 'Zur Prometheussage,' *Neue Jahrbücher f. Philol. u. Paedag.* 123 (1881), pp. 817-823. In this article Dr. Flach ventures on the rash assertions that the Prometheus story, in all its features, is purely Greek, and that it must have originated after Homer, since Homer makes no mention of it.

19. 7. **Ladas.** See iii. 21. 1 note; viii. 12. 5.

19. 7. **a bull and a wolf fighting.** In 272 B.C. Pyrrhus, at the head of some of his troops, forced his way into Argos by night. When day dawned he saw in the market-place the sculpture described by Pausanias. The king took it as an omen of death, since it had been foretold that he must die when he should see a wolf fighting a bull. Plutarch, who mentions this, says that the wolf and the bull were of bronze. See Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, 32. Thus the group would seem to have been a bronze relief. The battle of the wolf and bull is represented on a coin of Argos (Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 36).

19. 8. **Linus.** As to Linus, son of Apollo and Psamathe, see i. 43. 7 *sq.*, with the note on "when Crotopus was reigning." As to Linus the poet see ix. 29. 6 *sqq.*

19. 8. **an altar of Rainy Zeus.** See i. 32. 2, with the note on 'Showery Zeus.' On a ridge of Mt. Tmolus, to the west of Sardes, there was a spot which was called the Birthplace of Rainy Zeus (Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, iv. 48). In New Guinea there is a god named Laufao, who keeps the rain bottled up in a bamboo. When there is too little rain, the people make him presents of pigs and cooked food; then Laufao takes the stopper out of his sacred bamboo, and the rain falls. When there is too much rain, presents are made to the god to induce him to put the stopper into the bamboo. See J. Chalmers, *Pioneering in New Guinea*, p. 177 *sq.*

19. 8. **swore to take Thebes or die.** The oath is described by Aeschylus (*Seven against Thebes*, 41 *sqq.*) They killed a bull so that the blood ran into the hollow of a shield, and in swearing they touched the blood with their hands. This was perhaps a form of the blood-covenant in which the blood of a victim had been substituted for that of the persons themselves who took the oath. "In ancient Arabic literature there are many references to the blood-covenant, but instead of human blood that of a victim slain at the sanctuary is employed. The ritual in this case is that all who share in the compact must dip their hands into the gore, which at the same time is applied to the sacred stone that symbolises the deity, or is poured forth at its base" (W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*,[2] p. 314).

19. 8. **As to the tomb of Prometheus** etc. This seems to imply that both Argos and Opus claimed to possess the grave of Prometheus, but that in Pausanias's opinion the Opuntian claim was the better founded. Other ancient writers appear to be silent on the subject.

20. 1. **Creugas.** See viii. 40. 3 *sqq.*

20. 1. **a work of Polyclitus.** There were two sculptors of this name, of whom the elder was by far the more famous. See note on ii. 22. 7. Brunn (*Sitzungsberichte d. philos. philolog. u. histor. Classe d. k. bayerisch. Akad. d. Wissen. zu München*, 1880, p. 469) supposed that the Polyclitus mentioned here was the younger Polyclitus. Overbeck (*Schriftquellen*, No. 941) thinks it was the elder Polyclitus. The massacre of the guards, which (as Pausanias here relates) led to the erection of the statue, occurred in 418 B.C. (Thucydides, v. 82; Diodorus, xii. 80; Plutarch, *Alcibiades*, 15). Overbeck holds that this date fits better with the elder Polyclitus. Brunn, who assigned the statue to the younger Polyclitus, supposed that it was not executed for some time after the massacre.

20. 2. **a regiment of a thousand picked men.** This force was instituted in 421 B.C. The men were chosen from amongst the wealthiest classes, and hence formed an aristocratic corps. They were relieved from all other public duties, and had to train and exercise constantly (Diodorus, xii. 75). They took part in the battle of Mantinea in 418 B.C. (Thucydides, v. 67, 73).

20. 3. **Cleobis and Biton drawing the wagon** etc. Their mother's name was Cydippe and she was the priestess of Hera. Once on a time she had to repair to the sanctuary to perform a sacrifice. But the oxen had not yet returned from the field, and time was pressing. So her two sons, Cleobis and Biton, yoked themselves to the cart and drew their mother to the sanctuary, a distance of seven miles. There in the crowd of worshippers the men complimented her on the manly vigour, and the women on the filial piety, of her sons. In the pride of her heart the mother stood before the image and prayed to the goddess that she would bestow on the sons, who had honoured her so greatly, the best gift that could fall to the lot of man. So after sacrificing and feasting the young men fell asleep in the sanctuary and awoke no more, the goddess thus signifying that death was better than life. The Argives had statues of the young men made and dedicated them at Delphi. See Herodotus, i. 31; Plutarch, *Consol. ad Apollon.* 14; Cicero, *Tusc. Disput.* i. 47. 113; Hyginus, *Fab.* 254; Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* iii. 532; Valerius Maximus, v. 4. Ext. 4. On representations of Cleobis and Biton in ancient art see Welcker, in K. O. Müller's *Archäologie der Kunst*, § 419. 4. On an Argive coin (Fig. 31) Cleobis and Biton are represented drawing their mother in a chariot (Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 37, with pl. K xxxiv.) Again, in St. Marc's Library at Venice there is a sarcophagus on which their story is carved in relief. It falls into four scenes. On the left the mother is seen standing in a chariot drawn by two oxen. Two strong lads (Cleobis and Biton) grasp the pole of the chariot, as if about to unyoke the oxen and to draw the chariot themselves. In the next scene the two lads are sleeping, face downward, on the ground in front of the temple, while the mother stands



FIG. 32.—CLEOBIS AND BITON (COIN OF ARGOS).

beside them with uplifted torches as if in the act of prayer. In the next scene, still further to the right, a young woman with fluttering robes is driving a chariot drawn by two prancing steeds, the heads of which are held by Cleobis and Biton. The meaning of this scene is obscure; it has been interpreted as the Moon goddess driving her car through the nightly sky and taking with her the souls of the dead [illegible] to the spirit-world. In the last scene, on the extreme right, the mother is seen seated, putting her arms about her two sons, who stand before her. This perhaps represents the reunion of the mother and sons in heaven. See *Archäologische Zeitung*, 21 (1863), pl. clxxii., with the remarks of Krüger, pp. 17-27 (who wrongly interprets the relief as a mythical representation of moonlight and dawn); H. Dutschke, 'Kleobis und Biton,' *Archäologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich*, 7 (1883), pp. 153-167, with pl. ii.

20. 3. **a sanctuary of Nemean Zeus.** This sanctuary was opposite the temple of Wolfish Apollo (Schol. on Sophocles, *Electra*, 6). It seems probable that all the objects described by Pausanias from 19. 3 to the end of 20. 2 were within the precincts of Wolfish Apollo. So thought Siebelis (on this passage), and Bursian (*Geogr.* 2. p. 53 note 2).

20. 3. **the bronze image of the god —— is a work of Lysippus.** On Argive coins of Imperial times Zeus is represented standing naked, with a sceptre in his right hand and an eagle at his feet (Fig. 33). As the type persists practically unchanged through several reigns, it may be a copy of Lysippus's statue. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 36, pl. K xxviii.; *British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins, Peloponnesus*, pl. xxviii. 10.



FIG. 33.—ZEUS (COIN OF ARGOS).

20. 3. **Palamedes.** See note on ii. 33. 2. Eustathius (on *Il.* ii. 308, p. 228) says that the draught-man (πεσσός) of Palamedes, by which he may mean the dice here mentioned by Pausanias, was at Argos.

20. 4. **the women who marched with Dionysus to Argos.** Cp. ii. 22. 1; ii. 23. 7. The expedition of Dionysus and his Bacchanals against Argos and the resistance offered by the Argives under Perseus are narrated at length by Nonnus (xlvii. 474 *sqq.*); cp. Apollodorus, iii. 5. 2. According to one account, Perseus killed Dionysus (Parthey, on Plutarch, *Isis and Osiris*, 35). Two scenes on painted vases have been interpreted as Perseus fighting the Bacchanals (P. Kretschmer, in *Jahrbuch d. arch. Instituts*, 7 (1892), pp. 32-37).

20. 5. **Their number is reduced by Aeschylus to seven.** Dr. Verrall has pointed out that in the *Seven against Thebes* Aeschylus represents, not the leaders of the expedition against Thebes, but only the leaders of the final assault upon the gates, as seven in number; and with fine literary tact he shows how immensely this, properly understood, contributes to the dramatic interest of the play. See his introduction to his edition of the play.

20. 6. **the tomb of Danaus.** This was in the middle of the market-place (Strabo, viii. p. 371).

20. 6. **where the Argive women bewail Adonis.** I have examined elsewhere the worship of Adonis (*The Golden Bough*, 1. p. 278 *sqq.*, etc.) On representations of Adonis in ancient art see Jahn and De Witte in *Annali dell' Instituto*, 1845, pp. 347-418; Jahn, *Archäologische Beiträge*, p. 45 *sqq.*; also *Gazette Archéologique*, 4 (1878), pp. 64-66; Roscher's *Lexikon*, 1. p. 75; Pauly's *Real-Encyclopädie*, ed. Wissowa, 1. p. 394 *sq.*

20. 6. **Cephisus.** See ii. 15. 5.

20. 7. **a head of Medusa made of stone.** The head of Medusa was said to have the power of turning into stone whoever looked upon it (Apollodorus, ii. 4. 2. and 3). In a Sicilian story a witch turns the hero to stone by touching him with one of her hairs (Gonzenbach, *Sicilianische Märchen*, No. 40, vol. 2. p. 277). Some of the Dyaks believe that if they laugh at a dog or at a snake crossing their path, they will be turned to stone (Spencer St. John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East*, 1. p. 239; cp. the snakes about the Gorgons' heads). For other magic modes of turning people to stone see Chalatianz, *Armenische Märchen und Sagen*, Einleitung, p. v. *sqq.*; Radloff, *Proben der Volkslitteratur der türkischen Stämme Süd-Sibiriens*, 2. p. 215 *sqq.*

20. 7. **the Judgment Place.** At the eastern foot of the Larisa, to the north-east of the theatre (see below), is a wall built of great polygonal blocks. It is about 100 feet long and has a simple doorway in the middle. This wall supports an artificially levelled terrace at the foot of the mountain, and on this terrace are the remains of a Roman brick building. Opposite the doorway there is a square recess cut in the wall of rock which forms the back of the terrace. This recess narrows gradually inwards and ends in a semicircular niche, which forms the termination of a channel cut in the rock. Prof. Curtius supposes that the Judgment Place may have been upon this terrace. He thinks that the order in which Pausanias mentions the buildings confirms this view; for immediately after mentioning the Judgment Place Pausanias mentions the theatre. Now going to the theatre from the market-place he must have passed this polygonal wall with its terrace. On the other hand Bursian sees in the whole structure simply a well-house, once fed by a spring in the interior of the mountain which has now dried up. See Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 398 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 351 *sq.*, 353 *sq.*, 357; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 319 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 351 *sq.* Prof. Ed. Meyer agrees with Curtius's identification of the Judgment Place, and thinks that it is the same with the Pron mentioned by a scholiast on Euripides (*Orestes*, 872) as the place where the Argives held their trials. See *Philologus*, 48 (1889), p. 185 *sqq.*

20. 7. **a theatre.** A considerable portion of this theatre, being cut out of the rock, is in tolerable preservation. It is at the south-east foot of the Larisa. "Its two ends were formed of large masses of rude stones and mortar, faced with regular masonry; these are now mere shapeless heaps of rubbish. The excavated part of the theatre preserves the remains of sixty-seven rows of seats, in three divisions,

separated by *diazomata* [*i.e.* passages running round the theatre]: in the upper division are nineteen rows, in the middle sixteen, and in the lower thirty-two, and there may, perhaps, be some more at the bottom concealed under the earth" (Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 396). W. G. Clark counted 35 rows of seats in the lowest division, 16 in the middle, and 18 in the uppermost, making 69 in all (*Peloponnesus*, p. 91). The ruinous state of the wings makes exact estimates impossible, but Leake judged that the diameter of the theatre may have been 450 feet, and that of the orchestra 200 feet. He calculated that, when entire, the theatre may have held 20,000 people. In 1891 some excavations were made in the theatre by Mr. Kophiniotis on behalf of the Greek Government. Twenty rows of seats were discovered lower down than the rock-cut seats hitherto visible. The front row of seats is in the form of arm-chairs. Remains of both a Greek and a Roman stage were laid bare, the former built of tufa, the latter paved with red stone. A subterranean passage, to the north of the Roman stage, united the stage with the orchestra, as in the theatres at Eretria, Magnesia on the Maeander, Sicyon, and Tralles. See Δελτιον ἀρχαιολογικόν, 1891, p. 86; *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 16 (1891), p. 383; *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 15 (1891), p. 651; *American Journal of Archaeology*, 7 (1891), p. 518. "Contiguous to the south-western angle of the theatre, on the extreme foot of the mountain, are twenty-one rows of seats excavated in the rock. These rows are *rectilinear*, forming a line which is nearly that of the orchestra of the theatre produced: the seats, therefore, must have belonged to some separate place of spectacle, as they could not have commanded a view of any part of the interior of the theatre. Their position clearly proves that the upper division of the excavated seats of the theatre was not prolonged to the wings" (Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 397 *sq.*) See also Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 352 *sq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 320 *sq.*; W. G. Clark, *Peloponnesus*, p. 91; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 52.

20. 7. **the Spartan Othryadas.** Herodotus's version (i. 82) of this famous story is as follows. The Lacedaemonians had taken possession of the district of Thyrea, which belonged to the Argives. The two peoples agreed that each should pick out 300 champions who should fight each other, and that Thyrea should belong to the victorious side. The fight took place. Of the 300 Argives all fell but two, Alcenor and Chromius; of the Lacedaemonians all were slain but one, Othryades (Othryadas). The two Argives ran to Argos to tell that they had conquered; Othryades remained on the field, spoiled the slain Argives, and deposited the spoils in the Lacedaemonian camp. A dispute hence arose between Sparta and Argos, each claiming a victory. A battle was the result, in which the Lacedaemonians were victorious. Othryades, ashamed to return to Sparta when all his comrades had perished, slew himself on the spot. This contest is believed to have taken place in 548 B.C. It is described by Pausanias elsewhere (ii. 38. 5), but without mention of Othryades. The combat was very famous in antiquity and became a favourite subject of rhetorical declamation. See Chrysermus, in *Fragm. hist. Graec.* ed. Muller, 4. p. 361; Theseus,

in Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, vii. 67; Suidas, *s.v.* Ὀθρυάδας; and the numerous other writers cited by Kohlmann in his article 'Othryades,' *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. 29 (1874), pp. 463-480; *id.*, 31 (1876), pp. 300-302. Now none of the other authorities agrees with Pausanias, who represents the Spartan Othryadas as killed by an Argive. In the other accounts Othryadas is represented either as having killed himself (Herodotus's version), or as having died of his wounds. As the group of statuary representing Othryadas being slain by an Argive was at Argos, it is natural to see in it the embodiment of an Argive tradition which contradicted the Lacedaemonian tradition followed by Herodotus. The Argive tradition would be told to Pausanias when the statue was shown him. If Pausanias (as has been maintained) took all his facts from books, how is it that here his account agrees with none of the very numerous literary accounts of the same subject which have come down to us, but does agree with what we should expect to be the local Argive tradition, coloured by Argive patriotic prejudice?

20. 8. **a sanctuary of Aphrodite.** Above the theatre is a small rocky platform, on which stands a chapel of St. George. Curtius and Bursian think that this may have been the site of the sanctuary of Aphrodite. See Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. pp. 351, 357 *sq.*, 562; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 52.

20. 8. **the image of the goddess.** The word for image here is ἕδος; it is used by Pausanias only here and in viii. 46. 2. On the word see Maxim. Fraenkel, *De verbis potioribus quibus opera statuaria Graeci notabant*, pp. 24-29.

20. 8. **Telesilla.** See Plutarch, *De mul. virt.* 4; Polyaenus, viii. 33; Suidas, *s.v.* Τελέσιλλα; Clement of Alex., *Strom.* iv. 19. § 122; Bähr on Herodotus, vi. 77. Telesilla's heroic defence of Argos is supposed to have taken place in 510 B.C. It was commemorated by an annual festival called the Festival of Wantonness (τὰ Ὑβριστικά), celebrated at the new moon of the month of Hermaeus (the fourth month, perhaps June-July; see Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, 2. p. 829). At this festival the women dressed as men and the men as women, the men even wearing veils (Plutarch and Polyaenus, *ll.cc.*) The story of the defence of Argos by Telesilla may have been invented to explain the festival. Certainly the exchange of garments between men and women as a religious or superstitious rite is not uncommon elsewhere. For example, there was a sacrifice to Aphrodite at which men were dressed as women and women as men (Macrobius, *Sat.* iii. 8. 3). In Cos the priest of Hercules wore female attire when he offered sacrifices (Plutarch, *Quaest. Graec.* 58). Argive women on their marriage night wore false beards. Plutarch, who mentions this custom, attempts to assign an historical origin to it (*De mul. virt.* 4); but it is certain that the practice of women dressing as men, or men as women, or both, is a widely spread marriage custom. Spartan brides were dressed in men's clothes on the wedding night (Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 15). See also Sepp, *Altbayerischer Sagenschatz*, p. 233; Schroeder, *Die Volksbräuche der Ehsten*, pp. 93 *sqq.*, 218 *sqq.*; J. Thomson, *Through Masai Land*, p. 442; Matthes, *Bijdragen tot de Ethnologie van Zuid-*

Celebes, p. 35. Sometimes it is not the bride and bridegroom but their attendants who thus disguise themselves. See *Proceedings R. Geogr. Soc.* 1879, p. 92; Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*, pp. 78, 80; Grierson, *Bihar peasant life*, p. 365; *Folk-lore Journal*, 6 (1888), p. 122; Sébillot, *Coutumes populaires de la Haute-Bretagne*, p. 138. Plutarch (*l.c.*) mentions that the women who shared in the exploit of Telesilla were allowed to build a temple of the war-god (Enyalius); and Lucian (*Amores*, 30) says that in consequence of Telesilla's victory the war-god (Ares) was held at Argos to be a god of women. But, as we learn from Pausanias, the statue of Telesilla stood in front of a temple of Aphrodite. May not this have been the Armed Aphrodite? and would not this explain the statements of Plutarch and Lucian just quoted? If this were so, the historical foundation of the story of Telesilla would become more doubtful than ever. On the Armed Aphrodite see iii. 15. 10 note.

20. 8. **her books are lying at her feet, and she is looking at a helmet.** This statue has been cited by Leopardi in a fine passage to illustrate the superiority of the active over the contemplative life (*Il Parini, ovvero della gloria*, cap. i.)

20. 8. **The Lacedaemonians, under Cleomenes etc.** See Herodotus, vi. 76-80.

20. 10. **Herodotus has recorded.** See Herodotus, vi. 77.

21. 2. **Bias.** See ii. 18. 4.

21. 3. **the Lydian woman.** Omphale. Cp. Dionysius Halic. *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 28.

21. 3. **the grave of Epimenides.** His tomb was also shown at Sparta. See iii. 11. 11; also iii. 12. 11.

21. 4. **as I have shown in my account of Attica.** See i. 15. 3.

21. 5. **the story told of her is this.** With the following account of the Gorgons, Mr. E. Bethe, in *Hermes*, 25 (1890), p. 311 *sq.*, compares Diodorus, iii. 52 *sqq.* Diodorus admittedly takes his account of the Gorgons etc. from Dionysius, surnamed Scytobrachion; and from the supposed resemblance between the narratives of Pausanias and Diodorus, Mr. Bethe infers that Pausanias also drew upon Dionysius. This is quite possible, but the supposed resemblance seems far too slight to warrant the inference.

21. 6. **The desert of Libya contains wild beasts etc.** Cp. Herodotus, iv. 191.

21. 7. **it had been the custom for women to remain single after their husbands' death.** It is quite possible that in very early times Greek widows were forbidden to marry again, for among many peoples this rule holds, as amongst the Heh Kioh Miau or 'Black-footed aborigines' (an aboriginal tribe in China), in Sü-shin (an ancient kingdom in Corea), amongst some families or tribes in Malabar, among the Tamil potters of Travancore, and the Alfoers of Ceram. See *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 1. No. 3 (December 1859), p. 261; Pfizmaier, 'Nachrichten von den alten Bewohnern des heutigen Corea,' *Sitzungsberichte der philosoph.-histor. Classe der kaiser. Akad. der Wissen.* (Vienna), 57 (1868),

p. 518; J. T. Phillips, *Account of the religion etc. of the people of Malabar*, p. 28; S. Mateer, *Native life in Travancore*, p. 108; G. A. Wilken, *Das Haaropfer*, p. 44 *sq*. Among some peoples the marriage of widows, if not absolutely forbidden, is strongly discountenanced. In the Chinese 'Book of Rites' it is said: "The widow is one with her husband, and this does not change during the whole course of her life; therefore, when her husband dies, she does not marry again" (De Groot, *Feesten en Gebruiken van de Emoy-Chineezen*, p. 442; J. H. Plath, *Die häusliche Verhältnisse der alten Chinesen*, p. 10; cp. *id.*, *Gesetz und Recht im alten China*, p. 18). In conformity with this precept, at the present day in China "it is considered very improper for a widow to contract a second marriage; and in genteel families such an event rarely, if ever, occurs. Indeed, if I do not mistake, a lady of rank by contracting a second marriage exposes herself to a penalty of eighty blows" (Gray, *China*, i. p. 215). In ancient Peru the marriage of widows was not approved of (Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, i. p. 305 *sq*., Markham's trans.) The reason why widows are not allowed to marry after their husbands' death was given to the old traveller Rubruquis by the Tartars. "Their widows never marry a second time, for this reason, because they believe that all who have served them in this life shall do them service also in the life to come. Whereupon they are persuaded that every widow after death shall return to her own husband" (Rubruquis, 'Travels into Tartary and China,' in Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, 7. p. 33). So among the Khi-tan, a people of eastern Tartary, "the wife does not marry a second time. She is considered the wife of the deceased, and no one would marry her" (Pfizmaier, 'Die fremdländichen Reiche zu den Zeiten der Sui,' *Sitzungsberichte d. philos. hist. Classe d. kais. Akad. d. Wissen.* (Vienna), 97 (1881), p. 482). Hence the Alfoers of Minahassa, in Celebes, are afraid to marry a widow, thinking that if they did, they would soon die ('Iets over het Bijgeloof in de Minahasa,' *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië*, July 1870, p. 3). They probably fear the vengeance of the deceased husband's ghost. For a similar reason, probably, in West Prussia, when a widow marries for the third time, her husband must enter her house by the window and go thrice through it, "that no harm may befall him" (G. A. Wilken, *Das Haaropfer*, p. 46 note). Among the Syrian Christians of Travancore "remarriage of widows is conducted in the early morning before daylight, as a somewhat shameful thing" (S. Mateer, *Native life in Travancore*, p. 161). This again may be a precaution to evade the late husband's ghost.

The belief that the soul of the wife would rejoin the soul of her departed husband in the other world has led many barbarous peoples to kill the wife on the death of her husband, in order that the spiritual reunion may immediately take place. It is especially on the death of kings and great men that these massacres are perpetrated. In the East Indian island of Bali, when the king died, all his wives and concubines, amounting sometimes to a hundred or a hundred and fifty, were burnt (Crawford, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, 2. p. 252). Herodotus

(v. 5) mentions that among a Thracian tribe it was the custom, when a man died, that his best-beloved wife should be killed and buried with him; the women used to contend eagerly for the honour. Prof. O. Schrader is of opinion that the custom of slaying the wife on the death of the husband was an ancient Aryan institution (*Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*,[2] p. 565). The best known instance of it among an Aryan people is the *suttee* of Hindu widows. The custom of widow-burning does not appear in the Vedas; but nevertheless, as Mr. Zimmer and Dr. Tylor argue, the custom is probably older than the Vedas; so barbarous a rite is hardly likely to be a later invention. It is, and has been since the days of Manu at least, the rule that a Hindu widow never marries again; only among Pariahs and some Sudras is she allowed to marry again. See *Laws of Manu*, v. 160 *sq.*; Dubois, *Mœurs etc. des peuples de l'Inde*, 1. pp. 14 *sq.*, 294 *sq.*; Bose, *The Hindoos as they are*, p. 237 *sqq.*; Mayne, *Hindu law and usage*, p. 82 *sqq.*; Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, pp. 326-329; Max Müller, *Essays*, i. pp. 332-337. Amongst the Slavs there is evidence that the wife was regularly burnt with her dead husband (J. Grimm, *Ueber das Verbrennen der Leichen*, p. 62 *sqq.*; V. Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Hausthiere*,[4] p. 440). Amongst the South Slavs it is still regarded as an insult to her late husband's memory if a widow marries again (F. S. Krauss, *Sitte und Brauch der Südslaven*, p. 578). Among the ancient Germans it seems to have been thought better that a widow should not marry again (Tacitus, *Germ.* 19; Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, p. 453). In ancient Greece we seem to have a reminiscence of widow-burning in the legend that when the corpse of Capaneus was burning on the pyre, his wife Evadne threw herself into the flames and perished (Euripides, *Supplices*, 980 *sqq.*; Apollodorus, iii. 7. 1; Zenobius, *Cent.* i. 30; Ovid, *Tristia*, v. 14. 38). In some Indian tribes of North-West America the practice of burning the widow has been mitigated into a rule that she must lie beside her husband's corpse on the pyre till she is nearly suffocated, when she is allowed to withdraw. See Morse, *Report on Indian affairs*, p. 339 *sq.*; Rev. Sheldon Jackson, 'Alaska and its inhabitants,' *American Antiquarian*, 2. p. 112 *sq.*; Bancroft, *Native races of the Pacific States*, 1. p. 126. For more examples of killing the widow on the husband's death see the works of Grimm and Hehn cited above; Tylor, *Primitive Culture*,[2] 1. pp. 459-467; Herbert Spencer, *Sociology*,[2] pt. 1. ch. 14. pp. 204-206. For evidence of the custom in Greece see Lasaulx, 'Zur Geschichte und Philosophie der Ehe bei den Griechen,' *Abhandl. d. philos. philolog. Classe der könig. bayer. Akad. d. Wissen.* 7 (1853), p. 48 *sqq.*; and on the custom in general see Westermarck, *History of human marriage*, p. 124 *sqq.*

21. 9. Chloris —— daughter of Niobe. See v. 16. 4. On the mythical connexion of Niobe with Argos see Stark, *Niobe und die Niobiden*, p. 337 *sqq.* Stark thought that Chloris was a mythical expression for the fresh green vegetation of spring. The adjective from which her name is formed (χλωρός) is often so applied in Greek. In an article on Chloris in *Rheinisches Museum*, 10 (1856), pp. 369-377, Schwenk maintained that Chloris corresponded to the Roman Flora.

On representations of the Niobe legend in ancient art see, in addition to Stark's monograph, H. Heydemann, 'Niobe und die Niobiden auf griechischen Vasenbildern,' *Verhandlungen d. kön. sächs. Gesell. d. Wissen. zu Leipzig*, 27 (1875), pp. 205-230; *id.*, 29 (1877), pp. 70-103; *id.*, 35 (1883), pp. 159-168; Lenormant, in *Gazette Archéologique*, 3 (1877), p. 171 *sq.*; C. Robert, in *Annali dell' Inst. di Corrisp. Archeol.* 1882, pp. 285-289. By far the most famous of the representations of the Niobe legend is the group in the Uffizi gallery at Florence, which was discovered near the Lateran at Rome in 1583. The ancients themselves knew not whether to attribute the group to Scopas or to Praxiteles (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 28); and modern opinion is still divided on the subject. See Friederichs, *Praxiteles und die Niobegruppe;* Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. pp. 324, 357 *sq.*; Murray, *Hist. of Greek Sculpture*, 2. pp. 314-322; Lucy M. Mitchell, *Hist. of Ancient Sculpture*, pp. 475-481; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 2. pp. 78-91; Welcker, *Antike Denkmäler*, 1. pp. 218-220; Stark, *Niobe und die Niobiden*, p. 332 *sq.*; Friederichs-Wolters, *Gipsabgüsse*, pp. 433-445. The images of Latona and Chloris, here described by Pausanias, seem to be reproduced on a series of Argive coins (Figs. 34, 35), on which Latona stands clad in a long garment, holding some object (a torch?) in her left hand, and raising her right hand to her shoulder; the small figure of Chloris stands close to the elbow of the goddess and is similarly attired. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 38, pl. K xxxvi. xxxvii. xxxviii.



FIGS. 34, 35.—LATONA AND CHLORIS (COINS OF ARGOS).

22. 1. **Flowery Hera.** Cp. *Etymolog. Magnum*, p. 108. 47. Girls or women officiated as flower-bearers in her temple, while the flutes played a special air (Pollux, iv. 78). In spring the Peloponnesian women celebrated a festival called *Erosantheia* or *Eroanthia*, the chief feature of which seems to have been the gathering of flowers (Hesychius, *s.v.* Ἠροσάνθεια; Photius, *s.v.* Ἠροάνθια). Probably this festival was connected with the worship of Flowery Hera; the flower-bearers who officiated in her temple may have been the girls who gathered flowers at the *Erosantheia.* The Greek 1st of May (our 12th) is still a festival of flowers in Greece; the people go out in the morning and gather flowers, with which they deck the outside of their houses (*Folklore*, 1 (1890), p. 518). This modern custom has obvious affinities with the celebration of May-day in northern Europe. I have suggested elsewhere (*The Golden Bough*, 1. p. 100 *sqq.*) that at some Greek festivals Zeus and Hera corresponded to the King and Queen of May. The Flowery Hera, personated by a girl, with her attendant flower-bearing handmaidens, would answer very well to our Queen of the May.

22. 1. **a grave of women** etc. Cp. ii. 20. 4 note.

22. 1. Pelasgus, son of Triopas. On Pelasgus see i. 14. 2. On Triopas see ii. 16. 1; x. 11. 1 note.

22. 2. Zeus the Contriver. From an inscription it appears that Zeus was worshipped under this title (*Mechaneus* or *Machaneus*) in Cos, where the sacrifices offered to him every other year were three full-grown sheep and a choice ox. See *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 9 (1888), p. 328; Paton and Hicks, *Inscriptions of Cos*, No. 38.

22. 3. Now that the Tantalus, who was son to Thyestes etc. On this passage see Stark, *Niobe und die Niobiden*, p. 350 sqq. Pausanias, who is apt to take legends and myths as literal truth, is sure that the bones of the famous Tantalus, son of Zeus, cannot be at Argos, since his tomb was on Mt. Sipylus in Asia Minor. But, as Stark points out, some circumstances certainly point to a legend that the first, the celebrated, Tantalus was buried at Argos. For unless such a legend existed, Pausanias would not have gone out of his way to refute it. Moreover the younger Tantalus, son of Thyestes and first husband of Clytaemnestra, would have been buried not at Argos, but with his kindred the Atridae at Mycenae, the seat of the dynasty and their burial place. Again, the name of Tantalus, son of Zeus, occurs in the list of the most ancient kings of Argos immediately before that of his son Pelops (Hyginus, *Fab.* 124). If then there was a legend that Tantalus reigned at Argos, it is perfectly natural there should have been a legend that he was buried there. It is worth noting, as Stark points out, that as here the bones of Tantalus are said to have been kept in a bronze vessel, so the bones of Pelops, son of Tantalus, were preserved in a bronze box at Pisa (Paus. vi. 22. 1). With regard to the younger Tantalus, son of Thyestes, he is mentioned as one of the children whom his father ate at the infamous banquet prepared by Atreus (Hyginus, *Fab.* 88, 244, 246; cp. Paus. ii. 16. 2). Euripides, like Pausanias, speaks of this younger Tantalus as having been the first husband of Clytaemnestra (*Iphigenia in Aulis*, 1150).

22. 3. Broteas. See iii. 22. 4; Gerhard, 'Broteas,' *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. 8 (1853), pp. 130-133; Stark, *Niobe und die Niobiden*, p. 437 *sq.* Gerhard thought that the name might be connected with *βρῶσις*, and hence might mean 'the one who was eaten.' He suggested that Broteas was a mere mythological dummy invented to relieve Pelops, as ancestor of the Pelopids, from the odium of having been partially eaten by Demeter. See Schol. on Pindar, *Olymp.* i. 37. Broteas was said to have been so much ridiculed for his personal deformity that he leapt into the fire and was burnt. Stark saw in this feature of the legend a trace of Assyrian-Lydian ideas of resurrection and apotheosis through death.

22. 3. his grave is on Mount Sipylus. See v. 13. 7 note.

22. 3. Ilus the Phrygian. Ilus was son of Tros and brother of Assaracus and Ganymede (Apollodorus, iii. 12. 2). "That Ilus and Assaracus were originally divinities of the first rank, and divinities of Semitic and Assyrian origin, is proved beyond doubt by their names. These names are in fact purely Assyrian and present, without alteration, two very well-known names of the Ninivite pantheon, *Ilu* and *Assur-*

akku (Assur the great, the powerful). These two names contain one of the most decisive proofs of very ancient Assyrian influence in the Troad" (Fr. Lenormant, note in *Gazette Archéologique*, 5 (1879), p. 239).

22. 3. **they still throw burning torches into the pit** etc. On Easter Saturday young people in Albania march with lighted torches through the village. Then they throw the lighted torches into the river crying, "Hah Kore! we throw you into the river, like these torches, that you may return no more!" See Hahn, *Albanesische Studien*, 1. p. 160. The coincidence in name between the Albanian *Kore* and the Greek *Kore* (the Maiden, *i.e.* Proserpine) may be merely accidental. When the Romans erected boundary-stones they threw torches into holes in the ground (Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, p. 981). In some parts of Germany the people on Christmas morning throw fire-brands into springs and troughs to keep off the witches (A. Bastian, in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1. p. 418 *sq.*) In England it seems to have been an old custom to carry lighted torches at a funeral and to extinguish them in the earth with which the corpse was about to be covered (Burne and Jackson, *Shropshire Folklore*, p. 310).

22. 5. **a temple of the Dioscuri.** According to Plutarch (*Quaest. Graec.* 23) the Argives called Castor *mixarchagetas*, and believed that he was buried in their city; but they worshipped Pollux as one of the Olympian gods.

22. 6. **Aphidna had been captured by the Dioscuri** etc. See i. 17. 4 *sq.*, with the notes.

22. 7. **his brother Naucydes, son of Mothon.** Elsewhere (Paus. vi. 6. 2) we learn that Polyclitus was the pupil of Naucydes. Naucydes must therefore have been his elder brother. The Polyclitus referred to is (as Pausanias *l.c.* remarks) not the great Polyclitus, but a younger namesake. From an inscription found at Olympia it appears that the father of Naucydes (and therefore of the younger Polyclitus) was Patrocles (see note on vi. 6. 2). Further, inscriptions found at Ephesus and Olympia show that the sculptor Daedalus of Sicyon (see Index) was a son of Patrocles (see vi. 3. 4 and note on vi. 2. 8). Hence the younger Polyclitus, Naucydes, and Daedalus were all brothers. Thus in the present passage Pausanias or his copyists seem to be wrong in giving Mothon as the name of Naucydes's father. See Critical Note on this passage. On a block of black marble found at the church of St. George at Thebes the name of the sculptor Polyclitus is found side by side with that of Lysippus; two separate inscriptions are engraved on the block, one referring to a statue by Polyclitus, the other referring to a statue by Lysippus (*C. I. G. G. S.* Nos. 2532, 2533; Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, Nos. 492, 492 a; Collitz, *G. D. I.* 1. No. 710, p. 236; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, No. 93). From this fact Messrs. Foucart and Loeschcke have inferred that Polyclitus the younger was a contemporary of Lysippus, though Prof. Loeschcke holds that Polyclitus was a good deal the older of the two and places his artistic activity between 372 and 332 B.C. The late H. Brunn, however, did not admit the inference. The block of marble on which the names of the two sculptors occur is not an independent base, but an architectural member,

and Brunn thought that it might have formed part of a building destined for the reception, at successive times, of statues of victorious athletes. Brunn himself supposed that Patrocles, the father, may have been born about 470 B.C., his son Naucydes about 440 B.C., and the younger Polyclitus about 432 B.C. Prof. W. Dittenberger, however, one of the highest living authorities on Greek epigraphy, holds that the two inscriptions in question are undoubtedly contemporary, and that they are later than 316 B.C.; hence he considers that the sculptor Polyclitus whose name occurs on one of them can be neither the elder nor the younger Polyclitus, but a third sculptor of the same name, younger than either of the two others. Mr. Stuart Jones suggests that the inscriptions may be restorations of earlier inscriptions, and that the statues to which they were attached may have had no original connexion.

See Foucart in *Revue Archéologique*, N. S. 29 (1875), pp. 110-115; Loeschcke, in *Archäologische Zeitung*, 36 (1878), pp. 10-13; E. Curtius, *ib.* p. 84; Furtwängler and Weil, in *Archaeol. Zeitung*, 37 (1879), p. 45 *sq.*; H. Brunn, in *Sitzungsberichte d. philos. Classe d. k. b. Akad. d. Wiss. zu München*, Phil. philolog. Classe. 6 Novemb. 1880, p. 464 *sq.*; Loewy, *Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer*, No. 93; Murray, *History of Greek Sculpture*, 2. p. 235 *sq.*; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. p. 531 *sqq.*; W. Dittenberger, note on *C. I. G. G. S.* No. 2532; H. Stuart Jones, *Select Passages from Ancient Writers illustrative of the History of Greek Sculpture*, p. 192 *sq.*

22. 8. **the gymnasium named Cylarabis.** This gymnasium was less than 300 paces outside the city-walls, and the gate which led to it seems to have been called Diamperes (Livy, xxxiv. 26; Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, 32; *id.*, *Cleomenes*, 17 and 26; Lucian, *Apol. pro merc. cond.* 11).

22. 8. **Sacadas.** See iv. 27. 7; vi. 14. 9 *sq.*; ix. 30. 2; x. 7. 4. As to the Pythian tune see note on x. 7. 4.

23. 2. **Baton.** Cp. v. 17. 8 note; x. 10. 3; Apollodorus, iii. 6. 8.

23. 3. **Hyrnetho.** One of the Argive tribes was called after her (Collitz, *G. D. I.* 3. Nos. 3296, 3319). As to her death and burial see ii. 28. 3 *sqq.*

23. 4. **Xenophilus and Strato.** These were Argive sculptors. Their names appear in an inscription found at *Mariaeea*, near Tiryns:

ΞΕΝΟΦΙΛΟΣΚΑΙΣΤΡΑΤΩΝ
ΑΡΓΕΙοΙ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΑΝ

"Xenophilus and Strato, Argives, made (the statue or statues)." See Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 420; Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, No. 1586. The same inscription (Ξενόφιλος καὶ Στράτων Ἀργ[εῖ]οι ἐποίησαν) was found by Mr. Collignon engraved on two blocks, slightly concave, near the khan of *Kourtesi*, on the site of the ancient Cleonae. These inscriptions appear to belong to the middle of the second century B.C.: this then may be the date of these two artists. See *Bulletin de Corresp. Hellénique*, 4 (1880), p. 46 *sq.*; *Mittheilungen d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 6 (1881), p. 356; and note on ii. 15. 1. At

Sicyon, Prof. E. Curtius found a mutilated base with some fragments of an inscription which perhaps included the names of these two sculptors. See Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 586. For all three inscriptions see Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, Nos. 261, 262, 270. Another mutilated inscription which seems to have contained the names of both sculptors has been found at the sanctuary of Epidaurus. As restored it runs: [Ξενόφιλο]ς καὶ Στράτων ἐποίησαν "Xenophon and Strato made (it)." See Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν, 1892, p. 72; Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Épidaure*, 1. p. 108, No. 253. The statues of Aesculapius and Health by Xenophilus and Strato appear to be reproduced on coins of Argos. The Aesculapius is of a Phidian type. Health is represented clad in a long tunic, and wearing an overdress, of which the end hangs over her left arm. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 40 *sq.*, with plate K xlvii. xlviii.

23. 4. **Alexanor.** See ii. 11. 5 *sqq.*

23. 5. **Pheraean Artemis.** See ii. 10. 7.

23. 5. **the Palladium.** See i. 28. 9.

23. 6. **Helenus, son of Priam.** See i. 11. 1.

23. 6. **the district of Cestrine.** It was separated from Thesprotis by the river Thyamis (Thucydides, i. 46; cp. Paus. i. 11. 1). Cestrine is said to have been the older name of Chaonia. The oxen of the district were famous. See Hesychius, *s.v.* Κεστρινικοὶ βόες; Schol. on Aristophanes, *Peace*, 925; Suidas, *s.v.* λαρινοὶ βόες.

23. 7. **an underground structure.** On the south-eastern slope of the hill Diras (see 24. 1 note) there is a subterranean passage which is now open for a length of 65 feet. The sides of the passage are composed of large, almost unhewn blocks of stone; the walls slope inward till at the top they are only a foot distant from each other. The passage leads into a small circular chamber. Curtius and Bursian think that this may be what was shown to sight-seers as the prison of Danae. Bursian considered it to be in reality an old reservoir. See Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. pp. 354, 361; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 50 *sq.* Cp. Gell, *Itinerary of Greece*, p. 66. Mr. Helbig considers that in the brazen chamber in which Danae was said to have been confined we have a reminiscence of buildings like the beehive tombs at Mycenae, the walls of which were lined with bronze plates or rosettes (Helbig, *Das homerische Epos aus den Denkmälern erläutert*,[2] p. 440). Pausanias describes Danae's prison as a bronze chamber above a subterranean structure. Apollodorus (ii. 4. 1), with whom Sophocles (*Antigone*, 944 *sqq.*) seems to agree, describes it simply as a brazen underground chamber. Horace (*Odes*, iii. 16. 1) speaks of it as a brazen tower. I have attempted to explain the story in *The Golden Bough*, 2. p. 237.

23. 7. **Cretan Dionysus.** See Preller, *Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, pp. 293-296. According to Preller, the Cretan legend of the relation of Dionysus to Ariadne was that Dionysus loved her before she became the bride of Theseus, and that for her infidelity to the god (as Homer relates, *Od.* xi. 321 *sqq.*) she was slain by Artemis.

23. 7. **after warring with Perseus.** See ii. 20. 4; ii. 22. 1.

24. 1. **They call the acropolis Larisa.** The Larisa or acropolis of Argos is a conical rocky mountain which rises abruptly from the plain to a height of 950 feet. The slopes, though steep, can in general be climbed; but in a few places the rocks are so precipitous as to be inaccessible, as on the north-east side, where the contiguous monastery of the Panagia seems to overhang them. The top is somewhat small in proportion to the size of the mountain. "A ruined castle of lower Greek or Frank construction, which occupies the summit of this rocky hill, still preserves, amidst the rude masonry of its crumbling walls, some remains of those of the famed Acropolis of Argos. They are of various dates; some parts approach to the Tirynthian [Cyclopean] style of building, others are of the most accurate polygonal kind, and there are some remains of towers, which appear to have been a late addition to the original Larissa, which was probably constructed without towers. The modern castle consists of an outer inclosure and a keep, and in both of these a part of the walls consists of Hellenic work, thus showing that the modern construction preserves very nearly the form of the ancient fortress, and that the Larissa had a complete castle within the outer inclosure. The masonry of the interior work is a fine specimen of the second order, being without any horizontal courses; and the stones are accurately joined and smoothed on the outside; in the latter particular it differs from a piece of the exterior Hellenic wall, observable on the north-western side of the outer inclosure of the modern castle, where the stones, though not less irregular in shape, and joined with equal accuracy, are rough on the outside, and are also of larger dimensions. The interior Larissa was equal to a square of about 200 feet" (Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 395 *sq.*) The keep is a quadrangle of about 70 paces in length by 60 feet in breadth. Its ancient walls are standing to a considerable height, especially on the north-east side, and are constructed of fine polygonal blocks, with some pieces of quadrangular masonry here and there. From the summit a fortification-wall extends southward along the ridge and down to the plain. On the opposite side a similar wall descends the slope into the saddle which divides the Larisa from the lower hill to the north. There are several cisterns on the summit: the oldest is within the inner wall. The view is fine, embracing the whole of the Argolic plain, with the mountains which surround it. See Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 217 *sqq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 350 *sq.*; W. G. Clark, *Pelop.* p. 91 *sqq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 317 *sqq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 218 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 262 *sq.* A good general idea of the view of the Argolic plain and gulf as seen from the summit of the Larisa is afforded by plate 19 of Gell's *Topography of Greece*.

24. 1. **who gave her name also to two cities of Thessaly.** Strabo (ix. p. 440) gives a long list of places in Greece, Asia Minor, and the islands which were called Larisa; and Stephanus Byzantius (*s.v.* *Λάρισσα*) enumerates ten places named Larisa, exclusive of the citadel of Argos.

24. 1. **Hera of the Height.** Argive coins of the Imperial age exhibit heads of Hera covered with a goat's skin. Hence Panofka

conjectured that Hera of the Height was so represented. He points out that goats were sacrificed to Hera of the Height at Corinth (Zenobius, i. 26, and note on ii. 3. 6). See Panofka, *Archäologischer Commentar zu Pausanias Buch II. Kap.* 24, p. 5. On sacrifices of goats to Hera see note on iii. 15. 9.

24. 1. **a temple of Apollo —— built by Pythaeus.** See ii. 35. 2; ii. 36. 5; iii. 10. 8; iii. 11. 9. The epithet Pythaean, as applied to Apollo, is doubtless only another form of the more common Pythian, as Panofka (*op. cit.* p. 8), following Boeckh, rightly assumed. On the diffusion of the worship of the Pythian or Pythaean Apollo in Peloponnese see Preller, *Griech. Mythol.*[4] 1. p. 267. There were sanctuaries of the Pythian Apollo near Pheneus (viii. 15. 5) and Tegea (viii. 54. 5). An inscription (*I. G. A.* No. 59) shows that the worship existed in Cynuria. It seems probable that Argos was the centre from which the worship spread; for the Epidaurians and Spartans were bound to send sacrifices to the Pythaean Apollo of Argos (Thucydides, v. 53; Diodorus, xii. 78). Perhaps, as Arnold on Thucydides *l.c.* puts it, "the worship of Apollo, the national god of the Dorians, was established by the Argives earlier than by any other of the Dorian states after their conquest of Peloponnesus. Be this as it may, we know that Argos enjoyed in early times a much greater dominion and influence than she possessed in the Peloponnesian war; and she was probably at the head of a confederacy of the adjoining states (Müller, *Dorier*, 1. p. 154), and thus enjoyed both a political and religious supremacy. The religious supremacy outlasted the political; and the Argives still retained the management of the temple of Apollo Pythaeus, to whom offerings were due from the several states of the confederation, just as they were sent by the several states of Latium to the common temple of Jupiter Latiaris on the Alban mount." Cp. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la Divination dans l'Antiquité*, 3. pp. 110 *sq.*, 225 *sqq.*

24. 1. **Apollo Diradiotes.** The name signifies Apollo of the Ridge, being derived from *diras* (δειράς) 'a ridge.' Panofka (*Archäologischer Commentar zu Pausanias Buch II. Kap.* 24, p. 12) thought that combined with this there may be the meaning of 'the Skinner,' the name Diradiotis including the sense of 'skinning,' from the verb *deiro* or *dero* 'to skin.' Hence he supposed that Apollo Diradiotis appears on monuments where the god is represented as about to skin Marsyas or as holding the head of Marsyas in his hand. But to attribute this double or punning sense to the name Diradiotis seems inadmissible.

24. 1. **because the place also is called Diras.** "The north-eastern projection of the mountain of Larissa . . . forms a conspicuous feature of Argos, though it rises only to one-third of the height of the mountain. It appears to be the hill by Pausanias called Deiras [Diras], a word which, though better suited to the *neck* uniting this hill with the Larissa, we may easily conceive to have had a more comprehensive meaning, and to have been applied to the entire projection. The proofs of the identity of Deiras are: first, that the ascent to the Acropolis was by Deiras, and the ridge in question furnishes the only easy ascent to the summit of the mountain; secondly, that the gate of Deiras [see ch.

25. 1 *sqq.*] led to the river Charadrus, to Oenoe, to the sources of the Inachus, and to Lyrceia, Orneae, and Phlius, all places to which the road from Argos would naturally lead out of the city across this ridge. The ancient walls of Argos may be traced along the crest of the rock which unites the projection with the mountain, and I observed an opening in the line of the ancient walls, which I conceive to mark precisely the position of the gate of Deiras. . . . The eastern extremity of Deiras was probably the position of that second citadel which is alluded to by Livy (xxxiv. 25): the height and magnitude as well as the situation of this steep rock would naturally, in the progress of military science, suggest to the Argives the utility of occupying it with an inclosed work" (Leake, *Morea*, 2. pp. 399-401). Prof. Curtius (*Pelop.* 2. pp. 350, 560 *sq.*) agrees with this identification of Diras. Vischer and Bursian, however, held that the name Diras could only be applied to the neck joining the projection to the Larisa. The projection itself, Bursian thought, might perhaps be the place called Shield (Aspis) by Plutarch, who describes it as being above the theatre (*Cleomenes*, 17 and 21; *Pyrrhus*, 32). In this case Plutarch would seem to have confused the theatre with the stadium, which was situated at the Diras or neck between the Larisa and the projection in question (Paus. ii. 24. 2). See Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 318; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 50 note.

24. 1. **the woman tastes of the blood, and becomes possessed by the god.** For examples of the power of divination supposed to be acquired by tasting the blood of a victim, see *The Golden Bough*, 1. p. 34 *sq.*

24. 2. **Sharp-sighted Athena** etc. See Homer, *Iliad* v. 127 *sq.* Panofka (*Arch. Commentar zu Pausanias Buch II. Kap.* 24, p. 20 *sq.*) thinks that this goddess is represented in an old vase-painting, the sharpness of her sight being indicated by the serpents coiling about her; while, behind the goddess, Sthenelus is bandaging the wounded finger of Diomede. It seems that the Argive maidens annually carried out this image of Athena and washed it in the water of the Inachus: the shield of Diomede was also carried in the procession. See Callimachus, *Hymn* v, *The Baths of Pallas.* Cp. Paus. iii. 18. 2.

24. 2. **the sons of Aegyptus** etc. With the story of the murder of the sons of Aegyptus by their brides, the Danaids, we may compare the story of the massacre of the Lemnian men by their wives and daughters, Hypsipele alone sparing her father Thoas (Apollodorus, i. 9. 17). The Lemnian massacre was said to have been provoked because the men had married Thracian women. Amongst the Gonds of India a regular part of a marriage ceremony was the killing of a sham bridegroom by the bride. The sham bridegroom was a Brahman boy; and as Brahman boys were scarce, the murder of one was used to consecrate simultaneously a number of marriages. See *Panjab Notes and Queries*, 2 (1884-1885), No. 721.

24. 3. **a temple of Athena.** From the evidence of Argive coins it seems that the Palladium, or what the Argives showed as such (see ii. 23. 5), was preserved in this temple of Athena. We should have

expected to find it rather in the temple of Sharp-sighted Athena (§ 2 of this chapter), since that temple was dedicated by Diomede, who carried off the Palladium. But in fact the Palladium seems to have stood in the temple of Athena on the summit of the acropolis. "For the archaic image of Pallas, which on some coins (K xliii) Diomede carries, is identical in details with the image represented on other coins (K xlii) as occupying the temple on the acropolis. In form it is an ordinary archaic Palladium, representing the goddess as stiff and erect, holding a spear in her right hand, and a shield on her left arm. Below, the figure passes into a mere column" (Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 40; see plate K xlii.-xlv. of their work).

24. 3. **a wooden image of Zeus with —— a third eye on the forehead.** Panofka (*Archaeol. Commentar zu Pausanias Buch II. Kap.* 24, p. 30 *sqq.*) thinks that this three-eyed Zeus is represented on two vases, of which he gives woodcuts, pl. iii. 15, 15a, 16. Pausanias's interpretation of the three eyes is accepted by Welcker (*Griechische Götterlehre*, 1. p. 161 *sq.*), Overbeck (*Griech. Kunstmythologie*, 2. p. 7), and K. O. Müller (*Archaeologie der Kunst*, § 349. 2). But Mr. Maximilian Mayer (*Die Giganten und Titanen in der antiken Sage und Kunst*, p. 111) justly objects to this interpretation as far-fetched. He is probably right in supposing that the story of the Trojan origin of the image was invented to explain the barbarous and un-Greek character of the image, which must have been of extreme antiquity. He ingeniously reminds us of the oracle given to the Heraclids that on their return to Peloponnese they should take as their leader a three-eyed person (see Paus. v. 3. 5); and in the three-eyed person of the oracle he sees, perhaps rightly, the three-eyed Zeus. He thinks that the Cyclopes and Triops or Triopas are kindred mythical figures, all of which he explains as divinities of thunder and lightning. The Hindoo god Siva is always represented with three eyes, the third eye being in his forehead; the three eyes are thought to denote his insight into past, present, and future time. See Monier Williams, *Religious Life and Thought in India*, p. 79 *sq.*; Friederich, *Voorloopig Verslag van het eiland Bali*, p. 30 (according to Mr. Friederich, Siva is regarded as the god of the sun and of fire). The Chinese of the island of Hainan have a great respect for a deity called Lui-cong, who presides over thunder and is by some supposed to be the thunder itself. The images of this deity are common in the island and have three eyes, like those of Siva. See Moura, *Royaume du Cambodge*, 1. p. 514. A king of Burma is said to have had on his forehead a third eye, with which he could see right through the earth (A. Bastian, *Die Völker des östlichen Asien*, 1. p. 25). Another Burmese king had also a third eye on his forehead, but he lost it through wiping his face with a cloth which a woman had used before him (*ib.* p. 76 *sq.*)

24. 4. **a verse of Homer.** See *Il.* ix. 457.

24. 4. **Aeschylus —— applies the name of Zeus also to the god who dwells in the sea.** The play of Aeschylus in which this passage occurred is lost. According to Proclus (quoted in Preller's *Griech. Mythologie*,[4] 1. p. 567), Poseidon was sometimes called "the Zeus of the

sea." A marine Zeus was worshipped at Sidon (Hesychius, *s.v.* ἐναλίδιος Ζεύς). Ahrens tried to show that the name Poseidon was compounded of *posis* (πόσις) and the same root which appears in the name Zeus (Ζεύς, Διός κ.τ.λ.) See H. L. Ahrens, 'Ueber den Namen des Poseidon,' *Philologus*, 23 (1866), pp. 1 *sqq.*, 193 *sqq.* Cp. Preller, *Griech. Mythologie*,[4] *l.c.*

24. 5. one goes to Tegea. "The road to Tegea leaves Argos in the neighbourhood of the theatre, and runs at first almost due south at the foot of Mount Lycone. To the right of the road, at the foot of the mountain, are traces of an aqueduct which brought water to Argos from the gully between Mt. Lycone and Mt. Chaon" (L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 140).

24. 5. a sanctuary of Artemis of the Steep (*Artemis Orthia*). The remains of this sanctuary were discovered by Mr. Kophiniotis in 1888. At the foot of Mt. Lycone he found fragments of pottery and bits of brick; on the summit there was a levelled space strewn with small worked stones and bits of pottery. Below and around lay great squared blocks of good workmanship, which seemed to have formed part of the inclosure of the sanctuary. By his excavations Mr. Kophiniotis laid bare most of the inclosure. The north wall was 12.30 metres long, the east and west walls 9.80 metres each. The eastern and western walls were connected, at the sixth metre, by an inner wall, a portion of which remains. There is an empty space 7.30 metres long between the fragment of this interior wall and the western wall. The north-west part was surrounded by a wall of its own. This inclosed portion of the sanctuary has a mosaic floor. Of the stones of the inclosing walls some were not worked at all, the rest were finished. Within and outside the inclosure were found clay tiles, lion's heads in clay and marble, and parts of the arm and thigh of a great statue. On the east of the inclosure has been found a well-preserved torso of the marble statue of a woman or goddess; it is 0.20 metre high; head, hands, and feet are missing. The workmanship is fine. The discovery of three Roman coins of Geta and Constantius II. proves that the sanctuary was kept up as late as the middle of the fourth century A.D. See *American Journal of Archaeology*, 4 (1888), p. 360; *id.* 5 (1889), p. 101 *sq.*; Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν, 1888, p. 205; *Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 29th December, 1888, p. 1618 *sq.*; *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 10 (1889), p. 273.

24. 6. trees grow at the foot of it, and here the water of the Erasinus comes to the surface. From Argos the road to Tegea goes south-west. At first it skirts the foot of the steep Larisa, and then runs through the southern part of the Argolic plain. On the right rise the mountains, of no great height, which bound the plain on the west. About three miles from Argos this chain of hills sends out a rocky spur, which descends in precipices of yellowish limestone beside the road. At the foot of the precipices a body of clear, sparkling water comes rushing impetuously in several streams from the rocks, partly issuing from a low cavern, partly welling up from the ground. Under the rocks it forms a deep pellucid pool, then passing beneath the high road in a broad stream is diverted into several channels which, shaded by tall poplars, willows, and mulberries, turn in a short space a dozen of mills (the Mills of Argos,

as they are called), and then water the ricefields. Farther on they unite once more into a river, which finds its way into the sea through swampy ground, among thick tangled beds of reeds and sedge, some three miles only from its source at the foot of the hills. This river, the modern *Kephalari*, is the Erasinus ('the lovely river') of antiquity. It is the only river of the Argolic plain which flows summer and winter alike; and the opinion both of the ancient and the modern Greeks that it is an emissary of the Stymphalian lake in Arcadia, appears to be well founded. In the face of the limestone cliff, a few feet above the springs of the river, are the mouths of two caves. Huge masses of fallen rock lie in front of them, almost barring the entrance. Passing through the larger of the two, the one to the north, we find ourselves in a lofty, dimly-lighted cavern with an arched roof, like a Gothic cathedral, which extends into the mountain for a distance of 200 feet or more. Water drips from the roof, forming long stalactites. Some light penetrates into the cave from above the fallen rocks which block its mouth; but even at high noon it is but a dim twilight. Bats, the natural inhabitants of the gloomy cavern, whir past our heads, as if resenting the intrusion. Several branches open off the central cave. One of them, near the inner end, communicates by a shaft or aperture with the upper air and the surface of the mountain. Another branch, about 50 feet inward from the mouth of the cave, leads to the left, but it is so dark that it cannot be explored without artificial light. Part of the cave is walled off and forms a chapel of the Panagia Kephalariotissa. The worship of Pan, which Pausanias mentions, may have been held in this or the neighbouring cavern; for Pan, the shepherd's god, loved to haunt caves, and in these two caves shepherds with their flocks still seek shelter from rain and storm. The chapel of the Panagia, in which there are some ancient blocks, may very well have succeeded to a shrine of Pan, or perhaps of Dionysus, who was also worshipped here. A festival is still held annually on the spot on the 18th of April; it may be nothing but a continuation, in a changed form, of the festival of Dionysus called Tyrbe, which Pausanias mentions. Opposite the mouths of the caves is a tumulus; some small columns of grey granite were discovered in it about the beginning of the nineteenth century. Farther off, on the right bank of the river, the ruins of a temple were discernible some years later. The whole place—the rocky precipices, the shady caverns, the crystal stream, the tranquil pool, the verdure and shade of the trees—is at once so beautiful and agreeable, that if it had been near Athens it would probably have been renowned in song and legend. But Argos had no Sophocles to sing its praises in immortal verse.

See Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 224 *sq.*; Gell, *Itinerary of Greece*, p. 79; Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 340 *sqq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 47; Fiedler, *Reise*, 1. pp. 301-303; W. Mure, *Journal*, 2. p. 191; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. p. 193 *sq.*; L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 140 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 364 *sq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 325; W. G. Clark, *Peloponnesus*, p. 100 *sqq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 65; Baedeker,[3] p. 275; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 233; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 70 *sq.* The view that the Erasinus is the emissary of the Stymphalian lake is mentioned by other ancient writers (Herodotus, vi. 76; Diodorus, xv. 49; Strabo, vi. p. 275, viii. p. 371) besides Pausanias.

24. 6. the Rhiti. See i. 38. 1, and vol. 2. p. 486 *sq.*

24. 7. we see Cenchreae on the right of what is called the Wheel. Beyond the springs of the Erasinus the road forks. The modern highroad and railway to Tegea, or rather to *Tripolitza*, keep straight on southward through the plain to Lerna (*Myli*); but a bridle-path diverges to the right, and after skirting the southern foot of Mount Chaon soon begins to ascend among the hills. This bridle-path is the old road to Tegea, and along it Pausanias, whom we follow, is now travelling. In about a mile from the springs, at the point where the ascent begins, we see some ruins in the fields to the right of the path, and beyond them, on a rocky eminence, about half a mile away, the ruins of a small pyramid. These ruins were taken by L. Ross and the French surveyors to be those of Cenchreae (as to the pyramid see the next note); but Leake and modern topographers in general look for Cenchreae farther on. We therefore continue to follow the bridle-path, which ascends at first gradually and then steeply in many zigzags up a toilsome slope. On reaching the summit it turns southward and winds for several miles through a wild open country among the upper ridges of barren and rugged hills. In about three hours from leaving the springs of the Erasinus we come to a place which takes the name of *Sta Nera* ('the waters') from the numerous springs which rise on the spot and flow across the path. There is a large ruined khan here, and the seaward view from it down the valley to Lerna and across the gulf to Nauplia is very fine. Here too are some ruins of antiquity which are now generally identified as those of Cenchreae. They consist of scattered foundations together with other vestiges of ancient Greek buildings and monuments, such as blocks of marble and fragments of columns. Close to the road Ross observed a small piece of polygonal wall, and beside a spring a broken capital and two small columns of blue marble. In a little dell just beyond, Mure saw remains of a temple or of a Christian church built of ancient materials. Two small columns of cipollino were standing, but apparently not in their original places. This position of Cenchreae agrees with the statement of Strabo (viii. p. 376) that Cenchreae "lies on the road which leads from Tegea to Argos over Mount Parthenius." What the Wheel (*Trochos*) mentioned by Pausanias may have been is uncertain. It may have been the name given to this part of the road because of its many windings. Not far from the ruins of Cenchreae is the deserted village of *Palaeo-Skaphidaki*.

See Gell, *Itinerary of Greece*, p. 80; Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 337 *sqq.*; Puillon-Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 46 *sq.*; Mure, *Journal*, 2. p. 105 *sqq.*; L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 141 *sqq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 366; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 328; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 66; Baedeker,[3] p. 275; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 233 *sq.*; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, pp. 70, 81, Meliarakes, Γεωγραφία, pp. 33, 59, 60.

24. 7. buried at Cenchreae, each grave being shared by many men. The Greek name for the common tomb in which many slain men were buried together is *poluandrion*. On the spot described by Pausanias there appear to have been several such tombs. One of them has been identified by some writers with the ruins of the remark-

able monument commonly known as the Pyramid of Cenchreae. It stands on the summit of a rocky eminence, which projects into the plain from the southern declivities of Mount Chaon, about a mile and a quarter beyond the Erasinus, and about half a mile to the right of the bridle-path which leads to *Tripolitza* and Tegea (see preceding note). The base of the structure forms a rectangle of 48 feet by 39 feet. The west side is much damaged, but the other three sides still rise to a height of about 10 feet. The masonry "is of an intermediate style between the Cyclopean and polygonal, consisting of large irregular blocks, with a tendency, however, to quadrangular forms and horizontal courses; the inequalities being, as usual, filled up with smaller pieces. The largest stones may be from four to five feet in length, and from two to three in thickness. There are traces of mortar between the stones, which ought, perhaps, to be assigned rather to subsequent repairs than to the original workmanship. The symmetry of the structure is not strictly preserved, being interrupted by a rectangular recess cutting off one corner of the building. In this angle there is a doorway, consisting of two perpendicular side walls, surmounted by an open gable or Gothic arch, formed by horizontal layers of masonry converging into an apex, as in the triangular opening above the Gate of Lions and 'Treasury of Atreus.' This door gives access to a passage between two walls. At its extremity on the right hand is another doorway, of which little or nothing of the masonry is preserved, opening into the interior chamber or vault" (Mure, *Journal*, 2. p. 196, *sq.*) The inner chamber is nearly a square of about 23 feet. Originally it was divided lengthways into two compartments by a thin partition-wall. The whole structure rests on a low platform composed of large squared blocks. The outer walls, at the level of the ground, are 8 to 9 feet thick. The inner surfaces of the walls are vertical, but the outer surfaces incline inwards, pyramid-wise. It appears that the walls were never carried up to an apex, but that the structure must have been roofed over at about its present height of 10 feet. The square holes for the reception of the ends of the rafters are still visible at the upper edge of the perpendicular walls. The mortar with which the walls are bonded is positively asserted by Ross, Prof. Curtius, and W. G. Clark to be original and not to date, as Leake and Mure were inclined to conjecture, from a later repair of the structure. At both doorways, the outer and the inner, there were regular doors. The doorposts of both (according to Prof. Curtius) are well preserved, and the holes are clearly visible into which the inner bolts were shot. From this fact Prof. Curtius infers that the building was meant to be barricaded from within and defended. He thinks that the building was a military watch-post, intended to command the road, and that it is not of extreme antiquity. It is justly objected that a pyramid, without windows or loop-holes, is a structure adapted neither for defence nor observation. Ross and W. G. Clark inclined to regard it as one of the *poluandria* mentioned by Pausanias. Ross, Mure, and Vischer have pointed out that pyramids exist or are known to have existed in other parts of Argolis, but (with the exception of one in southern Laconia) nowhere else in Greece; and they see in this fact a

confirmation of that traditional connexion between Argolis and Egypt which is embodied in the story of Danaus and his daughters. Pausanias saw a pyramid-shaped building between Argos and Tiryns (ii. 25. 7). At *Ligurio* (the ancient Lessa), on the way from Nauplia to Epidaurus, there are the remains of a pyramid (see note on ii. 25. 10). There is another at *Astros* in Cynuria, which long belonged to Argolis (Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 327). Lastly, the name of the place where Danaus was said to have landed in Argolis, was Pyramia (Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, 32).

On the pyramid of Cenchreae, as it is called, see Leake, *Morea*, 2. pp. 338 sq., 343; *id.*, *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 251 *sq.*; L. Ross, *Reisen*, pp. 142-145; Mure, *Journal*, 2. pp. 195-197; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. pp. 365 *sq.*, 564; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, pp. 326-328; W. G. Clark, *Pelop.* pp. 98-100; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 65; Baedeker,[3] p. 275; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 233 *sq.*

24. 7. **when Pisistratus was archon at Athens** etc. Eurybotus (or Eurybates, as Dionysius calls him) won the foot-race at Olympia in Ol. 27. 1 (672/1 B.C.), as we learn from Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Antiquit. Rom.* iii. 1). Hence the archonship of Pisistratus fell in Ol. 27. 4 (669/8 B.C.). Cp. Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, 1. p. 188. There was another Athenian archon who bore the name of Pisistratus: he was a grandson of the tyrant of that name. See Thucydides, vi. 54 and note on i. 19. 1, 'an image of Pythian Apollo.'

24. 7. **Having descended into the lower ground you reach the ruins of Hysiae.** Beyond the ruins at *Sta Nera* the road leads south for about two miles to the khan of *Dakouli*, where it is joined by the modern highroad and railway from Lerna (*Myli*). From this point the road turns to the west and descends for about two miles into an upland valley, a narrow but green and fertile dale hemmed in by steep mountains. In the bottom of the valley corn and olives are cultivated, and the slopes of the mountains on the northern side are partly wooded with tall evergreen oaks. The water of the dale is discharged through a narrow gully and falls into the sea at Lerna. This is the valley of the ancient Hysiae, the modern *Achladokampos*, so called from the wild pear trees (*achlades*) which grow on the slopes of the hills. The modern village of *Achladokampos* stands upon the steep side of the mountain to the right of the road; with its houses peeping from among thick-growing evergreens, olives, ilexes, and cypresses it presents a very pleasing aspect. The ruins of the ancient Hysiae are to the left of the road, on a green rocky knoll in the north-eastern corner of the dale. The walls of the acropolis are flanked by round towers, and are remarkable because they are of polygonal masonry resting upon a foundation of regular ashlar masonry in horizontal courses. The walls are bonded with mortar. The little town was destroyed by the Lacedaemonians in 417 B.C., and its people put to the sword (Thucydides, v. 83; Diodorus, xii. 81).

See Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 337; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 48; L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 147; Mure, *Journal*, 2. p. 190; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 367; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 328 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 66; Baedeker,[3] p. 276; *Guide-Joanne*,[2] p. 235; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, pp. 70, 80.

25. I. **The road from Argos to Mantinea.** Two roads lead from Argos to Mantinea, both starting from the north-west corner of the city. The southern and shorter of the two follows the bed of the Charadrus (now called the *Xerias*), which rises at the foot of Mt. *Ktenias*, near the village of *Turniki*, and after descending through a long narrow valley, sweeps round the northern and eastern sides of Argos. The northern and longer way to Mantinea follows the valley of the Inachus and goes by the villages *Kaparelli*, *Sanga*, and *Pikerni* to Mantinea. These two roads to Mantinea are described by Pausanias, from the points where they pass from Argolis into Arcadia, in viii. 6. 4 *sqq.* (see the notes on that passage). The southern or shorter road is the one which he calls Prinus; the northern or longer is the Climax. The southern road itself bifurcates at a place called *Chelonas* in the valley of the Charadrus; the southern branch goes by the village of *Turniki* over Mt. *Ktenias;* the northern branch goes by the village of *Karya* over Mt. Artemisius (the modern *Malevo*). But these two branches reunite at the village of *Tsipiana*, where the Arcadian plain begins. See L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 129 *sq.*; Conze and Michaelis, in *Annali dell' Instituto*, 33 (1861), p. 21 *sqq.*; W. Loring, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 15 (1895), p. 80 *sqq.* In going from Argos to Mantinea I followed the southern road, and the southern branch of it. W. G. Clark (*Pelop.* p. 114 *sq.*) also followed the southern road, but took the northern branch of it, by *Karya*. I have called it a road, but really it is a rough bridle-path most of the way; in places it crosses the deep beds of torrents, which at the time of my journey (22nd April, 1890) were dry. The path turns round the northern foot of the Larisa, and skirting the wide Argolic plain, enters the valley of the Charadrus (*Xerias*). It is a long, narrow valley, enclosed by barren and rocky hills, and barred at the farther, or western, end by a steep mountain, on which, when I saw it in the distance, purple shadows rested. The bed of the river is broad and stony, sometimes as much as 300 yards in width; it is generally dry, but after heavy rains the spates that come roaring down it from the mountains are much dreaded. Flocks of sheep and goats feed in the valley; the herdsmen carry long staves tipped with crooks, and sometimes a gun. Trains of laden mules or asses, conducted by peasants, also met us. The head of this long valley, immediately under the mountain barrier, is very picturesque. The bottom is partly covered with shrubs and trees, among which (for the place was then in its spring beauty) I noticed the broom and the hawthorn, both in flower, also wild roses, and a tree with a lovely purple bloom, which I believe to have been the Judas tree. At the head of the valley, before the path begins the long ascent, is a small hamlet, consisting of a few wretched stone cottages. Its name, I was told, is *Mazi*. Beyond the village the path leads right up the face of the mountain-wall in a series of zigzags. The view backward from the summit of the pass is magnificent, embracing a wilderness of mountains with the sea and the islands of *Hydra* and *Spetsa* in the distance. On the crest of the ridge is a hamlet (*Turniki?*). From the top of the pass the path drops down very steeply, almost precipitously, to *Tsipiana* in Arcadia, which nestles

at the foot of the mountain, just at the mouth of the pass. Gell took this route, but in the reverse direction (from *Tripolitza* to *Argos*). See his *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 174. The dangerous spots on the *Xerias* river are mentioned by Mr. Philippson (*Peloponnes*, p. 62).

25. 2. **Oenoë.** The exact site of this place is not known. From the fact that a pitched battle was fought at Oenoë (see i. 15. 1; x. 10. 4) L. Ross inferred that the place must have been in the Argive plain, near the entrance to the narrow valley down which the Charadrus (*Xerias*) flows (*Reisen*, p. 133). Bursian, on the other hand, following Conze and Michaelis, places it at the head of this narrow valley, at a place called *Palaeochora*, where ancient coins have often been found. See Ross, *Reisen*, p. 133; Conze and Michaelis, in *Annali dell' Instituto*, 33 (1861), p. 23 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 64. Compare also Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 412 *sq.*; *id.*, *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 266 *sq.* Others suppose that Oenoë was near the modern *Schoenochori*, on a hill which is now surmounted by a chapel of the Virgin (Panagia). A road, bordered by tombs, descended from the hill for a distance of several kilometres. Near this place was found an archaic relief representing a lion seizing a bird. See *Bull. de Corr. Hellén.* 17 (1893) p. 199 *sq.* The village of *Schoenochori* is among the hills on the south side of the valley of the Inachus, about 8 miles north-west of Argos.

25. 3. **a sanctuary of Artemis on the top of the mountain.** Bursian thought that the site of this sanctuary is probably marked by a ruined chapel of St. Elias, which is surrounded by a fine clump of evergreen oaks (*Geogr.* 2. p. 64).

25. 3. **its water does not run far.** See ii. 15. 5 note.

25. 4. **Another road leads from the Diras gate** etc. This is the longer of the two roads to Mantinea. See above, p. 215.

25. 4. **Lyrcea.** The site of this place was believed by L. Ross to be in the valley of the Inachus, ten minutes east of the village of *Sterna*, at the point where another glen joins the valley on the north. Here on a rising-ground are the ruins of a square tower of irregular masonry; there are also remains of other foundations, and the surface of the rising-ground is strewed with potsherds. This is the point at which, descending the valley of the Inachus, we first sight the citadel of Argos. But the distance from Argos (apparently about 10 miles in a north-westerly direction) does not agree well with the 60 Greek furlongs (under 7 miles) at which Pausanias estimates it. See L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 138; Leake, *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 268. Prof. Curtius accepts this identification of the site of Lyrcea, and talks of "square towers with polygonal masonry among scattered ruins" (*Pelop.* 2. p. 415), which is probably only his way of repeating Ross's statement about the one tower of irregular masonry.

25. 4. **the Argives annually celebrate a festival of beacon-fires.** From the tradition that Hypermnestra lit a fire on the summit of the Larisa, we may infer that at the annual festival of beacons, supposed to commemorate that event, a bonfire was kindled on the top of that mountain. It seems a fair conjecture that the festival of bonfires in question belonged to the same class of rites as those Midsummer

bonfires which are still annually lighted in many parts of Europe. On St. John's Eve (Midsummer Eve) the Greeks still kindle fires and jump over them. On the custom in general see *The Golden Bough*, 2. p. 246 *sqq.*

25. 5. **Orneae.** From the statement of Pausanias (§ 6) we infer that Orneae lay near the border of Phliasia. Strabo says (viii. p. 382) that it was situated beside a river of the same name, above the Sicyonian plain. As Orneae must have lain to the north-west of Argos, and its distance is given by Pausanias as 120 Greek furlongs (about 13 English miles), the river beside which it stood would appear to have been the stream which runs by the modern village of *Leondi* to join the Asopus from the west. Accordingly the topographers look for the ancient Orneae in the neighbourhood of *Leondi* (so Ross and Curtius) or of *Palaeo-Leondi* (so Bursian). The latter place is in the same valley as *Leondi*, but higher up it, three or four miles to the south; ruins are said to exist at it. The place is reached from Argos by following the valley of the Inachus (the modern *Panitza*) as far as the village of *Sterna.* West of this village a glen opens into the valley of the Inachus from the north. By following up this glen we reach the narrow dale of *Leondi.* See Ross, *Reisen*, p. 135 note; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. pp. 415, 478 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 63 *sq.* As to the valley of *Leondi* (*Liondi*) see Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 75. Orneae was already deserted in Strabo's time; he mentions there a sanctuary of Priapus which was in high repute (Strabo, viii. p. 382). Homer's mention of Orneae is in *Iliad*, ii. 571. The destruction of Orneae by the Argives took place in 416 B.C. (Thucydides, vi. 7).

25. 6. **Menestheus, who with a body of Athenians** etc. See Homer, *Il.* ii. 552 *sqq.*, iv. 327 *sqq.* As to Peteos, the father of Menestheus, see x. 35. 8.

25. 6. **temple dedicated to all the gods.** Cp. ii. 2. 8 note.

25. 7. **the way from Argos to Epidauria.** The road first strikes across the broadest part of the great plain of Argos in a south-easterly direction. It then enters the hills, among which it continues to wind for a good many miles. See below, notes on ii. 25. 9 and 10.

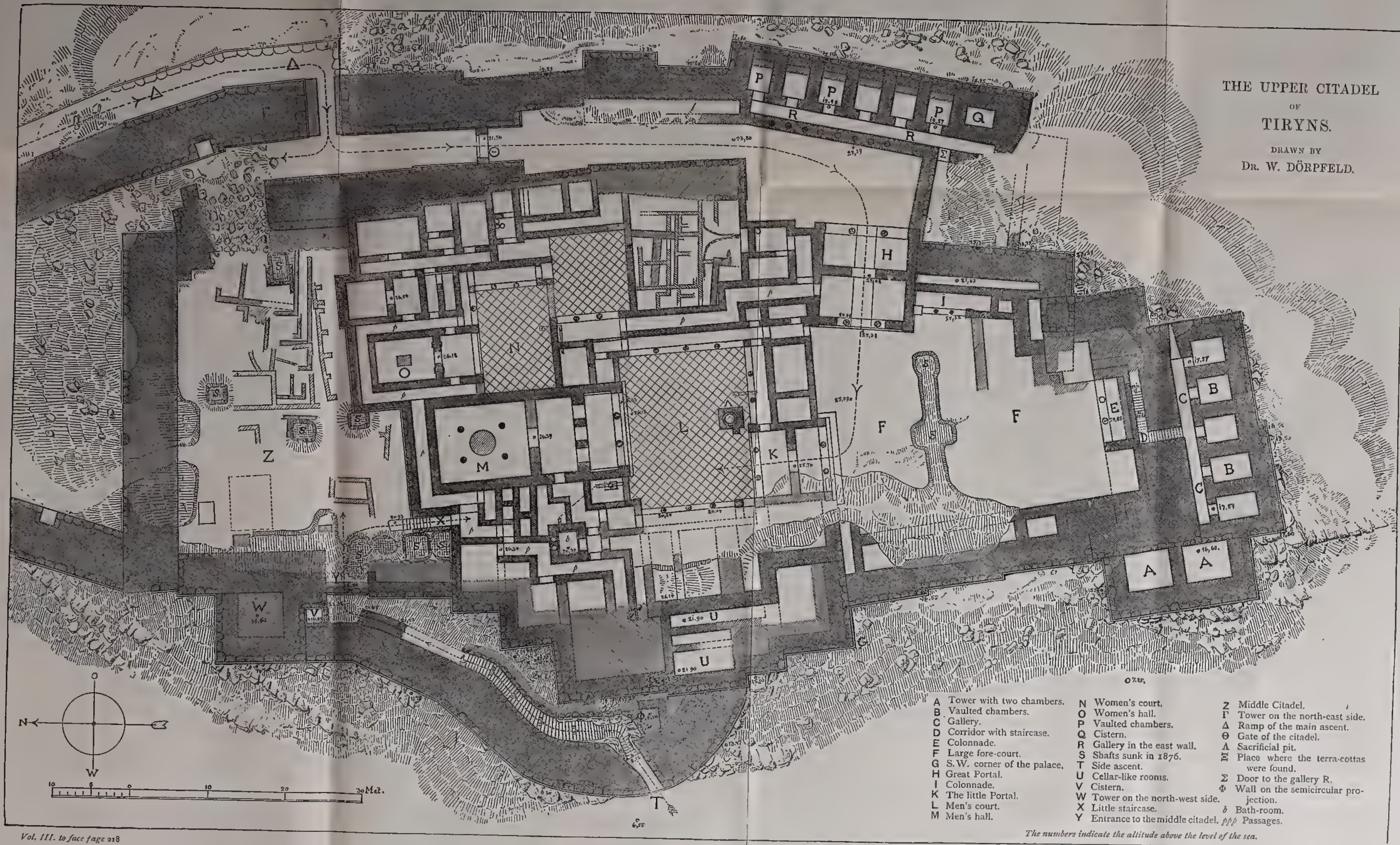
25. 7. **a pyramid.** See note on ii. 24. 7. As to the contest between Proetus and Acrisius for the kingdom of Argos see Apollodorus, ii. 2. 1, who also says that shields were first invented by these rivals for the throne. At Argos a festival called Daulis was said to be an imitation of the battle between Proetus and Acrisius (Hesychius, *s.v.* Δαυλίς).

25. 8. **Tiryns.** In the south-eastern part of the Argolic plain several isolated rocky hillocks rise abruptly like islands from the dead level of the surrounding country. Long ago they were no doubt actually islands, and have been left stranded, as it were, by the sea as it retreated before the alluvial soil washed down by the rivers. The most westerly of these hillocks, and at the same time the lowest and flattest of them all, divided from the sea by a mile of marshland, is crowned by the ruins of Tiryns, on which time would seem to have wrought little change since the day when they excited the wonder of Pausanias. The

hillock, a flat-topped ridge of limestone measuring about 300 yards in length by somewhat less than 100 yards in width, is situated two and a half miles north of Nauplia. The line of railway which joins Nauplia with Argos runs close under the western foot of the hillock. In shape the flat summit of the hillock, which at its highest point is only some 26.39 metres (86 feet) above the level of the sea, has been not inaptly compared to the sole of a foot. It contracts in the middle, so that its surface falls into two nearly equal parts, of which the somewhat broader southern half is some feet higher than the northern. These two terraces, the southern and the northern, may be called respectively the Upper Citadel and the Lower Citadel. Between them, and intermediate in height, is a much smaller terrace, which may be called the Middle Citadel. Round the whole of the citadel, Upper, Middle, and Lower, run the famous fortification-walls to which Homer refers (*Il.* ii. 559), and which even in ruins are still massive and imposing.

The Upper and Middle Citadels were excavated by Dr. Schliemann with the assistance of Dr. Dörpfeld in 1884. On the Upper Citadel they found the ruins of the palace of the old kings of Tiryns: on the Middle Citadel they found only some petty dwellings, much dilapidated, which may have served as lodgings for servants. In the Lower Citadel Dr. Schliemann only cut two trenches crossing each other at right angles; in these he laid bare some foundations of buildings. Otherwise the Lower Citadel has not yet been excavated. It is conjectured to have contained storerooms, stables, and servants' apartments. The walls of the citadel, with their towers and galleries, were to a great extent excavated by Dr. Dörpfeld in 1885.

I. *Walls and Gates.*—The circuit-wall of the citadel is built throughout of very large blocks of limestone. The limestone is of two sorts, which were quarried in two mountains in the neighbourhood of Tiryns. One of them is of a light grey, the other of a reddish colour in its inner parts. While the grey limestone is very hard and weather-proof, the reddish sort decays with time; and it seems probable that the ruinous state of the walls in many places has been brought about by the decomposition and consequent falling in of blocks of the red limestone. The citadel walls do not batter; in other words, they do not slope inwards, but rise perpendicularly from the base. Nor did they support a wall of clay bricks, like the wall of Troy. Very many of the stones are from 6 to 10 feet long by more than a yard both in height and breadth. The blocks are not, however, as was formerly supposed, quite unhewn. Almost all the stones, before they were built into the walls, had been wrought on one or several faces with a pick-hammer. In this way some of them received a better bed, others a smooth facing. Moreover, they are not piled one on the top of the other irregularly, but are laid as far as possible in horizontal courses. Lastly, Dr. Dörpfeld's excavations in 1885 refuted the old opinion that the walls were built without mortar. On the contrary, it appears that almost all the walls of the citadel as well as of the palace were built with clay mortar. Almost throughout, wherever Dr. Dörpfeld's excavations laid bare pieces of wall which had long been covered with rubbish, the


THE UPPER CITADEL
OF
TIRYNS.
DRAWN BY
Dr. W. DÖRPFELD.
A Tower with two chambers.
B Vaulted chambers.
C Gallery.
D Corridor with staircase.
E Colonnade.
F Large fore-court.
G S.W. corner of the palace.
H Great Portal.
I Colonnade.
K The little Portal.
L Men's court.
M Men's hall.
N Women's court.
O Women's hall.
P Vaulted chambers.
Q Cistern.
R Gallery in the east wall.
S Shafts sunk in 1876.
T Side ascent.
U Cellar-like rooms.
V Cistern.
W Tower on the north-west side.
X Little staircase.
Y Entrance to the middle citadel.
Z Middle Citadel.
Γ Tower on the north-east side.
Δ Ramp of the main ascent.
Θ Gate of the citadel.
Λ Sacrificial pit.
Ξ Place where the terra-cottas were found.
Σ Door to the gallery R.
Φ Wall on the semicircular projection.
b Bath-room.
ppp Passages.
The numbers indicate the altitude above the level of the sea.
N
O
W
30 Met.

mortar within the joints was well preserved. The absence of the mortar from the exposed parts of the walls is to be explained chiefly by the action of the rain which in the course of ages has washed it away; but it may also be in part accounted for by the burrowing of the lizards and rats which live by hundreds in the walls.

The strength and construction of the walls are different in different parts of the citadel. Around the lower citadel the wall is uniformly 23 to 26 feet thick, and is still standing to a height of 24 ft. 6 in. Their continuity is here only interrupted by some niches which are let into the inner side of the wall. The purpose of these niches is unknown; Dr. Dörpfeld conjectures that they were intended merely to economise material. Round the upper citadel, on the other hand, the wall varies in thickness from 16 to 57 feet; its line is broken by many salient and re-entering angles; and it is strengthened with towers, and pierced by galleries and chambers. The galleries and chambers are best preserved in the southern portion of the wall. Here in the great tower at the south-western angle (AA on the plan of Tiryns) are two chambers adjoining each other. They have no entrance on any side, and may have served as dungeons or provision-cellars, but more probably as cisterns. Their upper walls must have been built of bricks, since a quantity of brick rubbish was found in the chambers. The adjoining south line of wall, the most massive in the whole circuit, was, before Dr. Dörpfeld's excavations, supposed to have been built in two sections or great steps. It was assumed that on a substructure 36 feet thick a retreating superstructure 14 ft. 7 in. thick was built, so that a free space or platform 21 ft. 5 in. in width would thus be left along the top of the lower wall in front of the upper wall. In the upper structure the long corridor or gallery with the five doorways leading from it had long been known; but opinions were much divided as to its object, until an explanation offered by Captain Steffen gained universal acceptance. He suggested that in a siege soldiers mustered in the gallery and rushed out through the doorways upon the outer platform to defend the walls. But the excavations of 1885 refuted this theory. It turns out that the supposed platform on the outer wall never existed. In its place there were found five chambers, which, as is clear from the remains in some places, were roofed with a vaulted ceiling formed by the gradual convergence of the courses of stones in the side-walls. Over these chambers the wall must have been carried up to the same height as it had on the inner side, above the gallery and the staircase.

The disposition of the galleries and chambers will be understood by comparing the ground-plan of the citadel with the annexed transverse section (Fig. 36). From the court F in the interior of the citadel a passage, which has not been preserved, gave access to the corridor and staircase D (*c* on the transverse section), which led with a single bend into the long corridor C (*b* on the section), which is 24 ft. 6 in. lower. This corridor or gallery is from 5 feet to 5 ft. 7 in. wide; its western end is completely closed, but its eastern end is lit by a window (*d*), which, starting with the same width as the corridor, narrows towards the outside till it ends as a mere loophole 4 inches wide. The

ceiling of the corridor is formed by the convergence of the side-walls, so that it has the shape of a pointed vault. From the corridor five separate doorways, of which the stone sills are preserved, lead into five

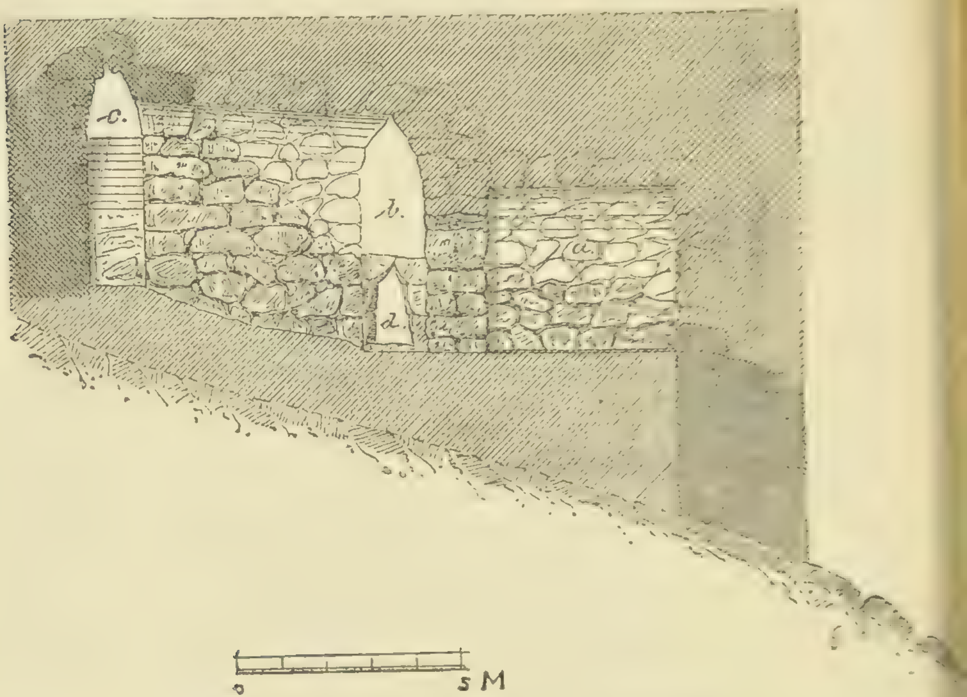


FIG. 36.—TRANSVERSE SECTION THROUGH THE SOUTH WALL.

separate chambers. The two chambers on the west are somewhat larger than the three on the east, being 17 ft. 4 in. deep as against 14 ft. 2 in. These chambers, like the corridor, were roofed by the convergence of the side-walls, and they may each have been lighted by a similar window. They were doubtless magazines. A similar series of chambers opening off a corridor exists in the walls of the citadel of Carthage and in the walls of other Phoenician colonies in north Africa. At Tiryns itself a second series of chambers (six in number) opening off a corridor is found in the southern end of the eastern wall of the citadel. The staircase which gave access to it has been completely destroyed, but it must have ascended from the point marked Σ on the plan of the citadel.

In the ruins of the southern wall there is nothing left to show how its broad upper surface was utilised. But remains of the summit of the eastern wall, towards its southern extremity, are fortunately preserved: and here, on the inner edge of the wall, four bases of columns still exist in their original places, proving that a colonnade was here built on the top of the wall so as to open inwards on the citadel. Whether it occupied the whole breadth of the wall or not, we cannot say.

The chief entrance to the citadel lies nearly in the middle of the eastern wall. It consists of a passage, 8 feet wide, through the citadel

wall. Curiously enough the passage would seem to have been left quite open; at least no traces of a threshold or of doorposts have here come to light. Outside of the citadel an ascending road or ramp (Δ), built of large blocks, leads up at an easy gradient to the entrance. The ramp, which is 19 ft. 4 in. wide, begins at the north and ascends southward, skirting the foot of the citadel wall.

The excavations of 1885 laid bare a second smaller ascent on the west side of the citadel. A great semicircular structure or bastion is here built out from the line of the wall, and a long narrow staircase leads up through it to the citadel. The entrance from the outside is through a gateway 6 ft. 6 in. wide (T), which as usual has the shape of a pointed arch. On passing through this gateway we find that the floor is at first paved with large stones and rises very gradually. At a distance of 18 feet from the entrance the steps begin. The two lowest steps are cut in the rock; the rest consist of limestone slabs. After the sixty-fifth step the staircase is completely destroyed; but farther on a part of the substructure, about 21 feet long, has been preserved. Probably the staircase opened out at V into the court Y at the back of the palace. From this court a small staircase (X) led up to the interior of the palace itself.

Besides these two entrances, the one on the east, the other on the west, there were two posterns in the wall of the citadel: one was on the western side of the middle citadel; the other was at the northern extremity of the lower citadel.

II. *The Palace.*—In the upper citadel the excavations of Dr. Schliemann in 1884 laid bare almost the entire ground-plan of a large palace, with its gateways, courts, halls, and chambers. Most of the walls are still standing to a height of 18 inches to 3 feet; many bases of pillars are still in their places; and the huge stone door-sills still lie in the doorways. In describing the palace we shall begin at the entrance and go through it systematically. The reader will follow our route on the plan.

On passing through the main entrance to the citadel, on its eastern side, we turn to the left, *i.e.* in this case southward, and find ourselves in an approach or passage shut in by high walls. At a distance of 49 feet from the entrance we reach the remains of a great gate (Θ), which in material, size, and construction closely resembles the Lions' Gate at Mycenae. It is built of huge slabs of breccia. The great threshold (4 ft. 9 in. broad) lies intact; the door-post on the right (10 ft. 6 in. high) is still preserved; but the door-post on the left is broken off in its upper part, and the lintel and all the structure above it have disappeared. The entrance on the outside is 8 ft. 4 in. wide, but on the inside 10 ft. 4½ in., since each door-post is rebated at a right angle. In the recess thus formed folding doors were fixed; they opened inwards, and when closed rested against the projecting parts of the door-posts. They were barred by a great wooden bolt; the holes meant to receive it are still to be seen about half-way up each door-post: on the side of the palace the hole is only about 1 ft. 4 in. deep, but on the opposite side the hole passes right through the door-post into the

outer wall of the citadel ; so that when the gate was open the bolt could be shot right back into the wall.

Beyond the gateway the approach or passage continues in the same direction as before for about 33 yards, when it leads into an open place or fore-court bounded on the east (left) by the citadel wall with the colonnade. On the west side of this fore-court there is a great portal or propylaeum (H). The ground-plan of this portal is substantially the same as that of the Propylaea or grand portal of the Acropolis at Athens and of the sanctuary at Eleusis (vol. 2. pp. 249 *sq.*, 505 *sq.*) This portal may, indeed, be called the archetype of all Greek ornamental gateways or portals (propylaea). It comprises an outer and an inner vestibule, while the doorway proper is in the wall which divides the two vestibules. The breadth of the portal is 45 ft. 9 in. The façade of each vestibule was supported by two columns between *antae*. The ground-plan of the portal is quite certain : the walls are standing to a height of 18 inches, and the four bases of the columns, as well as the great stone threshold, are all in their places ; moreover, in the vestibules pieces of a concrete pavement composed of lime and pebbles are still to be seen. The inner vestibule is somewhat deeper than the outer. A door in its northern side-wall opens into a passage which leads to the women's apartments. A doorway on the right of this passage, close to the portal, gives access to some inferior chambers.

Passing through the great portal (H), we find ourselves in the large court F, which is bounded on the east and south by the citadel walls with their two little colonnades (E and I). The west side of the court is completely destroyed ; the wall of the citadel seems to have given way here. The interior disposition of the court has been almost wholly effaced by the construction of a Byzantine church. On the north side of the court, close to the portal (H), a small side-door leads by the shortest way into the colonnade of the men's court. Westward, on the left, are two chambers, which must have been entered from the large court (F), since there are no doors on their other sides : but their front walls have quite disappeared. These may have been guard-rooms. Next to these rooms, on the west, comes the smaller portal or propylaeum K, which, though in ruins, shows the same ground-plan as the great portal (H), but on a smaller scale. It seems to have been 36 feet wide.

This second portal forms the entrance into the court of the men's apartments (L). In this court we stand in front of the chief rooms of the palace. The court itself is a quadrangle, 51 ft. 7 in. long by 66 ft. 4 in. broad ; it is paved with a very solid floor of concrete, composed of lime and pebbles. Colonnades surround the court on all sides : on its north side is the portico or vestibule leading into the men's apartments. In the middle of the south side of the court is a quadrangular block of masonry, built of flat-shaped quarry-stones and clay : it is 11 ft. 6 in. long by 9 ft. 1½ in. wide. At first it was supposed to be an altar : but later excavations laid bare a circular opening in the middle of it. This circular opening is the mouth of a sort of well-like shaft or funnel, 5 feet deep, lined with masonry, which leads down into a hole in the ground. The whole structure would seem to have been a sacrificial

pit. In Homer (*Od.* xxii. 334 *sqq.*) mention is made of an altar of Zeus in the courtyard of the palace of Ulysses. In the sanctuary of Aesculapius at Athens there is a somewhat similar structure, which Prof. U. Köhler proposed to explain as a sacrificial pit (vol. 2. p. 236). A sacrificial pit, of semicircular shape, has been found in the temple of the Cabiri in Samothrace (O. Rubensohn, *Die Mysterienheiligtümer in Eleusis und Samothrake* (Berlin, 1892), p. 184). Further, there are two sacrificial pits, lined with stones, in the sanctuary of the Cabiri near Thebes (see note on ix. 25. 5).

On the north side of the court, and exactly in its axis, are the men's apartments, consisting of the great hall with its ante-chamber and vestibule. Two stone steps, the lower step of sandstone, the upper step of red limestone, lead up into the portico or vestibule. The façade of the vestibule was supported by two columns between two *antae*; the bases of these columns and *antae* are still well preserved. The floor of the vestibule was covered with a concrete of lime, most of which is preserved. In the north-west corner we can see that the floor was divided into squares and narrow rectangles by incised lines. The side-walls of the vestibule, immediately behind the *antae*, become 1 ft. 3¾ in. thinner, which points to their having been cased with some material. Dr. Dörpfeld conjectures that they may have been wainscotted with wood, and the wooden wainscotting may itself have been covered with bronze or other metal. On one of these side-walls the remains of a fine frieze of alabaster are still to be seen (see below p. 227).

From the vestibule three doors lead into the ante-chamber; the three great door-sills, made of blocks of breccia, are still in their places. In each door-sill there are two pivot-holes so placed as to show that each door consisted of two folding wings which opened inwards. The four door-posts seem to have been of wood. The ante-chamber itself, which we enter through the three folding doors, is of about the same size as the vestibule. On the floor are the remains of a concrete pavement made of lime and pebbles; no incised lines are visible on it. In the west wall of the ante-chamber is a door leading to the bathroom and other apartments; in the doorway the great sill made of breccia is still preserved; it has only one pivot-hole, showing that the door was single. The door-posts were of wood; some charcoal and the condition of the adjoining wall prove that they were burnt.

In the north wall of the ante-chamber a large doorway, about 6 ft. 7 in. wide, leads into the great hall (*megaron*) of the men. The great door-sill, made of breccia, is still in its place; as it has no pivot-hole, we must suppose that the doorway was closed only by a curtain. The great hall (*megaron*), which we now enter, is an apartment 11.81 metres (38 ft. 9 in.) long from north to south, by about 9.80 metres (42 ft. 6 in.) wide. The floor was covered with excellent concrete, the polished surface of which was decorated with a pattern of incised lines crossing each other at right angles and so forming squares and rectangular strips. Traces of colour on the concrete show that the squares were painted red and the strips blue, so that the floor presented a gaily coloured carpet-like pattern. So large a room could hardly have been

spanned by a free roof; hence four inner pillars were set towards the middle of it, on which lay strong supports to carry the roof beams. Of these pillars the round stone bases still remain in their places. On their upper surface is an inner circle, within which the stone is well preserved, while the surrounding edge has been eaten by fire and partly chipped away. This proves that the pillars were of wood and smaller in diameter than the bases. Dr. Dörpfeld conjectures that the part of the roof which covered the square included by these four pillars was raised above the level of the rest of the roof in the form of a clere-story, and that windows in the vertical walls of the clere-story served the double purpose of lighting the hall and allowing the smoke from the hearth to escape. For the hearth was in the centre of the hall, within the square inclosed by the four pillars. Its position is marked on the floor by a circle about 10 ft. 9 in. in diameter, within which there is no concrete. It is surrounded by an upright rim of plaster, which makes it likely that the core of the circle, raised above the level of the floor, was made of clay, or of clay bricks covered with mortar. We have seen (p. 120) that the hearth occupied a similar position in the palace of Mycenae. This arrangement of the hearth surrounded by the pillars illustrates well a passage of the *Odyssey* (vi. 304 *sqq*.), where Ulysses is told by the princess Nausicaa that he will find the queen-mother sitting with her back to a pillar beside the hearth, spinning purple wool by the light of the fire. The outer walls which surround the hall are all preserved to a height of 15¾ inches, except at the north-west corner: they are built of limestone with clay mortar. The wall, so far as it now exists, consists of a single course of stones. (The higher masonry on the east wall belongs to a later alteration.) Above this lowest course wooden beams seem to have been laid longitudinally on both faces of the wall. Above these beams the walls were probably built of clay bricks, for the hall, when excavated, was nearly filled with half-burnt *débris* of bricks. The walls were coated first with clay and over that with good lime plaster; remains of both are found on the west wall, showing clear traces of fire.

In later times a building was erected on the site of the men's apartments. Its foundations show a rectangle extending from the north-west central pillar of the hall to its east wall in one direction, and to the entrance of the vestibule in the other direction. Probably this building was the temple of which some architectural fragments (including an old Doric capital of sandstone) have been found.

If we now return to the ante-chamber and pass through the door in its west wall, we find ourselves in a passage, which soon leads to the bathroom, one of the most interesting parts of the palace. The floor is formed by a gigantic block of limestone, 13 ft. 1 in. long, over 10 ft. broad, and about 2 ft. 3½ in. thick. Its weight must therefore be about 20 tons. The projecting rough edges of this huge block ran under the masonry of the walls. Its exposed surface is worked so as to form a border about 4¾ inches to 5¼ inches broad, skirting the walls, and raised about ⅛ inch above the polished rectangle in the centre. At regular intervals along this border are found two holes close together:

these holes probably served to fasten wooden panels of wainscot, which lined the walls; the panels, we may suppose, were fastened by dowels let into the holes. The door of the bathroom was in the south wall; it is not preserved, for the whole of that wall has been destroyed. But the existence of the door may be inferred from the absence of dowel-holes (and consequently of wainscot) along a part of this wall. The central part of the great block which forms the floor is well polished, and slopes gently so as to let the water run off, at the north-east corner, into a gutter, which is here cut in the stone floor; where the great stone floor ends the gutter is continued by a stone pipe through the eastern wall of the bathroom. Tubs filled with water must have been placed on the floor of the bathroom for the use of bathers. A fragment of such a tub was actually found. It is made of thick terra-cotta, and in shape resembles our own bathing-tubs; it had a thick upper rim and strong handles on the sides, and was painted with spiral ornaments on the inside. Such were perhaps the "well-polished bathing-tubs" mentioned by Homer (*Il.* x. 576; *Od.* iv. 48, xvii. 87). Fragments of somewhat similar bathing-tubs have been found in the sanctuary of Cranaean Athena near Elatea (see note on x. 34. 8). In the north wall of the bathroom there are two round receptacles, coated on the inside with smooth plaster. How high these receptacles reached, we cannot say, since the upper part of the wall is gone. Perhaps the receptacles held oil, with which the Greeks anointed themselves after bathing (see the passages of Homer referred to above). Possibly the oil was held, not in the holes themselves, but in large earthen jars which were fitted into the holes.

A passage which skirts the bathroom on the west and north leads in many turns round the north end of the men's hall to the apartments of the women, which lie on the eastern side of the men's apartments. The arrangement of the women's apartments is so similar to that of the men's that a detailed description of them is needless. There is a great court, partly surrounded by colonnades, within which are traces of benches fixed against the walls. On the north side of the court is the chief room or large hall (O), approached through a vestibule. As the dimensions of these two rooms (18 feet is the breadth) are smaller than those of the corresponding apartments of the men, they have no columns either in the vestibule between the *antae* or in the hall round the hearth. This hearth in the women's hall is square. The floor of the hall is of lime concrete; in places it shows a decoration effected by incised lines and red colour. On the walls there are traces of paintings, all the more interesting because in the other rooms the fragments of painted plaster no longer adhere to the walls, but were found lying on the floor.

Round the women's hall runs a passage or corridor, which leads to some apartments lying on the east side of the hall. Of these the chief is a large chamber with an ante-room; it may have been the bedroom of the king and queen. South of it are two long narrow rooms side by side. It is supposed that the stairs leading to the upper floor of the palace were contained in these two rooms. The stairs may have

ascended in two flights, first from east to west in the southern of the two rooms, and then from west to east in the northern room.

In the north-eastern corner of the palace are some rooms of various sizes, which may have served as treasuries, armouries, etc. South-east of the women's court is another court; and south of this again a labyrinth of walls exists, of which the ground-plan cannot be restored with certainty. Amongst them are to be noted traces of other very ancient walls, which, in opposition to the whole of the rest of the palace, have the same orientation as the great portal (H). From this it would appear that the great portal was built on lines taken over from an earlier stage in the building of the citadel. Traces of an earlier age have also been found in other places, especially in the south-west corner of the middle citadel, where about 10 feet below the later floor, and even under parts of the circuit-wall, a floor of clay concrete was discovered, together with walls built of rubble and bits of a rough monochrome pottery. This proves that the palace which we have been examining was preceded by an older building on the same site, and that the massive circuit-wall itself formed no part of the earlier palace.

So much for the plan and disposition of the palace. With regard to its materials and mode of construction, the stones employed are limestone, breccia, and sandstone. Of these stones breccia (a conglomerate of pebbles) is used for some door-sills and *antae*-blocks; and the huge door-posts of the gate of the upper citadel are also of breccia. Sandstone is used only for some *antae*-blocks and the lower step of the men's hall. Limestone is the stone most commonly used as building material in the palace. It is employed both in the rough shape as it came from the quarry, and in the form of ashlars or hewn blocks. The ashlars are employed for thresholds, *antae*-blocks, pillar-bases, steps, and for the floor of the bathroom. On the other hand the inner walls of the palace are built of small rough blocks (rubble) of limestone cemented with clay mortar; the interstices between the blocks, which are very rough, are partly filled with pebbles. This style of masonry is still common in Greece and other countries. But as walls built of rubble and clay, if exposed to the weather, would soon crumble away through the action of the rain, which would wash the clay mortar out of them, it is necessary to coat them on the outside with plaster. Hence the walls of the palace were coated, first with a layer of clay, and over that with a plaster of lime, which was smoothed on the surface and painted. While the lower part of almost all the house-walls was constructed in this manner, the upper part of many, if not most, of the walls was built of clay bricks. This appears from the fact that at the time of their excavation almost all the rooms of the palace were found filled with half-burnt bricks and red-brick *débris*. In two places only (namely, in the women's hall and in the court to the south-east of the women's apartments) does the brick-work start from the ground; here, therefore, it is in good preservation. Elsewhere it has mostly disappeared, since the walls are now only standing to a height of about 3 feet at most above the ground, and it was just at this height that the brick-work began. The bricks used in the palace were unburnt or

sun-dried, not burnt (*i.e.* baked in a kiln). At first sight it would seem that the two brick walls mentioned above were built of baked, not of sun-dried, bricks, for the bricks are now, as they stand, thoroughly fired or burnt. But that this burning of the bricks took place after the walls were built is proved by two facts: first, the mortar between the bricks is baked as well as the bricks themselves; and, second, the bricks in the woman's hall which were in contact with a large wooden door-post are not only fired but vitrified. These facts show that the baking of the bricks was merely a result of the conflagration in which the palace perished.

We have already seen that in the vestibule of the men's hall there was found an alabaster frieze. As this frieze seems to throw some light on a disputed passage of Homer, a brief notice of it may not be out of place here. The frieze was found occupying with its seven slabs the whole foot of the west wall of the vestibule. But various indications show that this could not have been its original position. The frieze is composed of broad and narrow slabs alternately, and the narrow slab projects beyond the broad one, just as in the frieze of a Doric temple the triglyph slab projects beyond the metope. Now if the frieze was made for the place where it was found, the concrete floor should have been cut out so as to fit into the broken line of the frieze. This, however, is not the case. The concrete floor is cut off in a straight line in front of the frieze, and its edge skirts the projecting slabs, leaving in front of the receding ones a gap which is filled only with sand. Hence probably, as Dr. Dörpfeld originally held (he changed his view afterwards), the frieze was at first placed elsewhere, and was transferred to the west wall of the vestibule at some later time. The slabs of the frieze are much damaged, but enough remains to allow us to restore the pattern of the sculptured ornament with tolerable certainty. It consisted essentially of an elliptical palmetto divided into two halves by a vertical band. The palmetto ornament is placed on the broad receding slabs; the vertical band on the narrow projecting slabs. Each vertical band is adorned with two rows of rosettes, and round the palmettes is a band of spirals resembling plaited work. The middle of the rosettes and of the spirals, and the dentils which form the frames of both, are inlaid with a blue glass-paste. The chemical composition of the two materials of the frieze is thus stated by Prof. Virchow: "The stone consists of sulphate of lime (gypsum), but in a form which reaches here and there the transparent blue of alabaster. The glass-paste consists of a calcium-glass, which is coloured with copper; it contains no admixture of cobalt." Probably this blue glass-paste is the *kuanos* of Homer, as to the meaning of which opinions were formerly much divided. In the palace of Alcinous the poet describes a frieze of *kuanos* as running round the walls of the rooms (*Od.* vii. 87); and this frieze of *kuanos* may have resembled in material, if not in pattern, the frieze found in the vestibule at Tiryns. See Helbig, *Das homerische Epos aus den Denkmälern erläutert*, p. 100 *sqq.*

The wall-paintings, fragments of which have been found in several of the rooms of the palace, especially in the hall of the men, were true

frescoes, that is, they were painted on the plaster of the walls while the plaster was still wet. Dr. Dörpfeld recognised this by noticing that in some places the brush has entered into the lime, leaving the painted surface rough, while the surrounding part is smooth. Only five colours are used—white, black, blue, red, and yellow; green and all mixed colours are absent. The patterns painted on the plaster are often purely decorative, consisting of rosettes, spirals, dentils, net-work, etc., variously arranged and combined. On the largest fragment of wall-plaster which has been preserved a mighty bull is painted galloping at full speed to the left. His head, with its long curved horns, is lifted up. Above the back of the bull is seen a man in a peculiar position. He seems at first sight to be stretched out on the animal's back, which he just touches with his right knee and the tip of his toe, while he throws the other leg high in air, and holds on to the bull's horns with his right hand; his left hand is under his breast. He seems to be naked except for a loin-cloth and several bands round his knees and his ankles. As to the colours, the man and the bull are painted white or whitish-yellow; but there are red spots on the animal, and various parts of its body (breast, belly, back, etc.) are brought out in red. The background is blue. With regard to the meaning of the picture, it was at first supposed that the man was an acrobat such as Homer describes (*Il.* xv. 679 *sqq.*) leaping from back to back of four horses. Afterwards Dr. Marx suggested that bull and man may represent river-gods, because on coins of Catana in Sicily a man-headed bull is figured with a tailed man or satyr above its back in much the same attitude as the man in the Tirynthian wall-painting. See Fr. Marx, 'Der Stier von Tiryns,' *Jahrbuch d. arch. Instituts*, 4 (1889), pp. 119-129. However, since the discovery of the two gold cups of *Vaphio*, on which men clad very similarly are represented catching and herding bulls (see above, p. 135 *sq.*), archaeologists have come to the conclusion that the wall-painting in question represents nothing more than a man trying to catch a bull.

III. *Separate objects found.* Apart from the great discovery of the palace, the excavations at Tiryns did not bring to light many individual objects of interest and value; certainly nothing has yet been found at Tiryns to vie with the treasures found in the royal graves at Mycenae. The objects found consist chiefly of pottery and terra-cottas. Here we have to distinguish the objects belonging to the oldest settlement from those belonging to the later palace. It has already been mentioned that excavations in various parts of the citadel, especially in the south-west corner of the middle citadel, revealed the existence of an older and much ruder settlement under the great palace. The pottery found in this oldest settlement is (with the exception of the cups) quite different in form, workmanship, and decoration from that which was used by the inhabitants of the palace, and has its closest analogies in the pottery of Troy, especially that of the first and second settlement. For example, a small, round, somewhat flattened vessel, made with the hand and covered with reddish-yellow clay, has on each side of the body a projection pierced with two vertical holes, through which a string was

passed to serve as a handle. Vases with similar vertically pierced projections were the commonest of all in the first town at Troy, but elsewhere they are rare and have been found only in the most ancient settlements. Another vessel belonging to the oldest settlement at Tiryns is a terra-cotta cup without a foot; round its upper edge is laid a stripe adorned with rough round impressions, which were obviously made with the tip of the finger. This mode of decoration also occurs on the Trojan pottery. Some rude female idols or figurines, made of terra-cotta, were found in the oldest Tirynthian settlement. No object of metal was discovered which could with certainty be attributed to this most ancient settlement; but on the other hand stone implements came to light which certainly belonged to it. Amongst them are many knives and arrow-heads of obsidian, also obsidian flakes and nuclei, proving that the knives and arrow-heads were manufactured on the spot; further, about a dozen rude stone hammers, which would seem to have been grasped in the hand, not fixed in a handle; a well-polished axe of very hard red stone, in shape resembling the bronze battle-axes of Troy; and several conical spinning-whorls made of blue stone. To these objects may be added a perforated bead of blue glass like those found at *Spata* and *Menidi*; also a few bodkins and an embroidering needle made of bone. Hundreds of such needles have been found at Troy.

On the other hand, the objects found in the great palace at Tiryns belong to the Mycenaean type of civilisation. Of the vases the commonest type is the so-called stirrup-vase (*Bügelkanne*), which, as we have seen (p. 112 *sq.*), is the most characteristic shape of Mycenaean pottery. Many rude terra-cotta figurines were found in the palace. Some of them represent a woman with arms raised in the shape of a sickle, or else clasped together in a circle. A considerable number of unbroken, and great masses of broken, cows of terra-cotta were also found; they are of small size and painted for the most part with bright red or brown on a ground of light yellow. Similar cows of terra-cotta were found in the prehistoric graves at Nauplia. Dr. Schliemann held that "the countless numbers of idols in form of terra-cotta cows found in Tiryns and Mycenae, as well as cows'-heads of gold, women with cows'-horn-like, crescent-shaped projections from the breast, or with the upper part of the body shaped like the disc of the full moon, and also the idols in Mycenae, with cows'-heads, can only represent Hera, the tutelary divinity of Tiryns and Mycenae, especially as Homer constantly gives this goddess the epithet βοῶπις, which originally can have had no other meaning than 'cow-faced'" (*Tiryns*, p. 165). The objects of metal found in the palace were few and insignificant. Of gold there was only one small ornament shaped like the pedestals which are carved in relief over the Lions' Gate at Mycenae; of silver there was only a signet-ring with a star engraved on it. Amongst the bronze objects may be mentioned the figure of a warrior fighting, a chisel, a two-headed battle-axe, a bracelet, a brooch, thirteen very common rings, and an arrow-head of very primitive shape without barbs. Lead was found in many places; it was used by the Tirynthians for clamping together broken vessels of earthenware. No trace of iron was dis-

covered. A lance-head of iron was indeed found on the ramp leading up to the main entrance of the citadel, but it certainly belongs to a much later period. Of ivory there were found only three small objects. On the other hand, countless knives and arrow-heads of obsidian came to light; they appear to have been in common use among the inhabitants down to the time when the palace was destroyed. These arrow-heads have no barbs and are extremely rude and primitive, much more so than those found at Mycenae.

Besides pottery of the Mycenaean age there have been found at Tiryns many fragments of the later pottery, which is known as Dipylum ware, from the place (the Dipylum at Athens) where it has been discovered in large quantities. This Dipylum pottery appears to have everywhere succeeded immediately to the Mycenaean pottery, and its occurrence at Tiryns is a proof that the acropolis continued to be inhabited after the close of the Mycenaean era. The chief difference between the two styles of pottery is in their modes of decoration; for whereas the Mycenaean pottery is painted with figures of marine plants and animals, the Dipylum pottery exhibits patterns composed of lines such as might be suggested by woven fabrics; instead of the spiral, so characteristic of Mycenaean art, we have the maeander, and instead of the wave line the zigzag. Seaweed and polyps never appear on Dipylum vases, but on the other hand human figures are oftener represented, though in a rude and clumsy way. The clay of the Dipylum pottery is much coarser than that of the Mycenaean pottery; the paints used are always lustrous.

After the end of the Dipylum period the citadel of Tiryns would appear to have been deserted for centuries; for after the Doric temple, which was built in the middle of the men's hall and may date from the seventh century B.C., the first traces of inhabitation are of the Byzantine age: many Byzantine graves have been found at the south end of the citadel, and a Byzantine church was built in the great fore-court (F). However, a town of Tiryns must have existed down to the Persian wars, since men of Tiryns fought at Plataea (Herodotus, ix. 28).

The chief work on Tiryns is Schliemann's *Tiryns* (London, 1886), of which not the least valuable part was contributed by Dr. Dörpfeld. The researches of Schliemann and Dörpfeld are summarised in Schuchhardt's *Schliemann's Ausgrabungen*,² pp. 117-165; Perrot and Chipiez's *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 6. pp. 258-303; and Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, pp. 1809-1817. As to the palace in particular see also P. Gardner, *New Chapters in Greek History*, pp. 91-117; J. H. Middleton, 'A suggested restoration of the great hall in the palace at Tiryns,' *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 7 (1886), pp. 161-169; R. C. Jebb, 'The Homeric house in relation to the remains at Tiryns,' *ib.* pp. 170-188; D. Joseph, *Die Paläste des homerischen Epos mit Rücksicht auf die Ausgrabungen Schliemanns* (Berlin, 1895). As to some subsequent excavations under the bathroom of the palace see Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολ. Ἑταιρίας, 1890, pp. 37-41; *ib.*, 1891, pp. 20-22. For earlier descriptions of Tiryns see Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 248 *sqq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 350 *sqq.*; Gell, *Itinerary of Greece*, p. 54 *sqq.*; W. Mure, *Journal*, 2. p. 173 *sqq.*; Curtius, *Peloponnesos*, 2. p. 384 *sqq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke*, p. 206 *sqq.*; W. G. Clark, *Peloponnesus*, p. 86 *sqq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 57 *sq.*

It was in Tiryns that Hercules dwelt for twelve years in the service

of Eurystheus, who imposed on him his twelve famous tasks (Apollodorus, ii. 4. 12).

25. 8. **Tiryns was depopulated by the Argives** etc. See v. 23. 3 note.

25. 8. **the wall, which is a work of the Cyclopes.** The Cyclopes who built Tiryns are said to have been seven in number and to have been fetched from Lycia by Proetus, first king of Tiryns (Strabo, viii. p. 372; Apollodorus, ii. 2. 1).

25. 9. **the daughters of Proetus.** As to Proetus, first king of Tiryns, see ii. 16. 2. As to his daughters see ii. 7. 8; viii. 18. 7.

25. 9. **We —— come to Midea on the left.** Pausanias, proceeding by the highroad from Argos to Epidaurus, had diverged to the right to visit Tiryns. He now resumes the route to Epidaurus, and says that going in this direction we have Midea on the left. Midea is now generally identified with the ruins which occupy a steep and lofty mountain, inaccessible on three sides, which rises to the east of the village of *Dendra.* The place is six miles east by north of the citadel of Argos, and lies at the same distance to the north-east of Nauplia. Four walls, following the curves of the mountain, form four separate lines of defence, one above the other. The wall which protects the summit is built of great rough blocks, the interstices being filled with small stones. This wall is discontinued at the south-east and south-west sides, where precipitous rocks are a sufficient natural defence. In one of the walls there is a gateway built of three stones, like the postern at Mycenae. The ruins extend from the summit of the mountain down to a spring which issues from a grotto near a chapel of the Panagia. Numerous potsherds of the Mycenaean style are to be seen on the acropolis, making it fairly certain that the place is indeed Midea. The situation is a very commanding one. Standing on this lofty height we see the whole Argive plain from Nauplia to Argos and northward to Mycenae, with all its side valleys, stretched out like a map at our feet.

To the identification of this site with the ancient Midea it was objected by Leake that it lies too far (more than three geographical miles) to the left of the road to Epidaurus. He therefore preferred to identify Midea with the ruins of *St. Adrian*, which crown a rocky hill to the north-east of *Katzingri*, about two and a half miles due east of Tiryns. The fortifications seem to have included an inner and an outer wall, and are visible for a long distance. Excavations were made on the site in 1890 for the Greek Archaeological Society by Mr. Kophiniotis, who believes that he has identified the place as Midea. But the fortifications are of well-jointed polygonal, not Cyclopean style, and among the potsherds found on the site there seems to be none of the Mycenaean sort. Probably, therefore, the place is a small fortress of the Greek historical age, not a prehistoric citadel such as Midea must have been. This is the conclusion to which Dr. Dörpfeld came when he visited the site in 1891. Moreover, the place is to the right of the road to Epidaurus, and therefore does not answer to Pausanias's description.

See Gell, *Itinerary of Greece*, p. 97 *sq.*; Leake, *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 268 *sqq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 52; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 395 *sq.*; Conze e Michaelis, in

Annali dell' Instituto, 33 (1861), p. 19 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 62 *sq.*; Baedeker, p. 263; W. Dörpfeld, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 16 (1891), p. 255 *sq.*; *id.*, 17 (1891), p. 95 *sq.* A view of the walls of Midea, which are even more irregularly built than those of Tiryns, is given by Perrot and Chipiez (*Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 6. p. 475).

The legends that the fortifications of Midea were built by Perseus (Apollodorus, ii. 4. 4), and that Proetus, first king of Tiryns, reigned over it (Paus. ii. 16. 2), are evidence of the great antiquity of Midea, and this evidence is confirmed by its massive remains. Professor W. M. Ramsay says: "Midea appears to be the city of Midas, and the name is one more link in the chain that binds Mycenae to Phrygia" (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 9th edition, vol. 18. p. 850 *sq.*)

25. 10. **On the straight road to Epidaurus is a village Lessa.** Modern travellers generally drive to the great Epidaurian sanctuary of Aesculapius by the highroad from Nauplia, which runs through uninteresting scenery between low, barren hills of dull, monotonous aspect. "A drearier tract of country," says Welcker, "is scarcely to be found in Peloponnese." Pausanias, however, went by the more northerly road from Argos, which joins the road from Nauplia about five miles to the west of the sanctuary. From the point where the road from Argos, quitting the great Argive plain, enters the valley of *Kephime*, it continues to run among hills the whole way to Epidaurus. On the left rise, mile after mile, in monotonous uniformity, the long, bare, rocky slopes of Mount Arachnaeus. High up on the mountain-side may be seen the prettily situated monastery of St. Demetrius Karakala, but the road keeps low down in the valleys, except where it rises over the ridges which divide them from each other. The ground is clothed with bushes and stunted wood, through which the pudding-stone protrudes its sharp edges like the ruins of ancient walls. About midway between Argos and the Epidaurian sanctuary, a mile or so to the south of the road, there rises from the little fertile level of *Soulinari* an isolated hill which is crowned by one of the best preserved fortresses of antiquity in all Peloponnese. It is now known as *Kazarma* (or *Kasarma*), and has been identified as the Lessa of Pausanias by Mr. Cavvadias and the late H. G. Lolling. The highroad from Nauplia to the sanctuary runs on the southern side of the hill; from Nauplia to *Kasarma* the time by this road is about three hours. The hill is a pretty high one; its slope is gradual at first but steep at the top. The summit is surrounded by a wall of admirable polygonal masonry, which on the east side is standing for a considerable distance to a height of 20 feet. At the corners are round towers, strongly built, and between them are some square towers. The wall also forms salient angles at various points. On the eastern side of the fortress, and parallel to its wall, is a structure somewhat in the style of the covered galleries at Tiryns. It is a passage or corridor about 3 paces wide and sunk about 4 feet in the ground; the sides are built of excellent masonry, and converge as if to meet overhead; the stones are bonded with mortar. Within the fortress there are some ruins and foundations of ancient and mediaeval buildings. The ground is littered with potsherds and broken tiles. The southern

slope of the hill and the level ground at its foot are also covered with ruins and potsherds, proving that a township existed outside the walls of the citadel. About a mile and a half to the north-east of this fortress is another large ancient acropolis, which is now called *Kastraki;* it is to the left of the road from Nauplia, but to the right of the road from Argos; the two roads unite about a mile to the east of *Kastraki*. At *Kastraki*, in addition to the acropolis, there are remains of a town of some size on the north-eastern side of the fortress. The two considerable fortresses just described were probably built by the Argives to defend their frontier against incursions from the side of Epidaurus.

From the point where the two roads from Argos and Nauplia meet, the valley, some four or five miles long, widens and the highroad runs through olive woods to the village of *Ligourio*, which stands conspicuously on the slope of an arid spur of Mount Arachnaeus at the eastern end of the valley. On the summit of this spur is a long line of ancient foundations, which topographers have generally identified as those of Lessa. The situation, on the direct road from Argos to Epidaurus, certainly agrees better with Pausanias's statement as to the site of Lessa than the fortress of *Kazarma*, which lies about a mile away from the direct road. About half a mile to the west of *Ligourio*, in a field on the north side of the road, there is a chapel of St. Marina; it contains two Ionic columns, fragments of architraves, and some painted antefixes, which may perhaps be remains of the temple of Athena mentioned by Pausanias. A little to the east of the chapel are the remains of an ancient pyramid; the lower part of it only is left; it was faced with polygonal masonry, and measured nearly 40 feet square at the base. From an inscription found in the Epidaurian sanctuary of Aesculapius (Ἀσκληπιῶι λιγεώτηι ὁ ἱεροφάντης κ.τ.λ.) Mr. Cavvadias infers that there was an ancient village or town called Liguria, Ligeia, or Ligea, which may have occupied the site of, and bequeathed its name to, the modern *Ligourio*. If this conjecture is right, the ancient Lessa cannot of course have been on the site of *Ligourio*. A little to the south-east of *Ligourio* is a village called *Koroni;* the name may be derived from Coronis, the reputed mother of Aesculapius.

See Leake, *Morea*, 2. pp. 416-420; Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. pp. 253-255; Gell, *Itinerary of Greece*, pp. 96-102; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 52 *sq.*; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. p. 326 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. pp. 416-418; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, pp. 502-505; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 62; Baedeker,[3] p. 252 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 228 *sq.*; Cavvadias, in Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1884, p. 21 *sqq.*

25. 10. **Mount Arachnaeus.** This is the high, naked range on the left or northern side of the road as you go to the Epidaurian sanctuary from Argos. The most remarkable peak is Mt. *Arna*, the pointed rocky summit which rises immediately above the village of *Ligourio*. It is 3540 feet high. The western summit, Mt. *St. Elias*, is a little higher (3930 ft.) From the summit of Mt. *Arna* the mountains of Megara and Attica are visible. It might well have been on its top that the beacon was lighted which flashed to Argos the news of the fall of Troy (Aeschylus, *Agam.* 320 *sq.*) The name Arachnaea is said to have

been still used by the peasantry in the early part of this century. The altars of Zeus and Hera upon which, according to Pausanias, the people sacrificed for rain, appear to have stood in the hollow between the peaks of *Arna* and *St. Elias*, for there is here a square enclosure of Cyclopean masonry which would appear to have been an ancient place of worship. See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 53; Gell, *Itinerary of Greece*, p. 99 sq.; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 418; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 72; Baedeker, p. 250. Mt. Arachnaeus and the mountains of the Argolic peninsula in general are little better than a stony, waterless wilderness. The climate is very dry, and the beds of all the streams are waterless except after heavy rain. The hardy little holly-oak and a few dun-coloured shrubs are almost the only representatives of plant life. The eye of the traveller is wearied by the grey monotony of these arid mountains and desert table-lands, and his feet are cut and bruised by the sharp stones over which he has painfully to pick his steps. Nowhere else in Greece, probably, is the scenery so desolate and forbidding. See Philippson, *Peloponnes*, pp. 43 *sq.*, 65.

26. 1. **Who dwelt in the country** etc. Strabo (viii. p. 374), following Aristotle, says that Epidauria, like Hermione, was formerly occupied by Carians, and that, after the return of the Heraclids, a colony of Ionians from Attica settled in the land.

26. 3. **Aesculapius.** With the following genealogies of Aesculapius we may compare another which came to light some years ago. According to Isyllus of Epidaurus the pedigree of Aesculapius was as follows. Malus married the Muse Erato. They had a daughter Cleophema, who married Phlegyas, and had by him a daughter called Aegla or Coronis; and Coronis was the mother of Aesculapius by Apollo. The hymn of Isyllus in which this genealogy occurs was found, engraved on a limestone tablet, to the east of the temple of Aesculapius in the great Epidaurian sanctuary. See v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *Isyllus von Epidaurus*, p. 13; Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Épidaure*, 1. p. 35 *sq.*; Collitz, *G. D. I.* 3. No. 3342.

26. 3. **the mountain which is named Titthium.** Leake (*Morea*, 2. p. 419 *sq.*) took this to be the hill upon which the modern village of *Ligourio* stands. See note on ii. 25. 10. Others hold that Titthium is the modern *Velonidia*, the mountain (2815 feet high) which rises to the north of the great sanctuary of Aesculapius: it is famed in the district for the medicinal virtues of its plants (Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 54; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 419; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 75; Baedeker, p. 251).

26. 4. **one of the goats —— gave suck to the forsaken babe.** Ancient myths and legends often tell of persons who were suckled by animals. Romulus and Remus were suckled by a wolf (see Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, p. 17 *sqq.*) Telephus was suckled by a deer (Apollodorus, ii. 7. 4), Atalanta by a bear (*id.*, iii. 9. 2), and so was Paris (*id.*, iii. 12. 5; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 138). Miletus was suckled by wolves (Antoninus Liberalis, 30), and a wolf suckled Lycastus and Parrhasius (Plutarch, *Parallela*, 36). The two sons of Melanippe were suckled by a cow (Hyginus, *Fab.* 186); Hippothous by a mare (*id.*,

187). Meliteus was fed by bees (Antoninus Liberalis, 13), and Semiramis was fed with milk by doves (Diodorus, ii. 4). It is perfectly possible that some stories of the suckling of children by animals may be founded on fact. Mr. Francis Galton says: "It is marvellous how soon goats find out children and tempt them to suckle. I have had the milk of my goats, when encamping for the night in African travels, drained dry by small black children, who had not the strength to do more than crawl about, but nevertheless came to some secret understanding with the goats and fed themselves" (*Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, N. S. 3 (1865), p. 135 *sq.*) In India there are numerous stories of boys who have been found living with wolves; the stories are recent, and particulars of names, places, and time are given. A number of them have been collected by Mr. Valentine Ball in his *Jungle Life in India*, pp. 455-496 (the passage is also extracted in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 9 (1880), p. 565 *sqq.*) See also *Panjab Notes and Queries*, 3 (1885-6), Nos. 452, 602, 603, 604, 659, 660, 661.

26. 5. **he raised the dead.** A list of persons said to have been restored to life by Aesculapius is given by Apollodorus, iii. 10. 4. See also Paus. ii. 27. 4, and note on ii. 11. 7.

26. 6. **Coronis.** See note on ii. 11. 7. It is remarkable that, as we have seen (p. 233), the name of Aesculapius's mother is preserved in that of a hamlet to the south-east of the village of *Ligourio*.

26. 7. **O born to be the world's great joy** etc. Some phrases of this oracle recur in a hymn to Aesculapius of which inscribed copies have been found in Egypt and Athens. The Athenian copy is very fragmentary. See *Revue Archéologique*, 3rd series, 13 (1889), p. 70 *sq.*; *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. 49 (1894), p. 315.

26. 8. **Pindasus.** A mountain-range in Asia Minor, to the north of Pergamus. See Pliny, *N. H.* v. 126; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1206.

26. 9. **in our time the sanctuary of Aesculapius —— at Smyrna was founded.** This sanctuary played an important part in the life of the rhetorician Aristides. It was not finished in 165 A.D. Hence Mr. Gurlitt supposes that Pausanias wrote the second book after that year. See Gurlitt, *Pausanias*, p. 59.

26. 9. **the one at Pergamus.** Cp. iii. 26. 10 note; v. 13. 3.

26. 9. **Lebene in Crete.** A metrical inscription has been found at this place referring to the worship of Aesculapius. It records the dedication to Aesculapius of two statues representing Dreams by a man Diodorus, who had recovered his sight through the help of the god. See Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus conlecta*, No. 839.

26. 9. **whereas the Cyrenians sacrifice goats, it is against the Epidaurian custom to do so.** At the sanctuary of Aesculapius near Tithorea in Phocis all animals were sacrificed to Aesculapius except goats (x. 32. 12). Sextus Empiricus (p. 173 ed. Bekker) states generally that goats were not sacrificed to Aesculapius. A goat was said to have suckled Aesculapius (above, § 4). On the other hand Servius (on Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 380) says that goats were sacrificed to Aesculapius because there was always fever where there were goats.

26. 10. **the words which Homer puts in the mouth of Agamemnon** etc. See *Iliad*, iv. 193 *sq.*

27. 1. **The sacred grove of Aesculapius is surrounded by mountains.** Leaving the village of *Ligourio* (above, p. 233) on the left, we continue to follow the highroad in a south-easterly direction, and enter a defile between two little rocky hills dotted over with mastich bushes. The entrance to the pass seems to have been guarded by two towers. Having traversed the defile, we enter, in about half an hour from *Ligourio*, the valley in which are situated the ruins of the famous sanctuary of Aesculapius. It is a fine open valley encircled by mountains from 2000 to 3000 feet high. In spring the level bottom of the vale is green with corn, interspersed with clumps of trees and bushes. The surrounding mountains, though grey and barren, with undulating uniform outlines, are rather still and solemn than stern and sombre in character; and the whole scene has a certain pleasing solitariness about it. The ruins of the sanctuary lie towards the upper or northern end of the valley. They were excavated for the Greek Archaeological Society under the direction of Messrs. Cavvadias and Staes in the years 1881-1887, 1891-1894. The place is still called 'the Sanctuary' (*to hiero* or *sto hiero*) by the people of the neighbourhood.

See Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 420; Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 255 *sq.*; Gell, *Itinerary of Greece*, p. 102 *sq.*; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. p. 327; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 418 *sqq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 505 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 74 *sq.*; Baedeker, p. 250 *sqq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 229; Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Épidaure*, vol. 1 (Athens, 1893). In this last-mentioned work are published the inscriptions as well as a description of the buildings which have been excavated in the sanctuary. As to these inscriptions see J. Baunack, 'Zu den Inschriften aus Epidauros,' *Philologus*, 54 (1895), pp. 16-63. Some more inscriptions, discovered in 1894, are published by Mr. Cavvadias in Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1894, pp. 16-24. The excavations of 1894 laid bare the stadium. See note on ii. 27. 5.

The general arrangement of the sanctuary will be best understood from the accompanying plan (Fig. 37). The chief buildings as yet discovered are the theatre, the temple of Aesculapius (A), the Rotunda (B), the temple of Artemis (C), and the great colonnade (D). These will be described in detail later on. Meantime the less important buildings may be briefly noticed here.

E is a large rectangular edifice, situated to the south-east of the temple of Aesculapius and immediately to the north of the temple of Artemis. It is built of common stone and is divided into several compartments. Its arrangement suggests that it may have been the house of the priests or a hospice for patients. In the Roman period it was rebuilt of bricks, stone, and lime. A pavement of stone was discovered in this building in 1891; it seems to have been part of an altar; for a channel or gutter runs round its four sides, probably to convey away the blood of the victims, and beside it was found a layer of charred bones and ashes, mingled with many small earthenware pots and bits of bronze vessels. Some of these bronze fragments and one potsherd are inscribed with dedications, some to Aesculapius and some to Apollo. These inscriptions are archaic, being not later than the beginning of the fifth

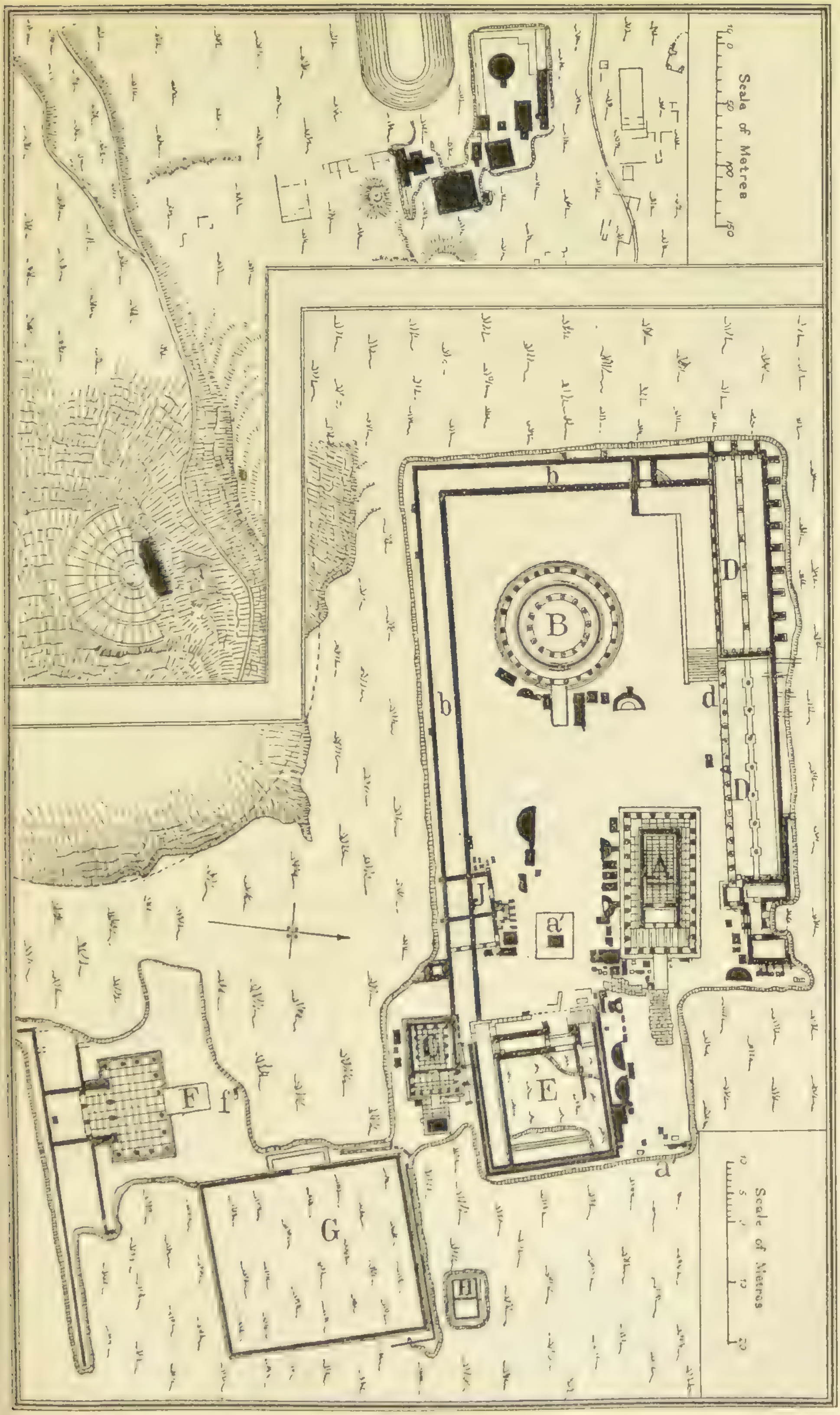


FIG. 37.—THE SANCTUARY OF AESCULAPIUS AT EPIDAURUS (GROUND PLAN).

century B.C. See *Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν*, 1891, p. 85; *Πρακτικὰ τῆς 'Αρχαιολ. Ἑταιρίας*, 1891, p. 26 *sq.*; Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Épidaure*, I. p. 37 *sq.*

F is a great portal or propylaeum of the Doric order, situated to the south of E and of the temple of Artemis, and to the east of the stadium. This great portal led southward into a large square building (not shown on the plan), the ruins of which were excavated in 1891. The edifice, which from the style of the architectural fragments would seem to have been built in the finest period of Greek art, was probably a gymnasium; it inclosed in the centre a square court surrounded by colonnades of the Doric order. Some pieces of the columns of these colonnades are still standing in their original places. This building must have fallen into ruins even in antiquity, for in one of the corners of the cloistered court are the remains of an Odeum or Music Hall of Roman date, built partly on the stylobate of the colonnade. The stage and the entrances of the Music Hall are standing to a height of about 18 inches. The auditorium now numbers nine rows of seats, divided into two sections by a single staircase. The floor of the orchestra consists of an ornamental mosaic pavement. Into the middle wall of the stage and the north retaining-wall of the auditorium are built pieces of the columns of the colonnade, still standing in their original places. See *Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν*, 1891, pp. 19, 33, 65 *sq.*; *Πρακτικὰ τῆς 'Αρχαιολ. Ἑταιρίας*, 1891, p. 26.

G is a large rectangular building situated between the edifice E and the great portal F. The use to which it is put is not known. It is built of limestone; the entry is on the west side.

H is a small monument close to the building G, on the north side: its purpose is unknown.

J marks the foundations of a building lying to the south of the temple of Aesculapius.

We may also note the two parallel walls, divided by a trench ([illegible]), which, extending first from north to south, and then from west to east, unite the great colonnade D with the temple of Artemis and the quadrangular building E, thus forming on two sides the boundary of the sacred precinct. The purpose and date of these walls are unknown. For the most part they are built of blocks of marble taken from various ancient buildings; some of these blocks bear inscriptions.

To the north of the temple of Aesculapius there is a large and very complex edifice (not marked on the plan), built in a very commonplace and uninteresting style. It is divided into halls, chambers, passages, etc., and was clearly a bathing establishment. Not improbably it is the bath of Aesculapius built by Antoninus (Paus. ii. 27. 6).

The ground to the north-east of the temple of Aesculapius was excavated in 1891 and 1892; many pedestals and votive inscriptions of Greek and Roman times were discovered here; and at a considerable distance in this direction were laid bare the foundations of a small temple, which may have been the sanctuary of Aphrodite (Paus. ii. 27. 5 note). See *Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν*, 1891, p. 85; *Πρακτικὰ τῆς 'Αρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρίας*, 1891, p. 27; *ib.*, 1892, p. 55.

There are two paved platforms (*a* and *a'*), one to the east and the other to the south of the temple of Aesculapius. One of them may have supported the altar of Aesculapius.

See P. Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Épidaure*, vol. I (Athens, 1893), p. 9 *sq.*

To these buildings may be added the names of a few which are known to us only from inscriptions. Thus we hear of an Olympium or sanctuary of Olympian Zeus, built in the reign of Hadrian (Cavvadias, *op. cit.* p. 43, No. 35); an Anaceum or sanctuary of the Dioscuri (Cavvadias, *op. cit.* p. 48, No. 57); a workshop, put up apparently while the temple of Aesculapius was building (Cavvadias, *op. cit.* p. 79, No. 241, line 27 *sq.*); and a library, dedicated apparently to Maleatian Apollo and Aesculapius (Cavvadias, *op. cit.* p. 57, No. 131). From inscriptions also we learn that under the Roman empire statues were set up of Livia, Tiberius, Claudius, Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius, Septimius Severus, and Caracalla (Cavvadias, *op. cit.* Inscriptions 214, 215, 219, 220, 222, 226, 260, 106, 107). Another inscription records the dedication of an altar of the Curetes by a priest of Aesculapius (Cavvadias, *op. cit.* Inscr. No. 40).

27. 1. **Within the enclosure no death or birth takes place** etc. In 426 B.C. the Athenians purified Delos by removing all the dead from it, and they enacted that for the future no death or birth should take place in the island (Thucydides, iii. 104; Diodorus, xii. 58). An inscription found during the recent excavations on the Acropolis of Athens declares that it is the custom of the country that no one should be born or die within any sacred precinct (Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1884, p. 167 *sq.*) Another inscription, found in Egypt, lays down similar rules of ceremonial purity to be observed by persons entering a sanctuary. It runs thus (so far as it exists and can be deciphered):

τοὺς δὲ εἰσίοντας εἰς τ[ὸ
ἁγνεύειν κατὰ ὑποκ
ἀπὸ πάθους ἰδίου καὶ
ἡμέρας ξ' ἀναπαλλ
χη ἐκτρωσμοῦ συν
τετοκυίας καὶ τρεφούσης
καὶ ἐὰν ἐχθῇ (?) ιδ' τοὺς δὲ ἄ[νδρας
ἀπὸ γυναικὸς β', τὰς δὲ γ[υναῖκας
ἀκολούθως τοῖς ἀνδράσ[ιν
ἀν ἐκτρωσμοῦ μ
τὴν δὲ τεκοῦσαν καὶ τρέ[φουσαν
ἐὰν δὲ ἐχθῇ τὸ βρέφος
ἀπόβατα μηνιῶν ξ'
ἀνδρὸς β' μυρσίνην δὲ

This inscription is of the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus. See *Revue Archéologique*, 3rd series, 2 (1883), p. 182. The rule that no birth might take place within the sanctuary is illustrated by a case recorded on one of the two great inscribed slabs found on the spot. See note

on § 3 of this chapter. Cp. v. 20. 5; v. 27. 10; Antoninus Liberalis, 19; Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, p. 249.

27. 1. **The sacrifices —— are consumed within the bounds.** A similar rule was observed in the sanctuary of Amphiaraus at Oropus (see note on i. 34. 1, vol. 2. p. 470), and in the sanctuary of the Great Gods at Myonia in Locris (x. 38. 8). No doubt it was feared that the sacred food might be profaned if it were carried outside the sanctuary. It is not an uncommon rule of sacrificial feasts that all the food must be consumed on the spot. The Arabs who sacrificed to the Morning Star had to consume the whole of the victim—flesh, skin, and bones—before the sun rose upon it and the Morning Star had faded (W. R. Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*,[2] p. 282). At the old Lithuanian festival of first-fruits all the food had to be eaten up with certain ceremonial forms (*The Golden Bough*, 2. p. 70). The North American Indians have feasts at which every scrap of food must be finished before the banqueters disperse. If a man is physically incapable of swallowing the remainder of his share he must get some one else to eat it for him.

27. 2. **The image of Aesculapius.** This image doubtless stood in the temple of Aesculapius. The remains of the temple were discovered in the course of the excavations in 1884. They consist only of foundations; not a column or part of a column is standing: but architectural fragments were found in sufficient numbers to enable us to restore the plan. The temple was peripteral, and of the Doric order. It had six columns at each end, and eleven columns (inclusive of the end ones) at each side. There was no *opisthodomos* or back-chamber at the western end. **The length of the temple was 24.35** metres, and its breadth 13.04 metres. The stylobate or platform on which the temple stood was raised by three steps above the ground, but the entrance was by an inclined plane or ramp in the middle of the eastern end. The stylobate was of 'poros' stone, covered with slabs of white limestone and black Eleusinian stone. The black slabs probably paved the floor immediately in front of the image of the god, as in the temple of Zeus at Olympia (v. 11. 10), but as none of them was found in position, this is uncertain. The temple itself was built of 'poros' stone coated with stucco, but the roof was of wood, and the tiles were of marble. The columns have twenty flutes. There were no reliefs in the metopes, but the gables were adorned with sculptures of Pentelic marble, of which some pieces have been found. The sculptures in the western gable appear to have represented a battle with the Amazons: those in the eastern gable a battle with the Centaurs. Two female figures riding quietly on horses, found near the western end of the temple, may have stood on the roof, crowning the two extremities of the western gable. They probably represent Nereids. The remains of the sculptures appear to belong to the finest period of Greek art, about the beginning of the fourth century B.C. Mr. Cavvadias thinks they are of the Attic school which was founded by Phidias. The style of the architecture of the temple also points to about the same date.

A little to the east of the temple was discovered, in 1885, a long inscription, giving full details as to the cost of construction of the

temple. From this inscription it appears that the temple was built by contract. Some persons contracted to execute various portions of the work; others contracted to supply the materials and bring them to the spot; others again contracted only for the transport of the materials. Amongst the contractors were men from Corinth, Argos, Stymphalia, and Crete. The whole work was under the superintendence of a single architect named Theodotes, who received 353 drachms a year. The building of the temple lasted four years, eight months, and ten days. The sculptures of the gables and the figures which stood on the roof were executed by various artists after models furnished by a certain Timotheus, perhaps the same Timotheus who worked with Scopas at the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus (Pliny, *N. H.* xxxvi. 30) and who made the image of Aesculapius at Troezen (Paus. ii. 32. 4). The doors of the temple were of ivory and cost 3070 drachms. From the style of the letters Mr. Cavvadias infers that the inscription must have been carved very soon after the archonship of Euclides, *i.e.* about the end of the fifth or the beginning of the fourth century B.C.

On the temple see Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολ. Ἑταιρίας, 1882, p. 81 *sq.*, *id.*, 1884, pp. 54-58; *id.*, 1885, p. 30; Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Épidaure*, I. p. 16 *sq.* On the gable (pedimental) sculptures see Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1884, pp. 49-60; Cavvadias, *op. cit.* p. 20 *sqq.*; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 2. p. 126 *sqq.* On other sculptures found at Epidaurus see Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1886, pp. 243-258; Cavvadias, *op. cit.* p. 22 *sq.* For the inscription giving the cost of the temple see Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχ. Ἑταιρ. 1885, p. 30 *sq.*; Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1886, pp. 145-178; Baunack, *Aus Epidaurus*, p. 22 *sqq.*; Collitz, *Griech. Dialekt-Inschriften*, 3. No. 3325; Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Épidaure*, I. p. 78 *sqq.*, No. 241. Mr. Foucart would date the temple 380-375 B.C. (*Bulletin de Corresp. Hellénique*, 14 (1890), p. 589 *sqq.*) Prof. Furtwängler dates it about 420 B.C. He considers the sculptures of the temple to be nearly akin to those of the Victory balustrade at Athens (see vol. 2. p. 258 *sqq.*), but still more closely allied to the sculptures of the Heraeum. He points out that the inscription which records the cost of building the temple is not necessarily post-Euclidean because the alphabet is Ionic; for we do not know when the Ionic alphabet was introduced into Epidaurus. He thinks that three small marble Victories belong to the temple of Artemis, near which they were found, and not to the temple of Aesculapius, as Mr. Cavvadias at first supposed. His view as to these figures is now accepted by Mr. Cavvadias. See *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift*, 24 November, 1888, p. 1484 *sq.*

The image of Aesculapius here described by Pausanias is represented on coins of Epidaurus (Fig. 38). The god is seen seated on a throne, his left hand holds a staff, his right is extended over the serpent. His dog is lying under or beside the throne. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 43, with pl. L iv. v. In the excavations at the Epidaurian sanctuary there were found two marble reliefs which Mr. Cavvadias, with great probability, supposes to be copies of the god's statue in the temple. They represent the god seated in much the same attitude as on the coins; the serpent, dog, and staff, however, are all missing, but their absence may perhaps be accounted for by the mutilated state of the slabs. The two

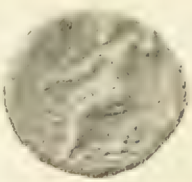


FIG. 38.—AESCULAPIUS (COIN OF EPIDAURUS).

reliefs agree so closely that it is quite plain they are copies of the same original. The better of the two, carved on a slab of Pentelic marble, is here figured (Fig. 39). The statue would seem to have borne a considerable resemblance to Phidias's great statue of Zeus at Olympia, which may account for the statement of Athenagoras (*Supplic. pro Christianis*, 17. p. 80, ed. Otto) that the image of Aesculapius at Epidaurus was by Phidias.



FIG. 39.—AESCULAPIUS (MARBLE RELIEF FOUND IN THE EPIDAURIAN SANCTUARY).

See Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1885, p. 48 *sqq.*; *id.* 1894, pp. 11-14, with pl. i.; Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολ. Ἑταιρίας, 1884, p. 58; *American Journal of Archaeology*, 3 (1887), pp. 32-37; *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. 44 (1889), pp. 474-478; Cavvadias, Γλυπτὰ τοῦ Ἐθνικοῦ Μουσείου, 1. Nos. 173, 174; *id.*, *Fouilles d'Epidaure*, 1. p. 22.

27. 2. **Thrasymedes, a Parian.** The base of a statue inscribed with the name of this sculptor was found at Epidaurus in 1894 (*Athenaeum*, 29 December, 1894, p. 902; *American Journ. of Archaeology*, 10 (1895), p. 116). In the inscription which records the building of the

temple of Aesculapius a certain Thrasymedes is mentioned as having undertaken to execute the doors and the roof (Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Épidaure*, 1. p. 79, Inscr. No. 241, line 45 *sq.*); this may be the same Thrasymedes who made the statue of Aesculapius. Compare Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 2. p. 125 *sq.*

27. 2. **On the throne are carved in relief —— Bellerophon killing the Chimaera** etc. On two terra-cotta reliefs from Melos, now in the British Museum, are represented the scenes which Pausanias describes as carved on the throne of Aesculapius. On one of the reliefs Perseus is seated on horseback with the head of Medusa in one hand and his scimitar in the other; the headless trunk of Medusa kneels with extended arms beside the horse. On the other relief Bellerophon, seated on horseback, lifts his sword to strike the Chimaera, which is under his horse. See Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, 1. pl. xiv. Nos. 51, 52. The late H. Brunn thought that these terra-cotta reliefs might be copies of the reliefs mentioned by Pausanias. Though their style is somewhat archaic or archaistic, he believed that they, or rather their originals, might have been executed by a contemporary of Phidias. See Brunn, 'Der Thron des Asklepios zu Epidauros,' in *Sitzungsberichte* of the Bavarian Academy (Munich), Philosoph.-philolog. Class, 1872, 2. pp. 535-537.

From inscriptions found at Epidaurus and Halicarnassus it appears that games were celebrated in honour of Aesculapius at Epidaurus, at which prizes were given for athletic and dramatic victories in the usual way. See Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1883, pp. 30, 91 (Inscriptions 10 and 32); Baunack, *Studien*, 1. pp. 85, 91; Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Épidaure*, 1. pp. 65, 77 *sq.*, Inscr. Nos. 189, 191, 238, 239, 240; *Revue Archéologique*, 2nd series, 24 (1872), p. 109.

27. 2. **the place where the suppliants of the god sleep.** The suppliants of the god are the patients who expected the god to reveal to them in a dream the manner of their cure, or actually to cure them while they slept. Compare ii. 11. 6, and vol. 2. pp. 470, 476. See also the note on the next section of this chapter. Strabo says (viii. p. 374) that the Epidaurian sanctuary was always full of sick people. In the inscriptions (as to which see below p. 248 *sqq.*) the place where the patients slept is generally called the *Abaton*, but in one inscription it is called the Dormitory (ἐνκοιμητήριον) (Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Épidaure*, 1. p. 34, Inscr. No. 6; Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1883, p. 237, Inscr. No. 61; Baunack, *Studien*, 1. p. 118). One inscription mentions that once, after the patients had fallen asleep, a man climbed up a tree and peeped over into the *Abaton* (Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Épidaure*, 1. p. 26, Inscr. No. 1, line 90 *sq.*; Ἐφημ. ἀρχαιολ. 1883, p. 215, Inscr. No. 59, line 90 *sq.*; Baunack, *Studien*, 1. p. 127). From this we infer that the place was either surrounded with a high wall or elevated above the ground, and that it was either open to the sky or had windows. Mr. Cavvadias identifies the *Abaton* or Dormitory with the great Ionic colonnade which extends along the north-western side of the sanctuary for a length of 75 metres (246 feet 5 inches). Its breadth is 9.75 metres (31 feet 10 inches). The colonnade is in fact composed of two

colonnades, which, however, form a single straight line, and have a common roof at the same level. The western colonnade is double, that is, it consists of two stories, of which the upper is on the same level as the eastern colonnade and the rest of the sacred precinct. A staircase of nineteen steps[1] (marked *d* on the plan) leads down to the lower story of the western colonnade. The existence of this lower story is rendered necessary by an abrupt fall in the level of the ground at this point; the fall in the ground is compensated by the lower story, which supports the upper story or colonnade proper at the same level as the eastern colonnade. Of these two colonnades, the eastern and the western, there exists nothing but the foundations of the walls; none of the columns is standing, but numerous scattered fragments allow of a partial restoration of the edifice.

The western colonnade is 37 metres (121 feet 4 inches) long. "Its lower story was not, properly speaking, a colonnade: it was in fact formed simply by four walls, of which the southern wall was pierced by a door in the middle, and flanked in its whole length by pilasters surmounted by a Doric architrave and a cornice." Down the middle of this lower story ran a row of six square, or rather octagonal, Doric columns, which served to support the upper story. Benches made of limestone extended between these central columns, as well as along the side walls. One of these benches is still to be seen between two of the central columns. The upper story of the western colonnade was a colonnade proper. It was divided down the middle, throughout its entire length, by a row of round or square columns corresponding to the octagonal columns of the lower story. Its southern façade was formed of Ionic columns united by a barrier or railing of limestone, which reached up to a third of the whole height of the columns.

The eastern one-storied colonnade was also divided down the middle by a row of columns, seven in number, which were united by a wall or barrier of some kind. Its southern façade was formed by sixteen Ionic columns, like those of the western colonnade, and similarly united by a barrier or railing. Within the eastern colonnade tablets bearing inscriptions were placed against the east wall: the stones in which these tablets were fastened can still be seen against the northern half of the east wall. It was here that the two famous tablets inscribed with the cures effected by Aesculapius were discovered (see below p. 248 *sqq.*) Close to these stones, in the south-eastern corner of the colonnade, is an ancient well 46 feet deep, in the bottom of which were found some black potsherds and iron handles, the remnants perhaps of vessels which had been used in drawing water from the well.

Such is the great colonnade of the sanctuary. Mr. Cavvadias's reasons for identifying it with the dormitory of the patients are:—(1) It is over against the temple of Aesculapius, which agrees with Pausanias's description of the situation of the dormitory: (2) the inscrip-

[1] So Mr. Cavvadias in Πρακτικά, 1884, p. [illegible], and *Fouilles d'Épidaure*, i. p. 17. In my own notes, made on the spot, I find the number of steps given as fourteen.

tions recording the cures were set up in it, which would be most natural if it was the place where the cures were supposed to have been effected; (3) the well in the colonnade was probably a sacred one, and its water may have been used by the patients for the purifications prescribed by ritual. See Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολ. Ἑταιρίας, 1884 (pub. 1885), pp. 58-61; Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Épidaure*, 1. p. 17 *sq.* Aristophanes, in a well-known passage (*Plutus*, 653 *sqq.*), has described sick people sleeping in a sanctuary of Aesculapius.

27. 3. **a round building —— called the Rotunda.** The remains of this very beautiful and interesting structure were brought to light by the excavations of Mr. Cavvadias in 1882. They are situated some 70 feet south-west of the temple of Aesculapius. Only the foundations are standing; but architectural fragments exist in sufficient number to allow us to reconstruct the plan of the edifice. Its diameter is 32.65 metres (107 feet). The existing foundations consist of six concentric walls built of common ('poros') stone (Fig. 40). The first or outermost of these foundation-walls supported twenty-six Doric columns, which formed the peristyle or outer colonnade of the building; the second foundation-wall supported the circular wall of the building; the third foundation-wall supported fourteen Corinthian columns, which formed the inner colonnade; and the three innermost foundation-walls supported the marble floor. The entrance was on the east; it was approached, not by steps, but by a ramp or inclined plane, most of which is destroyed. The outer colonnade was built of common stone (not marble) of a fine grain; the stone was coated with stucco, and the stucco was painted, for traces of colour can be detected on it, especially of red between the *guttae* of the mutules. The metopes of this colonnade were decorated with rosettes finely carved in relief. The circular wall of the building, between the outer and the inner row of columns, was built of various materials. The outer base was of white marble; the inner base was of black marble; the frieze was of Pentelic marble. The rest of the wall was of common stone. Pausanias tells us that the wall was adorned with paintings by Pausias: we do not know whether it was the outer or the inner face of the wall which was so embellished. Inside of the building, as we have seen, there was a circular colonnade of fourteen Corinthian columns: this colonnade was entirely of marble. It is one of the earliest known examples of the use of the Corinthian order in Greek architecture (cp. vol. 2. p. 208). In connexion with this colonnade Mr. Cavvadias made a curious discovery. He found, at the depth of about 3 feet under the ancient level of the soil, a beautifully chiselled Corinthian capital, almost intact, which yet, being without any marks of attachment, had clearly never formed any part of the colonnade to which by its shape and dimensions it belonged. It had not been rejected by the architect for any flaw, for it was carefully covered with tiles to preserve it from injury. Nor can it, in Mr. Cavvadias's opinion, have been the model on which the rest were made, since such models were made, not in stone, but in wax or other plastic material. Perhaps it may have been buried with some superstitious notion that so long as it remained intact the colonnade itself would stand entire.

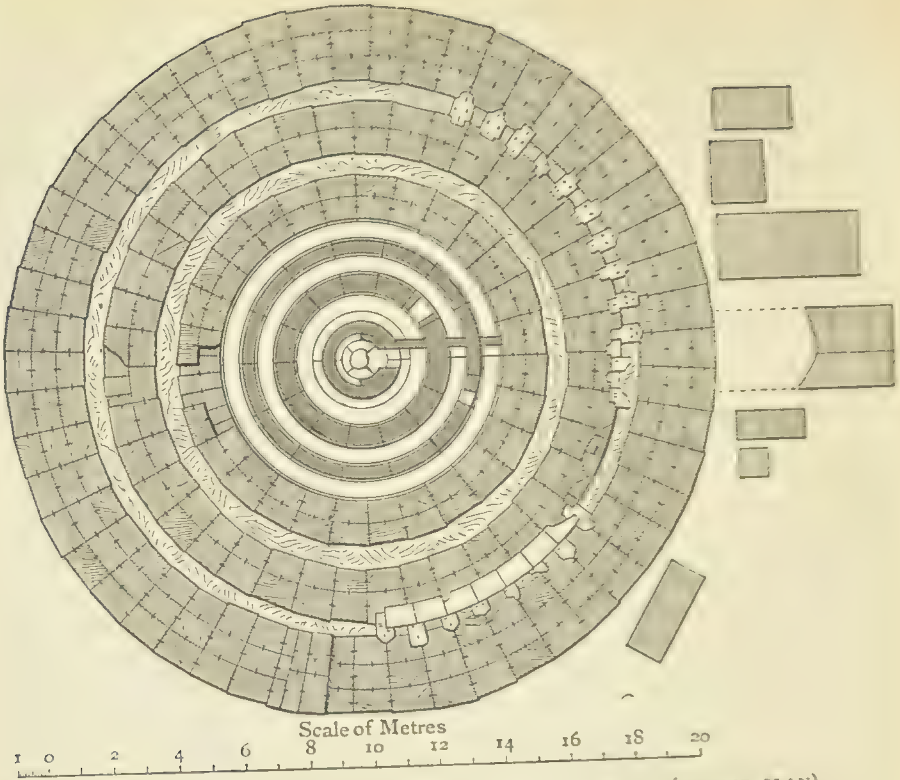


FIG. 40.—THE ROTUNDA AT EPIDAURUS, AS IT EXISTS (GROUND PLAN).

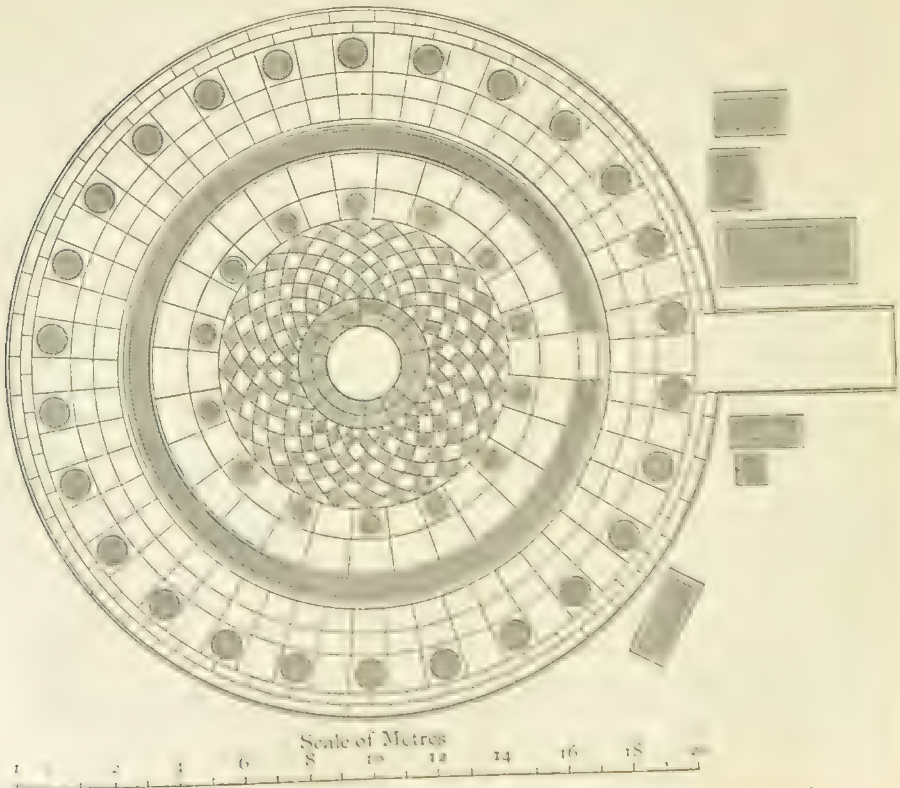


FIG. 41.—THE ROTUNDA AT EPIDAURUS, AS RESTORED (GROUND PLAN).

The pavement in the interior of the building, within the circle of the Corinthian colonnade, was composed of diamond-shaped flags of black and white marble alternately. If this pavement extended from the circumference to the centre, the central flag must have been circular; and as no such circular flag was found, Mr. Cavvadias concludes that the centre was occupied by a circular aperture which gave access to the curious subterranean vault under the floor of the building. This vault was formed by the three innermost of the six concentric foundation-walls, the three, namely, which supported the pavement. Thus the vault consists of three circular passages, one inside the other, with a small circular apartment in the middle. In each of the circular walls there is a door, so that the passages communicate with each other, and it is possible to pass from the outermost passage into the central compartment or *vice versâ*. But each passage is barred at a certain point by a cross wall so placed that a person on passing through the door of any one of the circular walls is obliged to go the whole round of the passage before he comes to the door leading into the next passage. The vault thus forms a kind of labyrinth such that any one starting from the circumference must traverse the whole of it before he reaches the centre.

The rest of the pavement of the building was of limestone, except the part between the Doric columns, which was of tufa.

The ceiling of the edifice was coffered and richly adorned with carving and painting. It was of white marble, except the central part as far as the Corinthian columns, which was of wood. At the outer edge of the roof a row of spouts, placed at regular intervals and exquisitely carved in the shape of lions' heads, served to convey the rain-water from the roof. From the centre of the roof there rose a floral decoration, of which some pieces have been found.

The whole of the marble decorations of the building are carved with the utmost delicacy and precision, and in style recall those of the Erechtheum at Athens.

A long inscription, found in the sanctuary, contains the accounts of the moneys received and expended for the construction of the Rotunda. In this inscription the building is called, not the Rotunda (*Tholos*), but the *Thumela*, *i.e.* 'altar' or 'place of sacrifice,' but that the building thus designated was the circular edifice just described is clearly proved by the contents of the inscription. For we learn from the inscription that the building in question contained a shrine (*sakos*) with an exterior colonnade, and that it was built of tufa brought from Corinth, of Pentelic marble, and of black stone from Argos. The name *Thumela* applied to the building seems to indicate that sacrifices were offered in the Rotunda, but what these sacrifices may have been, and by whom offered, we do not know. Mr. Cavvadias conjectured that some mystic rites, relating to the worship of Aesculapius, may have been performed in the curious vault under the floor of the edifice. From the inscription we infer that the work of building the Rotunda was spread over at least twenty-one years; for twenty-one priests are mentioned in it, and each priest held office for a year. Further, we learn that the

work was done by contract, different parts of it being assigned to different contractors. Some of the contractors came from a distance, as from Athens, Paros, Troezen, and Tegea, and were allowed travelling expenses for their journey. The duty of giving out the work on contract was entrusted to one set of commissioners (the ἐγδοτῆρες), and the duty of superintending its execution was entrusted to another set of commissioners (the *θυμελοποιοί*). The priests of Aesculapius acted as treasurers, disbursing money to the commissioners who superintended the execution of the work, and receiving it from contractors in the shape of fines inflicted for breaches of contract. From the shape of the letters and other indications the inscription seems to date from about the middle of the fourth century B.C. This therefore gives approximately the date of the construction of the Rotunda, and from this it follows that the architect Polyclitus was the younger, not the elder sculptor of that name (see note on ii. 22. 7). This conclusion is confirmed by the masons' marks on some of the stones of the building: for these marks are letters of the alphabet of shapes which belong to the fourth, but not to the fifth century B.C.

See *Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολ. Ἑταιρίας*, 1882, pp. 77-81; *ib.*, 1883, p. 49 sq.; Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Épidaure*, I. pp. 13-16; Baedeker,[3] p. 251. For the inscription relating to the construction of the Rotunda see Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1892, p. 69 *sqq.*; Cavvadias, *op. cit.* p. 93 *sqq.*, Inscr. No. 242.

27. 3. Pausias. See note on ii. 7. 3.

27. 3. it represents Drunkenness. On a silver plate, found in Syria, but of Greek workmanship, a naked girl is represented holding the arm of a seated man. Mr. De Witte interprets the girl as Drunkenness (Methe) and the man as Hercules drunk. See *Gazette Archéologique*, 6 (1880), p. 140 *sq.*, with plate 23.

27. 3. Tablets stood within the enclosure etc. Strabo says (viii. p. 374) that the sanctuary was "full of votive tablets, on which are recorded the cures, just as at Cos and Tricca." Mr. Cavvadias had the good fortune to discover two of these curious documents in the sanctuary. The stones on which the cures are inscribed were found in fragments built into the walls of a mediaeval house at the east end of the great Ionic colonnade (see note on ii. 27. 2). Being pieced together these fragments made up two of the tablets described by Strabo and Pausanias. To judge from the orthography and shapes of the letters, the inscriptions cannot be older than the middle of the fourth century B.C. nor later than the third century B.C. But some of the cures at least would seem to have been much older than the inscriptions: for one of the cases (the curing of a woman of Troezen who had a worm in her stomach, see below, case 8) was recorded by Hippys of Rhegium, a writer who flourished in the first half of the fifth century B.C. (see Aelian, *Nat. An.* ix. 33; *Frag. Hist. Graec.* ed. Muller, 2. p. 15). Probably the records contained in these tablets were collected by the priests from the inscriptions engraved on the offerings of patients who had been healed and who had recorded in these inscriptions the manner of their cure. The following may serve as specimens of the cures recorded on the tablets:—

(1) A woman named Cleo was with child five years. She came and slept in the Dormitory (*Abaton*) of the sanctuary; and in the morning, as soon as she had quitted the sanctuary, she was delivered of a son, who immediately washed in the cistern and walked about with his mother. (2) A man, whose fingers were all paralysed but one, came as a suppliant to the god. But when he saw the tablets in the sanctuary with the miraculous cures recorded on them, he was incredulous and scoffed at the cures. However, he fell asleep in the Dormitory and dreamed a dream. He thought he was playing dice in the temple and that as he was about to make a throw the god seized his hand and straightened out his fingers. In the morning he went forth whole. (3) Pandarus, a Thessalian, had letters branded on his forehead. Sleeping in the sanctuary he dreamed a dream. He thought that the god bound a fillet over the brands and bade him, so soon as he should leave the Dormitory, take off the fillet and dedicate it in the temple. When morning came, he arose and took off the fillet, and lo! the marks had disappeared from his face. But the letters which had been branded on his brow were now stamped on the fillet, which he dedicated in the temple, as the god had commanded him. Now it happened that Echedorus, whose face was also branded, came to the sanctuary with money which he had received from Pandarus to make a dedicatory offering to Aesculapius. But he did not make the offering, and as he slept in the sanctuary the god asked him in a dream whether he had not received money from Pandarus for the purpose of making a dedicatory offering in the temple. The man denied he had received the money, but offered, if the god would heal the marks on his face, to have a picture of the god painted and hung in the temple. Then the god bound the fillet of Pandarus about the brands of Echedorus and bade him, on leaving the Dormitory, take off the fillet, wash his face in the cistern, and look at himself in the water. Morning being come, he went forth from the dormitory and took off the fillet, from which the letters had now vanished; and on looking at his own reflection in the water, he saw that his face was now branded with the marks of Pandarus in addition to his own. (4) A man who suffered much from an ulcer on the toe was brought forth by the attendants and placed on a seat. While he slept, a serpent came forth from the dormitory and healed the ulcer with his tongue. It then glided back into the dormitory. When the man awoke he was cured, and declared that he had seen a vision; he thought a young man of goodly aspect had smeared a salve upon his toe. (5) Alcetas of Halice, a blind man, had a dream. He thought that the god came and opened his eyes with his fingers, and so he saw the trees in the sanctuary for the first time; in the morning he went forth whole. (6) Thyson, a blind boy of Hermion, had his eyes licked by one of the dogs about the temple and went away whole.

These cures are all taken from the first tablet. The following are from the second tablet:

(7) Arata, a Lacedaemonian woman, came to Epidaurus on behalf of her daughter who was afflicted with dropsy and had been left behind

in Lacedaemon. She slept in the sanctuary and dreamed a dream. She thought that the god cut off her daughter's head and hung up the headless trunk, neck down. When all the moisture had run out, he took down the body, and put on the head again. After she had dreamed this dream, the mother returned to Lacedaemon, where she found that her daughter was cured, and had seen the very same dream. (8) Aristagora, a woman of Troezen, had a worm in her stomach. She slept in the sanctuary of Aesculapius at Troezen and dreamed a dream. She thought that, Aesculapius being away at Epidaurus, his sons cut off her head, but that being unable to put it on again they sent for Aesculapius to come and help them. Meanwhile day dawned, and the priest saw that the woman's head was of a truth severed from her body. The following night Aristagora had another dream. She thought that the god came from Epidaurus and put her head on her neck; then he slit open her stomach, took out the worm, and sewed up the wound. After that she went away cured. (9) A boy, a native of Aegina, had a tumour on his neck. He came to the Epidaurian sanctuary, and one of the sacred dogs healed him with his tongue. (10) Gorgias of Heraclea had been wounded with an arrow in one of his lungs at a battle. Within eighteen months the wound generated so much pus that sixty-seven cups were filled with it. He slept in the dormitory, and in a dream it seemed to him that the god removed the barb of the arrow from his lung. In the morning he went forth whole, with the barb of the arrow in his hands.

See 'Εφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1883, pp. 197-228; *id.*, 1885, pp. 1-30; Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Épidaure*, 1. pp. 23-32; Baunack, *Studien*, 1. p. 120 sqq.; S. Reinach in *Revue archéologique*, 3rd series, 4 (1884), pp. 76-83; *id.*, 5 (1885), pp. 265-270; A. C. Merriam, 'Marvellous cures at Epidaurus,' *The American Antiquarian*, 6 (1884), pp. 300-307 (gives translation of first tablet); Collitz, *Griech. Dialekt-Inschriften*, 3. Nos. 3339-3341.

From these inscriptions we see that sacred dogs were kept in the sanctuary of Aesculapius, and that they were supposed to heal the sick by licking them. Festus (*s.v. In insula*) says that "dogs are kept in the temple of Aesculapius because he was suckled by a bitch." Lactantius (*Divin. Inst.* i. 10) also says that the youthful Aesculapius was nourished on dog's milk. Hence the story told by Pausanias (ii. 26. 4) that the infant Aesculapius was suckled by a goat and guarded by a dog, appears to be an attempt to combine two separate legends, which explained the sacredness of the goat and dog in the worship of Aesculapius by saying that the god had been suckled by a goat or (according to the other version) by a dog. From an inscription it appears that in the sanctuary of Aesculapius at Piraeus there were dogs which were fed with sacrificial cakes ('Εφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1885, p. 88; *C. I. A.* ii. No. 1651; v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *Isyllos von Epidauros*, p. 100). Sometimes the flesh of these sacred dogs seems to have been given to patients to eat as a medicine. At least Sextus Empiricus says (p. 174, ed. Bekker): "We Greeks think it unholy to eat dog's flesh. But some of the Thracians are said to eat dog's flesh, and perhaps this was an old Greek custom. Wherefore Diocles, taking a leaf out of the book of

the disciples of Aesculapius, recommends that the flesh of dogs should be given to some patients." Sacred dogs were also kept in the temple and grove of Hephaestus at Aetna in Sicily (Aelian, *Nat. An.* xi. 3), and in the temple of Adranus at the city of the same name in Sicily (*id.* xi. 20). In an inscription found at Citium in Cyprus, and containing a list of the persons connected with a sanctuary of Astarte (architects, masons, scribes, sacristans, etc.), there occurs the Hebrew word for dogs (*Klbm* = *Kelabim*), the meaning of which, in this collocation, has given rise to some discussion. Mr. S. Reinach plausibly explains it as referring to sacred dogs attached to the temple.

See S. Reinach, 'Les chiens dans le culte d'Esculape,' *Revue archéologique*, 3rd series, 4 (1884), pp. 129-135; H. Gaidoz, 'A propos des chiens d'Épidaure,' *ib.* pp. 217-222; Clermont Ganneau, 'Esculape et le chien,' *Revue critique*, 15 December, 1884, pp. 502-504; A. C. Merriam, 'The dogs of Aesculapius,' *The American Antiquarian*, 7 (1885), pp. 285-289.

Again it appears from one of the Epidaurian inscriptions (see case 4, above p. 249) that serpents were kept in the sanctuary, and were believed to heal the sick by licking them. See note on ii. 10. 3.

Besides the inscriptions already mentioned, and a large number of minor ones, three other inscriptions found in the sanctuary at Epidaurus may be specially mentioned. One records the cure of M. Julius Apellas, who had suffered from indigestion and was cured by a course of diet and exercise. Another contains a hymn in honour of Aesculapius, composed by Isyllus of Epidaurus. A third inscription records the decision of some Megarian arbitrators in a dispute as to boundaries between the Epidaurians and Corinthians. See Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Épidaure*, 1. pp. 33 *sq.*, 34 *sqq.*, 74 *sq.*; Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1883, p. 227 *sqq.*; *id.*, 1885, pp. 65-84; *id.*, 1886, pp. 141-144; *id.*, 1887, pp. 9-24; Baunack, *Studien*, 1. pp. 110 *sqq.*, 147 *sqq.*, 2. p. 221 *sqq.* The inscription containing the hymn of Isyllus is the subject of a special volume by Prof. v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *Isyllus von Epidaurus* (Berlin, 1886).

27. 4. **there he consecrated to Artemis a precinct.** This precinct, situated on the northern bank of the beautiful little woodland lake of Nemi (the Arician Lake), was excavated in 1885 at the expense of Sir John Savile Lumley (afterwards Lord Savile). Remains of the temple of Diana (Artemis) and a great many votive offerings were discovered. See *Athenaeum*, 10 October, 1885; *Bulletino dell' Inst. di Corrisp. Archeol.* 1885, pp. 149 *sqq.*, 225 *sqq.*; G. H. Wallis, *Catalogue of Classical Antiquities from the site of the temple of Diana, Nemi, Italy.*

27. 4. **the priesthood —— is the prize of victory in a single combat.** I have suggested an explanation of this custom in *The Golden Bough.*

27. 5. **a theatre.** This, the best preserved and most beautiful Greek theatre which survives, lies at the foot of a mountain (supposed to be Mount Cynortium, see § 7), about a quarter of a mile to the south-east of the sanctuary of Aesculapius. It was excavated by the Greek Archaeological Society in 1881-1882.

The auditorium or part reserved for the spectators is built on the slope of the hill and looks to the north-west. It includes fifty-five tiers of seats made of white limestone. A broad horizontal passage (*diazoma*) divides the auditorium into two sections, an upper and a lower: there are twenty-one tiers of seats in the upper section and thirty-four tiers in the lower. The lower part is divided into twelve wedge-shaped sections (*kerkides*) by thirteen staircases, each 2 feet wide. In the upper part, above the *diazoma*, the number of staircases is doubled, so that each wedge-shaped section in the lower part corresponds to two such sections in the upper part. The seats consist, as usual, of mere benches without backs, except in three of the rows, where they are provided with backs. One of these three rows is the lowest row of all, at the edge of the

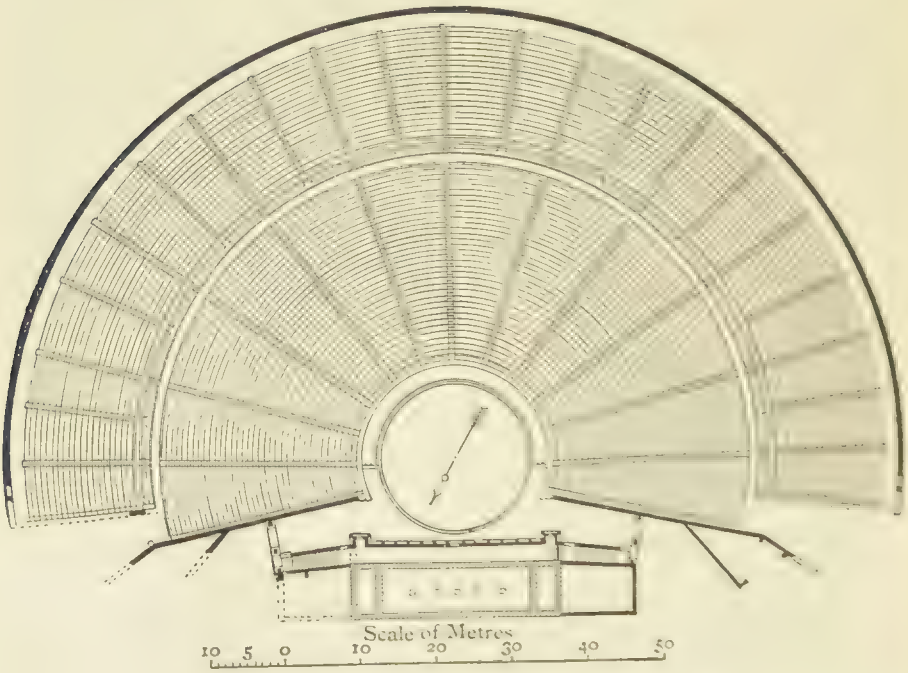


FIG. 42.—GROUND PLAN OF THEATRE AT EPIDAURUS.

orchestra; the other two are respectively above and below the *diazoma*. But even in these better rows the seats are not separated from each other by arms, like the chairs in the front row of the theatre at Athens; nor do they bear inscriptions, since they were not, like the chairs at Athens, reserved for official personages. The highest row of seats is 193 feet from the orchestra, and 74 feet above it. Behind it a passage, 7 feet wide, ran along the outside wall of the building. Of this outside wall, about 2 feet thick, only the foundations remain. The two retaining walls which supported the auditorium at its two ends are built of common ('poros') stone; on the side of the orchestra each of them ended in a plinth which served as the pedestal of a statue. On the top of each of the retaining walls there ran a balustrade of limestone. The

auditorium is separated from the orchestra by a passage or rather a paved channel, into which the water from the upper part of the theatre drained. At each end of this channel there are two holes, through which the water passed into a subterranean aqueduct.

The orchestra has the shape of a complete circle. It is surrounded by a ring flagged with stones, which does not, however, rise above the surface. Within this ring the orchestra proper, a circular space of 24.32 metres (79 feet 9 inches) in diameter, was not paved but merely covered with beaten earth. Exactly in the middle of the orchestra a round stone, 2 feet 4 inches in diameter, is fixed into the earth. In its upper surface, which is flush with the floor of the orchestra, there is a deep round hole, in which the altar of Dionysus may have been fastened. The circular shape of the orchestra is particularly interesting, as this was perhaps the original form of all Greek orchestras, but in no other existing Greek theatre has it been preserved entire. There are, however, traces of a circular orchestra in the Dionysiac theatre at Athens (vol. 2. p. 226).

Of the stage enough remains to allow us to reconstruct its plan with tolerable certainty. Close to the circle of the orchestra extends a row of stones sunk in the ground, which served to support the *hyposkenion* or front wall of the stage. This front wall of the stage was adorned with eighteen half columns of the Ionic order, each with a diameter of .33 metre. None of the columns is standing, but the places where they stood can still be seen, and fragments of them have been found. The height of the wall was 3.55 metres or 12 Greek feet exactly. It thus agrees with the statement of Vitruvius (viii. 8) that the height of the Greek stage was not less than 10 feet and not more than 12 feet. The front wall of the stage was perhaps adorned with sculpture as well as with half columns; for Mr. Cavvadias found two statues in the space between the orchestra and the base of the wall. One was a statue of Aesculapius, the other an archaistic statue of a woman, perhaps the goddess Health. Pollux tells us (iv. 124) that the *hyposkenion* or front wall of the stage was commonly decorated with columns and statuary. In the middle of the front wall of the stage there was a door, exactly opposite the centre of the orchestra. The depth of the stage-buildings from front to back is about 9 metres (30 feet), but of this only perhaps the front portion (2.41 metres deep) was the actual stage. At each end of the stage there are two small projecting wings, of quadrangular shape, in each of which there is a door. In Roman times these doors were apparently disused, and in their place statues were set up, the pedestals of which may still be seen. An inscription on the eastern of the two pedestals proves that it supported a statue of Livia. A ramp or inclined plane led up to the stage at either end. In the front wall of each of these ramps, close to the projecting wing of the stage, there is a door. On each side of the theatre, a broad passage called the *parodos* led into the orchestra, being bounded on the one side by the retaining wall of the auditorium, and on the other by the front wall of the ramp which gave access to the stage. At the outer end of each of these passages (*parodoi*) there was a door.

Spectators entered by these doors, passed on into the orchestra, and from it ascended by one or other of the staircases to their seats.

All the stage-buildings are constructed of common ('poros') stone. In the Roman period they were restored, but the original plan seems to have been retained unaltered. According to Mr. Cavvadias, the foundations of the stage-buildings, including the front wall of the stage, are clearly of the Greek period, and are entirely in harmony with the general plan of the theatre. In the middle ages the stage-buildings were rebuilt, probably to serve as dwelling-houses. At present they rise but little above the ancient level of the soil. Down the length of the central and largest of these buildings there is a row of five square stones sunk at regular intervals in the ground; they served as bases for unfluted columns which supported the roof. At each end of this central building there are the remains of two chambers of which the purpose is not known.

In recent years Dr. Dörpfeld has propounded a theory that in Greek theatres the actors acted, not on a raised stage, but on the level of the orchestra, and that the stage-buildings in existing Greek theatres were not stages (λογεῖα) on which the actors acted, but merely backgrounds in front of which they appeared. But this theory contradicts (1) the express testimony of Vitruvius (v. 8), of Pollux (who says, iv. 127, that the actors ascended the stage from the orchestra by ladders or staircases), and of other ancient writers who speak of actors ascending and descending (Aristophanes, *Knights*, 149, *Wasps*, 1342, 1514, *Eccles.* 1152; Schol. on Aristophanes, *Knights*, 149; Plato, *Symposium*, p. 194 b); (2) the evidence of Greek vases, on which the actors are plainly depicted acting on a raised stage adorned in front with columns like the stages at Epidaurus and Oropus (Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1751 *sqq.*); (3) the evidence of existing Greek theatres in which may be seen structures bearing all the outward appearance of having been stages and answering fairly to Vitruvius's description of the Greek stage; (4) the evidence of a Delian inscription of the year 282 B.C. in which the stage-building is definitely called the λογεῖον or place where the actors spoke (*Bull. de Corresp. Hellén.* 18 (1894), pp. 162, 165 *sqq.*; O. Navarre, *Dionysos*, p. 307 *sqq.*); and (5) the rules of probability, since it is very unlikely (*a*) that substantial structures, deep as well as long, such as we find in existing Greek theatres, should have been built merely as a background, when a simple wall would have answered the purpose; (*b*) that the actors should have been concealed from many of the spectators, especially from those who occupied the best seats in the front row, by the interposition of the chorus, as they must have been if the chorus intervened between them and the audience, as Dr. Dörpfeld supposes. On all these grounds Dr. Dörpfeld's theory may be rejected, at least until he supports it by much stronger arguments than he has hitherto adduced.

We learn from Pausanias that the architect of the theatre was Polyclitus. This was no doubt the same Polyclitus who built the Rotunda; and as the Polyclitus who built the Rotunda was the younger artist of that name (see above p. 248), it follows that the theatre was built about the middle of the fourth century B.C.

As to the Epidaurian theatre see Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολ. Ἑταιρίας, 1881, p. 15 *sq.*, and Appendix, pp. 1-40; *id.*, 1882, pp. 75-77; *id.*, 1883, pp. 46-48; Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Epidaure*, I. pp. 10-13; Kawerau, in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1738 *sqq.*; K. Dumon, *Le théâtre de Polyclite. Reconstruction d'après un module* (Paris 1889); v. Christ, 'Das Theater des Polyklet in Epidauros,' *Sitzungsberichte d. philosoph. philolog. u. histor. Classe d. k. b. Akad. d. Wissen. zu München*, 1894, pp. 1-52; Baedeker,[3] p. 252; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 231 *sq.* Dr. Dörpfeld's theory of the absence of a stage in Greek theatres, though promulgated about ten years ago, has not yet been fully explained and defended by him, but he has incidentally expounded it on several occasions. See A. Müller, *Die griechische Bühnenalterthümer*, p. 109 note; *Bull. de Corr. Hellén.* 18 (1894), p. 167 *sq.*; O. Navarre, *Dionysos*, p. 310 *sq.*; *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift*, 22 December, 1894, p. 1645 *sqq.*; *id.*, 12 January 1895, p. 65 *sqq.*; *id.*, 26 January 1895, p. 144 *sqq.* His theory has been combated by Mr. A. E. Haigh (*The Attic Theatre*, p. 141); Prof. v. Christ (in the dissertation cited above); K. Dumon (*Etudes d'art Grec* (Paris, 1894), p. 15 *sqq.*); and O. Navarre (*Dionysos* (Paris, 1895), pp. 87 *sqq.*, 306 *sqq.*) On the other hand the existence of a stage in Greek theatres of the fifth century B.C. has been denied by Mr. J. Pickard ('The relative position of actors and chorus in the Greek theatre of the fifth century B.C.,' *American Journal of Philology*, 14 (1893), pp. 68-89, 198-215, 273-304); E. Bodensteiner ('Skenische Fragen,' *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*, Supplementband 19 (Leipzig, 1893), pp. 639-808); and K. Weissmann (*Die scenische Auffuhrung der griech. Dramen des 5. Jahrhunderts*, München, 1893).

The excavations of 1893 laid bare a large square building opposite the theatre. It includes colonnades and chambers, and resembles both in size and internal arrangement the great gymnasium beside the stadium. See Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολ. Ἑταιρίας, 1893, p. 10.

27. 5. **a temple of Artemis.** The remains of this small temple are situated about 30 yards south-east of the temple of Aesculapius. Only the foundations, with some pieces of the pavement, are standing. It was a Doric temple of the sort called prostyle hexastyle, which means that it had six columns on the front (the east), but none at the sides or back. Its length was 13.50 metres and its breadth 9.60 metres. In the interior there was a row of columns on each of three sides. Like the temple of Aesculapius it was built of common ('poros') stone, except the cornice (στεφάνη), and the roof-tiles, which were of marble, and the pavement, which was composed of flags of hard limestone. The temple rested on three steps, but access to it was by a ramp or inclined plane on the east side. To the east of this ramp a pavement of common ('poros') stone is preserved, on which an altar may have stood. The exact date of the temple cannot be inferred from its architectural fragments, but probably it was not much later than that of the temple of Aesculapius. The reasons for identifying this little temple with the temple of Artemis are as follows: (1) The external cornice was ornamented with dogs' heads instead of the usual lions' heads, and the dog, as is well known, was sacred to Artemis in her character of Hecate: (2) near the eastern façade of the temple there stands, in its original position, a large pedestal bearing a dedication 'to Artemis' (Ἀρτάμιτι) inscribed on it in large archaic letters: (3) about half-way between this temple and the temple of Aesculapius there was found a statue of the triple Hecate, on the base of which is inscribed a dedication by a certain Fabullus 'to Artemis Hecate, hearer (of prayers)' (Cavvadias, *Fouilles*

d'Épidaure, I. p. 58, No. 141). Other inscriptions containing dedications to Artemis have been found in the sanctuary (Cavvadias, *op. cit.*, Inscriptions 111, 126, 127, 128, 147, 148, 162: 'Εφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1894, p. 80, Inscr. No. 12). Near the temple of Artemis were found three winged figures of Victory, which may have stood upon the roof.

See Πρακτικὰ τῆς 'Αρχαιολ. 'Εταιρίας, 1884, pp. 61-63; Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Épidaure*, I. p. 18 *sq.*

27. 5. **Epione.** She was the wife of Aesculapius (ii. 29. 1). In an inscription, found in the sanctuary of Aesculapius, it is recorded that a certain M. Julius Apellas was commanded by the god to sacrifice to Aesculapius, Epione, and the Eleusinian goddesses (Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Épidaure*, I. p. 33). Another inscription, found in the sanctuary, mentions a certain Stephanus who had been a 'Fire-bearer' of Aesculapius and Epione; the inscription dates from 133 A.D. (Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Épidaure*, I. p. 43, No. 35). Cp. S. Wide, *De sacris Troezeniorum, Hermionensium, Epidauriorum*, p. 57.

27. 5. **a sanctuary of Aphrodite.** In 1892 the foundation or platform (*crepidoma*) of a small temple was found at a considerable distance to the north-east of the temple of Aesculapius. As an inscription found on the spot mentions a sum of money paid to a certain Heraclidas for stones brought to the sanctuary of Aphrodite, the foundation or platform may be that of the sanctuary of Aphrodite here mentioned by Pausanias. See Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν, 1892, p. 39: Πρακτικὰ τῆς 'Αρχαιολ. 'Εταιρίας, 1892, p. 55. A statue of Aphrodite, life-size, was found in 1886 in the Roman baths to the north-east of the temple of Aesculapius. It is of Parian marble. The feet, nose, and most of the right arm are wanting. The statue reproduces, with some variations, the type known as the Venus Genetrix of which the most famous example is in the Louvre (Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, 2. pl. xxiv. No. 263; see above, vol. 2. p. 192). The goddess is represented standing erect, her weight resting on her right foot: her head is inclined a little forward and to the right. She wears a light tunic which, though it reaches to her feet, is too thin to veil the beautiful form beneath. Moreover it has slipped down from her right shoulder, leaving the right breast bare. A mantle is fastened over her left shoulder, and falls in graceful folds so as to swathe the body from the hips. At her left side she wore a sword; the sword-belt is slung over the right shoulder and passes obliquely across the breast. In her left hand, which is raised, the goddess may have held a spear. The statue is certainly a copy of a work of the best Greek period. Mr. Cavvadias considers it the finest of all the existing examples of this type of statue; in his opinion the copy itself must have been executed at a time when Greek art was still at a high level, perhaps in the Alexandrine age. See B. Staes, in 'Εφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1886, pp. 256-258: Cavvadias, Γλυπτὰ τοῦ 'Εθνικοῦ Μουσείου, No. 262. A plinth inscribed with the name of Aphrodite was found in the sanctuary of Aesculapius (Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Épidaure*, I. p. 57, No. 125).

27. 5. **a stadium.** Even before the recent excavations the lines of the stadium might be traced to the south and south-west of the Rotunda. In 1894 the stadium was excavated, at least in part. The first trenchings brought to light several rows of marble seats in perfect preservation, resembling those of the theatre (*Athenaeum*, 19 May, 1894, p. 654). The starting-point and goal have both been found (*American Journal of Archaeology*, 10 (1895), p. 116; *Classical Review*, 9 (1895), p. 335).

27. 6. **The buildings erected in our time by the Roman senator Antoninus.** If the reference is to Antoninus Pius, the passage must have been written before 138 A.D., when Antoninus became emperor. If the reference is to Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, the passage must have been written before 161 A.D., when Aurelius succeeded Pius on the throne. But as we know from Pausanias (viii. 43. 4) that Antoninus Pius adorned Greece with many buildings, it seems more probable that the reference is to him. Thus Pausanias would seem to have written the second book, or at least this part of it, in the reign of Hadrian. Cp. Leake, *Topography of Athens*,[2] 1. p. 28; Siebelis, vol. 1. p. vii. of his edition of Pausanias. Mr. W. Gurlitt, however, has shown some grounds for supposing that the second book was not written till after 165 A.D. (*Ueber Pausanias*, p. 1; see above, note on 26. 9). On the other hand, Schubart thought that there is no ground for identifying "the Roman senator Antoninus" with either of the emperors (*Zeitschrift für Alterthumswissenschaft*, 1851, p. 298).

27. 6. **a bath of Aesculapius.** This may be the large building to the north of the temple of Aesculapius. See above p. 238; and Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχ. Ἑταιρίας, 1886, p. 79 *sq.*; *id.*, 1887, p. 67. A roof-tile, discovered in the building, is inscribed with the name of Antoninus, which confirms the identification (Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Épidaure*, 1. p. 107, No. 247).

27. 6. **the Colonnade of Cotys.** In 1892 the foundations of a quadrangular building were excavated to the east of the stadium. It seems to have been a colonnade, and as a roof-tile of clay, inscribed with the name of Antoninus, was found in it, we may conjecture that it was the colonnade of Cotys which, as Pausanias tells us, Antoninus restored. See Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν, 1892, p. 49 *sq.*; Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολ. Ἑταιρίας, 1892, p. 54 *sq.*

27. 6. **built of unburnt brick.** Dr. Dörpfeld has shown that this material was extensively employed in building by the ancient Greeks, and he has traced some of the characteristics of Greek architecture, especially of the Doric style, to the very general use in early times of unburnt brick. All the upper portions of the walls in the Heraeum at Olympia (see v. 16) were of this material. See W. Dörpfeld 'Der antike Ziegelbau und sein Einfluss auf den dorischen Stil,' *Histor. und philolog. Aufsätze Ernst Curtius gewidmet*, pp. 139-150. On the Greek mode of making these bricks, see Blümner, *Technologie*, 2. p. 15 *sq.* Structures built of unburnt brick are often mentioned by Pausanias. See v. 5. 6; vi. 20. 11; viii. 8. 8; x. 4. 4; x. 35. 10.

27. 7. **Cynortium—Maleatian Apollo.** Mt. Cynortium is supposed to be the hill at the south-east corner of the valley, above the theatre, on

the way to Troezen. The ruins and inscriptions which have been found on this hill may have belonged to the sanctuary of Maleatian Apollo mentioned by Pausanias (Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 419). They are situated on a plateau on the side of the hill, above some ruins called *Kremos*. Here, along with various remains of Greek antiquity, there is a rectangular base inscribed with the name of Latona (Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Epidaure*, 1. p. 56, No. 124). From an inscription which records a decree to set up a bronze equestrian statue of a certain Aristobulus 'in the sanctuary of Maleatian Apollo and Aesculapius' (Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Épidaure*, 1. p. 75 *sq.*, No. 235), it appears that the great Epidaurian sanctuary was sacred to Maleatian Apollo jointly with Aesculapius. The Maleatian Apollo is mentioned, sometimes alone, sometimes jointly with Aesculapius in a number of Epidaurian inscriptions, mostly found in the sanctuary of Aesculapius (Cavvadias, *op. cit.*, Inscriptions 6. 51. 70. 93. 130, 131 ; Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1883, pp. 149, 237 ; Baunack, *Studien*, 1. pp. 94, 118 ; Collitz, *G. D. I.* 3. No. 3337). In the hymn of Isyllus of Epidaurus (see above, p. 234) the epithet Maleatian appears to be derived from the legendary Malus, who, according to Isyllus, "was the first who made an altar of Maleatian Apollo and glorified his precinct with sacrifices." The precinct here referred to is probably the great sanctuary of Aesculapius rather than the sanctuary of Maleatian Apollo on Mount Cynortium ; since Isyllus goes on to relate that Aesculapius, the great-grandson of Malus, was born in the precinct. Thus it would seem that in the opinion of Isyllus the great Epidaurian sanctuary had been sacred to Maleatian Apollo before Aesculapius was born. From the same poem of Isyllus we learn that at Tricca in Thessaly, the seat of a very ancient and famous sanctuary of Aesculapius (Strabo, ix. p. 437), there was an altar of Maleatian Apollo upon which the worshipper had to offer sacrifice before he might descend into the shrine (ἄδυτον) of Aesculapius. Maleatian Apollo was worshipped also at Sparta (Paus. iii. 12. 8). A small bronze figure of a warrior, found at Selinus in Cynuria, is inscribed with a dedication to Maleatian Apollo (*Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 3 (1878), pp. 16-18, with pl. i. 2 ; Roehl, *I. G. A.* No. 57 ; Roberts, *Greek Epigraphy*, 1. No. 250). A small bronze ram, also found in Cynuria, bears the inscription Μαλεάτα, *i.e.* '(the property) of Maleatian (Apollo)' (Roehl, *I. G. A.* No. 89 ; Roberts, *op. cit.* No. 289). Cp. Preller, *Griech. Mythologie*,[4] 1. p. 252.

28. 1. **The serpents —— are considered sacred to Aesculapius.** "The yellow snakes which were sacred to Aesculapius, and which are perfectly harmless, are yet found in the country. They were seldom seen even when they were held in reverence : but an English traveller, who will probably give to the public an account of his tour in Epidauria, was so fortunate as to see one, and to examine its peculiarities" (Gell, *Itinerary of Greece*, p. 109).

28. 1. **land-crocodiles not less than two ells long.** Herodotus says (iv. 192) that in the part of North Africa which is now called Tripoli there were "land crocodiles, about three cubits long, very like lizards." Upon this Sir Gardner Wilkinson remarks (in Rawlinson's translation) : "This immense lizard, or monitor, is very common in Egypt

and other parts of Africa. It is called in Arabic Wóran, or Wurran e' Gébel, 'of the mountains,' or W. el ard, 'of the earth,' to distinguish it from Wurran el bahr 'of the river.' The former is the *Lacerta scincus*; the latter *L. Nilotica*. It is generally about 3 feet long; and I have found one very large, which measured about 4 feet. The latter is rather smaller." The land crocodile is also mentioned by Aristotle (quoted by Apollonius, *Histor. Mirab.* 39) and Aelian (*Nat. An.* i. 58, xvi. 6). Cp. J. B. Meyer, *Aristoteles Thierkunde*, p. 307.

28. 1. **From India alone are brought parrots.** Parrots are first mentioned by Ctesias (*Indica*, 3, ed. Baehr; Photius, *Bibliotheca*, 72, p. 45 a, ed. Bekker). He calls the bird *Bittakos*, and says "it has a human tongue and voice. It is about the size of a hawk, it has a purple face, a black beard, and a dark blue neck. It talks like a human being in the Indian language, but can be taught to speak Greek also." The parrot is next mentioned by Aristotle (*Histor. Anim.* viii. 12, p. 597 b, ed. Bekker). Cp. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* x. 117; Solinus, lii. 43 *sqq.*, p. 211 *sq.*, ed. Mommsen (with Mommsen's preface, p. xxii.); Apuleius, *Florida*, ii. 12; Persius, *Prologue*, 8; Martial, x. 3. 7, xiv. 73; Statius, *Sylv.* ii. 4. Although parrots seem to have been imported by the classical nations from India alone, yet they were known to exist in Africa also; for an exploring expedition sent by Nero into Ethiopia discovered parrots in that country (Pliny, *N.H.* vi. 184). At the present day the ring-necked parrot extends across Africa from the mouth of the Gambia to the Red Sea. In Asia parrots are not found west of the valley of the Indus. See *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 9th ed. vol. 18, *s.v.* 'Parrot.' In Greek and Roman graves discovered in the south of Russia, parrots have been found represented on objects of art; *e.g.* there are some vases fashioned and painted like parrots. See *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg), 1870-71, p. 6; *id.*, 1873, p. 56; *id.*, 1878-1879, p. 161, cp. p. 166; *id.*, 1881, p. 110. On a silver bowl found at Lampsacus a black woman, wearing a turban and a spangled robe, is represented seated on a kind of sofa. Grouped about her are what seem to be long-tailed monkeys, a parrot, a turkey, and two lions, each of the latter with a rope round its neck which is held by a small black woman. The seated black woman is perhaps India (or Asia) surrounded by its characteristic animals. See *Gazette archéologique*, 3 (1877), pl. 19. (The writer who comments on this bowl, pp. 119-122, thinks that the seated woman is the Asiatic Artemis, and he calls the monkeys dogs. He takes no notice of the woman's colour nor of the remarkable birds on each side of her.)

28. 2. **Mount Coryphum.** This according to Leake is probably the mountain to the south-east of the Epidaurian sanctuary (*Morea*, 2. p. 425). Others think it is the hill which shuts the valley on the south-west (Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 419; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 76).

28. 8. **Melissa.** See Herodotus, iii. 50, v. 92; Athenaeus, xiii. p. 589 f; Diogenes Laertius, i. 7. 94.

29. 1. **the city of Epidaurus.** The city of Epidaurus was five Roman miles distant from the sanctuary of Aesculapius (Livy, xlv. 28). But it takes about two hours and a half to ride the distance, for the road is very rough. The scenery on the way is extremely beautiful—a

great contrast to the dull road from Nauplia to the sanctuary. The path leaves the open valley by a narrow glen at its northern end, and leads down deeper and deeper through luxuriantly wooded dells into the bottom of a wild romantic ravine. Here we follow the rocky bed of the stream for some distance between lofty precipitous banks. Farther on the path ascends the right bank of the stream, and we ride along it, with the deep ravine below us on the left and a high wall of rock on the right. The whole glen, as far as the eye can reach, is densely wooded. Wild olives, pines, plane-trees, Agnus castus, laurel, and ivy mantle its steep sides with a robe of green. In half an hour from the sanctuary another valley opens on the left, down which comes the road from *Ligurio*. After joining it we continue to follow the glen along a path darkened by trees and the luxuriant foliage of the arbutus, while beside us the stream flows through thickets of myrtle and oleander. In about half an hour more the valley opens out, and we see the sea, with the bold rocky headland of Methana stretching out into it on the right, the islands of Salamis and Aegina rising from it, and the Attic coast lying blue and distant on the northern horizon. Emerging at last from the valley we cross a little maritime plain, covered with lemon groves, and reach the site of the ancient Epidaurus. Its position is very lovely. From the little maritime plain, backed by high mountains, the sides of which are wooded with wild olives, a rocky peninsula juts out into the sea, united to the mainland only by a narrow neck of low marshy ground. It divides two bays from each other : the northern bay is well sheltered and probably formed the ancient harbour ; the southern bay is an open roadstead. The ancient city seems to have lain chiefly on the peninsula, but to have extended also to the shores of the two bays. The rocky sides of the peninsula fall steeply into the sea, and it rises in two peaks to a height of about 250 feet ; both peaks are thickly wooded : the eastern is the higher. The circuit of the peninsula was reckoned at 15 furlongs (Strabo, viii. p. 374). On the edge of its sea-cliffs may be seen in many places, especially on its southern side, remains of the strong walls which enclosed the city. They are built chiefly in the polygonal style, of large blocks well cut and jointed. On both the summits may also be traced, in spite of many gaps, fortifications built in the same style. The sanctuary of Cissaean Athena, mentioned by Pausanias, may have occupied the western of the two summits. A retaining wall, which may have served to support the sanctuary, may still be seen here ; and in a hollow to the west there is a marble seat. Everywhere we come across longer or shorter pieces of walls, and ruins of buildings, many of which, however, are mediaeval. On the northern edge of the eastern summit are some graves, which have been opened. Among the shrubbery which has overgrown the site Dodwell found the ruins of a small Doric temple ; and among the bushes on the marshy isthmus Vischer saw three female draped figures carved on sarcophaguses, and the torso of a man in armour. A small rocky spit juts into the northern bay, thus forming, along with the larger peninsula on the south, the harbour proper of the ancient city. On this rocky spit, to judge from Pausanias's description, must have stood the

sanctuary of Hera. Its site is supposed to be marked by a chapel of St. Nicholas. The view from the summit of the higher peninsula (the site of the ancient city) is very fine, especially when the island-studded sea and the high bold promontory of Methana on the south are lit up by the rays of the setting sun.

The modern village, called Old Epidaurus (*Palaea Epidavros*), stands on the northern bay, near the shore. On the slope of the mountain not far from the village, to the left of the road as you come from the sanctuary of Aesculapius, seven prehistoric tombs were discovered and excavated by Mr. Staes in 1888. They are hewn in the rock, and resemble the rock-cut tombs of Mycenae and Nauplia. They are of circular shape; the entrances were blocked with large stones. Skeletons and vases of the Mycenaean type were found in them, also a bronze spear-head of fine workmanship, and a bronze buckle.

See Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. pp. 261-264; Gell, *Itinerary of Greece*, pp. 110-114; Leake, *Morea*, 2. pp. 429-431; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 55; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. pp. 331-334; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 424 *sqq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 508 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 74; Mahaffy, *Rambles and Studies*, p. 371; Baedeker,[3] p. 249 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 209 *sq.*; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 39; Staes, in Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν, 1888, pp. 155-158.

29. 1. **The image of Athena —— is of wood —— they surname it Cissaean.** This surname may perhaps be derived from *kissos* 'ivy.' If this derivation is right, the image was probably made of ivy-wood. Dionysus was worshipped under the title of Ivy at Acharnae in Attica (Paus. i. 31. 6). At Phlius there was a festival called Ivy-cutters (Paus. ii. 13. 4). Compare S. Wide, *De sacris Troezeniorum, Hermionensium, Epidauriorum*, p. 18 *sq.* It seems probable, as Prof. Wide suggests, that Cissaean Athena, worshipped on the acropolis of Epidaurus, is identical with the Athena Polias who is mentioned in an inscription found in the Epidaurian sanctuary of Aesculapius (Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Épidaure*, 1. p. 50, No. 76).

29. 2. **The Aeginetans inhabit the island** etc. The island of Aegina has an area of 33 square miles, and its circumference is about 22 miles, reckoning from cape to cape (Dodwell, *Tour*, 1. p. 561; Baedeker,[2] p. 136 Engl. tr.; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 64). Strabo gives the circumference as 180 furlongs (viii. p. 375). The western half of the island is a stony plain, well cultivated with corn. The rest is mountainous, and may be divided into two parts: a remarkable conical hill, now called the *Oros*, which occupies all the southern extremity, and the ridge on which the famous ruined temple stands, at the north-eastern side of the island (Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 433).

29. 2. **Zeus —— caused the people to spring up from the ground.** Fiedler (*Reise*, 1. p. 275) was disposed to connect this legend with the fine potter's clay which is found in Aegina; he thought that the skill which we may presume the islanders to have attained in working the clay into human figures may have originated the story. Another legend was that Zeus turned all the ants in Aegina into men, who hence received the name of Myrmedons (= 'ants,' cp. Hesychius, *s.v.* μυρμηδόνες). See Schol. on Pindar, *Nem.* iii. 31; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophr.*

176; Apollodorus, iii. 12. 6; *Etymol. Magn.* p. 597. 4 *sqq.*; Ovid. *Met.* vii. 623 *sqq.*; Strabo, viii. p. 375. Another story was that Zeus, transforming himself into an ant, became the father of the Myrmedons by Eurymedusa, daughter of Cletor. For this reason the people of Thessaly (where the Myrmedons had their chief seat) were said to worship ants. See Clement of Alex., *Protrept.* ii. 39. Ants are said to have been sacrificed to Poseidon on the Isthmus (Hermann, *Gottesdienstliche Alterthümer*,[2] § 26. 9).

29. 3. **The region had already received its name** etc. Cp. x. 1. 1.

29. 4. **Ajax remained in a private station.** This is inconsistent with i. 42. 4, as Schubart pointed out (*Zeitschrift f. Alterthumswissenschaft*, 1851, p. 294).

29. 4. **Epeus who —— made the wooden horse.** See Homer, *Od.* viii. 492 *sqq.*

29. 5. **the people were expelled by the Athenians.** This happened in 431 B.C. See Thucydides, ii. 27; cp. Paus. ii. 38. 5. The restoration of the Aeginetans took place in 405 B.C. (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, ii. 2. 9).

29. 6. **sunken rocks and reefs rise all round it.** Chandler, who coasted along Aegina, says: "Our crew was for some time engaged in looking out for one of the lurking shoals, with which it is environed. These, and the single rocks extant above the surface, are so many in number, and their position so dangerous, that the navigation to Aegina was antiently reckoned more difficult than to any other of the islands" (*Travels in Greece*, p. 13).

29. 6. **the harbour in which vessels mostly anchor.** The modern town of Aegina, on the western shore of the island, occupies almost exactly the site of the ancient city, except that the latter was much more extensive, as is proved by the traces of the city-walls. The ancient town had two artificial harbours, the moles of which are still in fairly good preservation. The northerly of the two harbours is the smaller; it is oval in form and is sheltered by two ancient moles which leave only a narrow passage in the middle, between the ruins of two towers which stood on either side of the entrance. To the southward is the second and larger harbour; it is twice as large as the former. Its entrance is similarly protected by ancient walls or moles, 15 or 20 feet thick. Between the two harbours there seems to have been a succession of small basins or docks, separated from the sea by a wall, and communicating with the two harbours. Both ports were doubtless closed by chains in time of danger, and so were what the ancients called 'closed harbours' (κλειστοὶ λιμένες). A little to the north of the two harbours there was an open roadstead, sheltered on the north by a breakwater, on which there seems to have stood a wall forming a prolongation of the landward wall of the city. "There is no more remarkable example in Greece of the labour and expense bestowed by the ancients in forming and protecting their artificial harbours" (Leake).

On the landward side the city-walls could, at the beginning of this

century, still be traced through their whole extent. They were from 10 to 12 feet thick, and were strengthened by towers at intervals varying from 100 to 150 feet. The wall was further protected by a moat cut in the solid rock about 100 feet wide and from 10 to 15 feet in depth. There appear to have been three chief entrances, of which the one near the middle of the land front, leading to the temple of Athena, "was constructed apparently like the chief gate of the city of Plataea, with a retired wall between two round towers." To the southward the town-walls abutted upon the mole of the larger harbour, which formed a continuation of the city-wall. At present only a few traces of the city-wall are visible above ground on the landward side.

See Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 436 *sq.*; *Annali dell' Instituto*, 1 (1829), p. 204; Cockerell, *The temples of Jupiter Panhellenius at Aegina, and of Apollo Epicurius at Bassae*, p. 9 *sq.*; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. p. 334 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 81 *sq.*; Wordsworth, *Athens and Attica*, p. 224 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 139 *sqq.*

On one of the coins (Fig. 43) of Aegina a semi-circular port is represented, with a ship in it; above the port is a hexastyle temple or colonnade, in the midst of which is a door with steps leading up to it. The colonnade may perhaps be that of the temple of Aphrodite (see next note); but it looks more like a theatre, market, or wharf. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 45, with pl. L i.



FIG. 43.—THE PORT OF AEGINA (COIN OF AEGINA).

29. 6. a temple of Aphrodite. On a mound near the sea, a little to the north of the present town of Aegina, stands a Doric column which is often supposed to have formed part of the temple of Aphrodite mentioned by Pausanias. But since it stands near the smaller harbour (which was probably the Secret Harbour, see § 10), this is very doubtful. When Chandler visited Aegina in 1765, there were still two columns standing, supporting the architrave (Chandler, *Travels in Greece*, p. 14). Dodwell and Leake at the beginning of this century found the two columns still standing, but one of them had lost its capital and the upper part of the shaft. The entire column, including the capital, was 25 ft. high, and 3 ft. 9 in. in diameter at the base. Both columns were of the most elegant form. The intercolumniation was 6 ft. 4 in. 6 lines. The entire column was blown down a few years after Dodwell's visit; only the imperfect one now stands. From the large dimensions of the columns Leake inferred that the temple must have been that of Hecate, the chief deity of the Aeginetans (Paus. ii. 30. 2). See Dodwell, *Tour*, 1. p. 560; Leake, *Morea*, 2. pp. 435 *sq.*, 438; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 511; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 82; Baedeker,[3] p. 140; Wordsworth, *Athens and Attica*,[4] p. 225 *sq.*; *Antiquities of Ionia*, Pub. by the Society of Dilettanti, Part the Second (London, 1797) p. 15, with pl. I. In 1829 some of the foundation-stones of the temple were removed to be used in repairing the harbour. It was then discovered that the foundations consisted of eleven courses

of squared blocks, most of which measured 4 ft. long by 3 ft. wide. The material both of the foundations and of the column is a calcareous stone of a yellowish colour, which is quarried in the island. See *Annali dell' Instituto*, 1 (1829), p. 205 *sqq.*

29. 6. **the Aeaceum.** *I.e.* the sanctuary of Aeacus. Leake suggested that it "may have been situated upon the elevated level towards the plain" (*Morea*, 2. p. 438).

29. 7. **A drought had for some time afflicted Greece** etc. Cp. i. 44. 9; Apollodorus, iii. 12. 6; Isocrates, *Evagoras*, 14 *sq.*

29. 8. **it is told as a secret that this altar is the tomb of Aeacus.** As to secret graves see vol. 2. p. 366 *sq.*

29. 9. **the grave of Phocus.** This has sometimes been identified with a large barrow about 40 ft. high, situated about a mile to the north of the town of Aegina; it attracts the eye of the voyager approaching from Piraeus. At the foot of the barrow a large space, approximately square, has been levelled in the rock; one side of it is about 100 yards long. This excavation can hardly be the Aeaceum, since that structure was (according to Pausanias) in the most conspicuous part of the city. See Dodwell, *Tour*, 1. p. 559; *Annali dell' Instituto*, 1 (1829), pp. 207-209; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 82 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 141; Wordsworth, *Athens and Attica*,[4] p. 226.

29. 9. **the murder of Neoptolemus.** Cp. x. 24. 4 note.

29. 10. **plead his defence from the deck of a ship** etc. Cp. i. 28. 11 note. Plato in the *Laws* (ix. p. 866 d) enacted that if a banished homicide should be driven ashore in the country where he had committed the offence, he was not to land, but to dip his feet in the sea, and hold on his voyage. (The passage is rather obscure, but this seems to be the sense of it.)

29. 11. **the Secret Harbour.** This was perhaps the smaller (the northerly) of the two ports of Aegina. See note on § 6.

30. 1. **The image of Apollo is naked** etc. On a coin of Aegina an archaic nude Apollo is represented, holding a bow and a branch. It may be a copy of the wooden image mentioned by Pausanias. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 45, pl. L ii. In the church of St. Michael at a place called *Marathona* on the western coast of Aegina there is a marble slab inscribed with the words "Boundary of the precinct of Apollo and Poseidon" (Wordsworth, *Athens and Attica*, p. 231).

30. 2. **mysteries of Hecate.** This festival of Hecate is referred to by Lucian (*Navig.* 15), and perhaps by Aristophanes (*Wasps*, 122). Cp. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, p. 242.

30. 2. **Myron —— Alcamenes —— Hecate** etc. Alcamenes was a contemporary of Phidias. See Paus. v. 10. 8 note. Myron flourished about Ol. 80 (460 B.C.) (Pliny, *Nat. hist.* xxxiv. 49), but the limits of his artistic career are somewhat difficult to determine. See Brunn, in *Sitzungsberichte* of the Bavarian Academy (Munich), Philosoph. philolog. Class, 1880, p. 474 *sqq.* On the triple-formed Hecate in art, see the elaborate dissertation of E. Petersen, 'Die dreigestaltige Hekate,' *Archaeolog.-epigraph. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich*, 4 (1880),

pp. 140-174; *id.*, 5 (1881), pp. 1-84; cp. Murray, *Hist. of Greek Sculpture*, 2. p. 140 *sq.* The triple Hecate appears on coins of Aegina (Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 45, pl. L iii.) The Hecate on the Tower at Athens (cp. i. 22. 4 note), who is here mentioned by Pausanias, may be identical with the Artemis on the Tower (Artemis Epipyrgidia) whose fire-bearing priest had a seat in the Dionysiac theatre (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 268).

30. 3. **a sanctuary of Aphaea.** On the northern slope of Mt. *Oros* (see note on 29. 2), in a wild and lonely valley, there is a terrace supported upon walls of great blocks of trachyte. On this terrace there is a ruined chapel of the Hagios Asomatos (the Archangel Michael), which is entirely built of fine pieces of ancient architecture. About the middle of the terrace there are a number of large flat stones laid at equal intervals, as if they had been the bases of columns. This was probably the sanctuary of Aphaea. See Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 84 *sq.*; Wordsworth, *Athens and Attica*,[4] p. 230 *sq.*; Leake, *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 277; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. pp. 337-339. A mutilated Greek inscription, dating from about the first half of the fifth century B.C., has been found here. See Hirschfeld in *Hermes*, 5 (1871), pp. 469-474; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, No. 448; Roehl, *I. G. A.* No. 352; Roberts, *Greek Epigraphy*, 1. No. 120.

30. 3. **Carmanor, who purified Apollo** etc. See ii. 7. 7 with the notes.

30. 3. **Dictynna.** This name (derived from *dictuon* 'a net'), together with the story told by Pausanias about her, suggests that the goddess in question may have been a personification of the nets used by fishermen and hunters. For the primitive fisher or hunter often regards his net as animate and propitiates it accordingly. Cp. *The Golden Bough*, 2. p. 117 note 1. In Laos the hunter invokes the spirits of his weapons and other instruments of the chase, in order that they may favour him in the hunt; and when he is setting a trap he makes an offering to the spirit of the cord by which the trap is to be suspended. The trap is then run up with enthusiasm. Elephant hunters before setting out for the chase make an offering of rice, brandy, fowls, and ducks to the spirit of the rope by which the captive elephant is to be bound. See Aymonier, *Notes sur le Laos*, pp. 23, 25, 114. In Tahiti the makers of fishing-nets had a god of their own, named Matatini (Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, 1. p. 329). The prophet Habakkuk speaks of those who "sacrifice unto their net and burn incense unto their drag; because by them their portion is fat, and their meat plenteous" (Habakkuk, i. 16).

30. 4. **Mount Panhellenius.** This is now identified with Mount *Oros*, the highest mountain in Aegina (1742 ft.) Formerly it was supposed to be the height upon which the famous ruined temple still stands (see below, p. 268 *sqq.*) But a statement of Theophrastus seems quite decisive in favour of Mt. *Oros*. Theophrastus observes (*De signis tempest.* i. 24) that when clouds settle upon Zeus Hellanius at Aegina (that is upon Mount Panhellenius) it is a sign of rain. This could only apply to Mt. *Oros*, which is a very conspicuous landmark viewed

from Athens and from every part of the Gulf; whereas the height upon which the temple stands is quite inconspicuous, and indeed cannot be distinguished very easily even when you are sailing near the island. A chapel of St. Elias now occupies the summit of Mt. *Oros*. Remains of the old wall, which followed the edge of the summit in a bent line, may still be traced; and some ancient blocks have been built into the walls of the chapel. See Baedeker,[3] p. 143; cp. Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 84 sq.; Wordsworth, *Athens and Attica*,[4] p. 228 *sqq.*; Leake, *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 277; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. p. 339 *sq.*

30. 4. **Auxesia and Damia.** See ii. 32. 2 and Herodotus, v. 82-87. They were also worshipped at Epidaurus, as we learn from an Epidaurian inscription, which mentions a priest of Maleatian Apollo and of the Azesian goddesses Damia and Auxesia (Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Épidaure*, 1. p. 46, No. 51; Collitz, *G. D. I.* 3. No. 3337). And from inscriptions it appears that in the later times of antiquity they were worshipped also in Laconia (S. Wide, *De sacris Troezeniorum, Hermionensium, Epidauriorum*, p. 62). Herodotus says (*l.c.*) that once upon a time the land of Epidaurus yielded none of the fruits of the earth. So the Delphic oracle bade the people set up images of Damia and Auxesia which were to be made of olive wood. Accordingly the Epidaurians begged the Athenians to give them wood from the olives of Athens, deeming these the most sacred of all olives. The Athenians complied with the request on condition that the Epidaurians should send sacrifices every year to Athena Polias and Erechtheus. The Epidaurians agreed to this, received the olive wood, carved the images out of them, and set them up. Then the land bore fruit once more. However, war being declared between the Epidaurians and Aeginetans, an Aeginetan cruiser swooped down on the coast of Epidaurus and carried off the images of Damia and Auxesia to Aegina, where the images were set up at an inland place called Oea, 30 furlongs distant from the town of Aegina. Herodotus then relates the disastrous attempt made by the Athenians to rescue the images from the Aeginetans. He gives some curious details as to the way in which these images were worshipped first by the Epidaurians and afterwards by the Aeginetans. He says that the images received sacrifices and were propitiated by choruses of women who railed at each other: ten men were appointed for each of the two divinities to furnish the chorus. The railing and abuse of the women who composed these choruses were levelled exclusively at the women of the district, never at the men. There are points of similarity between the worship of Damia and Auxesia on the one side, and of Demeter and Proserpine on the other.

(1) The raillery practised by the Epidaurian women is like the raillery practised by the Athenian women on their way to the great mysteries of Demeter at Eleusis. See Schol. on Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 1014; Suidas, *s.v.* τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς ἁμάξης: and above, vol. 2. p. 492.

(2) At Troezen a festival called 'the throwing of stones' was celebrated in honour of Damia and Auxesia (Pausan. ii. 32. 2). Similarly at the Eleusinian festival of Demeter people appear to have thrown stones at each other as a religious rite. See Athenaeus, ix. p.

406 d, compared with Homer, *Hymn to Demeter*, 265 *sqq.* (where Baumeister wrongly changes ἐν ἀλλήλοισι into Ἀθηναίοισι). From Attic inscriptions it seems that there was a priest of Demeter who was called the Stone-bearer (λιθοφόρος). See K. Keil in *Philologus*, 23 (1866), p. 242 *sq.*; cp. O. Crusius, *Beiträge zur griech. Mythologie*, p. 20 *sq.*

(3) Pausanias expressly says in the present passage that the manner of sacrificing to Damia and Auxesia was the same as that of sacrificing to the Eleusinian deities.

(4) Zenobius (*Cent.* iv. 20) says that at Troezen Demeter was called Amaea, and Proserpine was called Azesia. (Cp. Suidas and Hesychius, *s.v.* Ἀζησία: Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, p. 348 line 26.) Now since Pausanias tells us (ii. 32. 2) that Damia and Auxesia were worshipped at Troezen it might seem as if Amaea and Azesia were merely different forms of the same names. However, this identification of the names is strongly discountenanced, if not disproved, by the Epidaurian inscription in which Damia and Auxesia are called the Azesian goddesses (see above p. 266).

(5) The virtue attributed to the images of Damia and Auxesia—namely, that of making the fruits of the earth to grow (Herodotus, v. 82 *sq.*)—is exactly the function of Demeter.

We may perhaps go further and trace some resemblances between these beliefs and practices and those of other parts of the world. The fertilising influence ascribed to Damia and Auxesia seems to have depended on the fact that their images were made of a sacred wood. Now I have shown elsewhere (*The Golden Bough*, 1. p. 67 *sqq.*) that trees are commonly supposed to be endowed with the power of making the crops to grow, and that this belief is at the root of many of the spring and midsummer customs (May poles, May queens, etc.) of our European peasantry. Further, raillery directed at women forms a special feature of some of these spring customs (*The Golden Bough*, 1. pp. 91, 92, 93); and so does stone-throwing (*ib.* 1. p. 264). Moreover battles, more or less serious, between peasants have been a recognised mode of promoting the growth of the corn in modern Europe and apparently elsewhere. For European examples, see Mannhardt, *Baumkultus*, pp. 548-552. In Acobamba (Peru) the traveller Tschudi saw two parties of the villagers fighting with each other in order that the women might catch the flowing blood and sprinkle it on the fields (Bastian, *Der Mensch in der Geschichte*, 3. p. 73). In Tonga, when the yams were ripening, various ceremonies were performed to ensure good weather and a fine crop; an essential part of these ceremonies was a battle between the islanders, one half of the island against the other half. The fight was obstinately maintained and lasted for hours. See Mariner, *Tonga Islands*,[2] 2. p. 207. At the harvest festival of some of the Indian tribes in the south-east of the United States the warriors used to paint and adorn themselves in their most terrific array and fight a mock battle in very exact order (J. Adair, *History of the American Indians*, p. 110). Amongst the Madi tribe of Central Africa the harvest festival is regularly followed by a fight conducted according to certain fixed rules (R. W.

Felkin, 'Notes on the Madi or Moru tribe of Central Africa,' *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, 12 (1882-1884), p. 339). Amongst the Khonds of Orissa, who sacrificed human beings and buried their flesh in the fields to fertilise them, a wild battle was fought with stones and mud just before the flesh was buried in the ground (S. C. Macpherson, *Memorials of Service in India*, p. 129). A sham-fight, enacted before the chief's house, is part of the ceremonies performed in connection with the rice-culture in Minahassa, Northern Celebes (N. Graafland, *De Minahassa*, 1. p. 56). In Gilgit an elaborate sham-fight marked the time for pruning the vines and the first budding of the apricot trees. The Rajah was besieged in his castle, and the Vizier led the storming party. If the castle was captured, the Rajah had to pay a ransom; but if the Vizier's party were defeated, every man had to make a present to the Rajah. See Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*, p. 102. In the southern provinces of China, in the first month of each year, "the peasants of neighbouring villages meet in the open plains, form sides, and attack each other with stones. These encounters are sometimes very serious affairs. . . . Like most Chinese customs, these conflicts have their origin in a superstitious belief" (Gray, *China*, 1. p. 256 *sq.*) The writer does not define the superstition, but probably it related to the fertilisation of the fields.

How the raillery and abuse (not to say the sticks and stones) discharged upon such occasions were supposed to promote the fertility of the ground, it is not easy to see. But at least it can be shown that such a cause has in fact been believed to produce such an effect. See above, vol. 2. p. 492.

To return to Damia and Auxesia, the place Oea at which their images were to be seen has been identified by Leake and Bursian with the ruined town of *Palaea-Chora*, situated among the mountains about an hour from the coast. It was to this place that the people of Aegina withdrew, for fear of pirates, during the Turkish dominion. There are no ancient remains here, but the distance from the town of Aegina agrees exactly (according to Bursian) with the distance given by Herodotus, namely 20 Greek furlongs. Leake, however, gives the distance as 30 furlongs. See Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 83 *sq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 439 *sq.*; *id.*, *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 275 *sqq.* Cp. Fiedler, *Reise*, 1. p. 273; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 513.

The resemblance of Damia and Auxesia to the corn-spirit of Germany, etc., did not escape W. Mannhardt, though he did not draw out the parallel (*Die Korndämonen*, p. 35). Cp. S. Wide, *De sacris Troezeniorum, Hermionensium, Epidauriorum*, p. 61 *sqq.*; Welcker, *Griechische Götterlehre*, 3. p. 130 *sqq.*

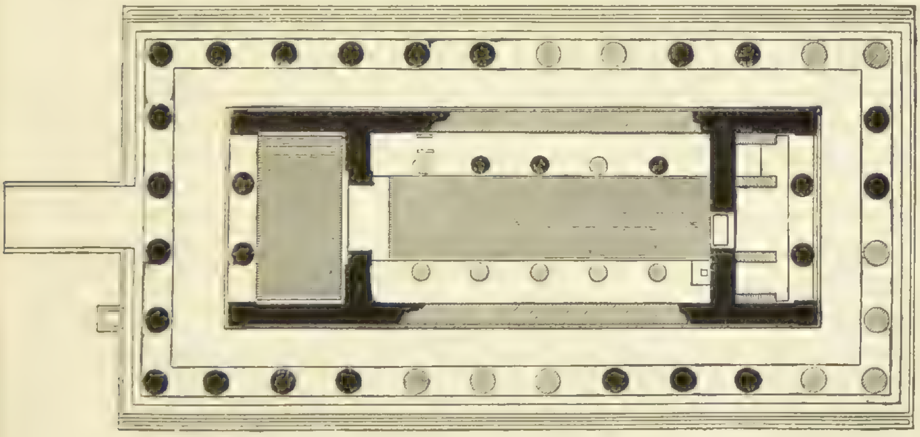
By far the most remarkable monument of antiquity in Aegina is one which Pausanias has omitted to mention. This is the temple of Athena, called till lately the temple of Panhellenian Zeus. It was probably in this temple that the Aeginetans dedicated the prows of the Samian ships which they had captured in a sea-fight fought about 520 B.C. (Herodotus, iii. 59). The reasons for assigning the temple to Athena are: (1) Athena was the central figure of the sculptures in both the eastern

and western gables; (2) at *Bilikada*, in the church of St. Athanasius, situated about a quarter of an hour to the west of the temple, there is a large marble slab bearing the inscription:

ΗΟΡΟΣ
ΤΕΜΕΝΟΣ
ΑΘΕΝΑΙΑΣ

that is 'The limit of the precinct of Athena.' See Wordsworth, *Athens and Attica*,[4] p. 227 *sq.* This stone no doubt once marked the sacred enclosure of the neighbouring temple. In 1888 another stone bearing exactly the same inscription was found in digging up a field in the district called *Asomaton*, beside the road leading to the temple of Athena (Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν, 1888, p. 36; *C. I. A.* iv. No. 528 a, p. 157).

The temple stands on the top of a hill towards the north-east corner



Scale of Feet
10 0 10 20 30 40

FIG. 44.—PLAN OF TEMPLE AT AEGINA.

of the island, commanding superb views over the sea and the coasts of Attica and Peloponnese. It is distant about two and a half hours from the town of Aegina. Travellers from Athens who wish to visit the temple commonly land in the fine rocky bay of *Hagia Marina* on the eastern side of the island. A steep declivity, sparsely wooded with pine-trees, leads up from the shore of the bay to the temple. I shall always remember how on a lovely day in spring we landed here and lay under the pine-trees, looking down on the intensely blue but crystalline waters of the bay. The air was full of the fragrance of the pines, the yellow broom was in flower at our feet, and visible across the sea was the coast of Attica. It was a scene such as Theocritus might have immortalised.

The platform upon which the temple stands is partly formed of the solid rock, partly built up of large polygonal stones. It is about 230 feet long by 130 feet wide, and was paved with large square slabs in two courses. The length of the temple itself, upon the stylobate or upper

step, is 94 feet, the breadth 45 feet. The temple was a Doric peripteral, with six columns at the ends and twelve at the sides, or thirty-two columns in all. Of these only twenty are now standing, mainly those of the east façade and the adjacent parts of the sides. They all retain their entablature. The height of the columns is 17 ft. 2 in. Their diameter at the base is 3 ft. 3 in.; at the top it is 2 ft. 3 in. Some of the columns are monoliths, but most of them consist of several drums. The temple has a *pronaos* (fore-temple) and an *opisthodomos* or *posticum* (back-chamber), as well as a *cella* or central chamber. The *pronaos* and *opisthodomos* were both distyle *in antis*, *i.e.* have each two columns in front between *antae*; the diameter of these columns is 3 ft. 2 in. Two columns of the fore-temple are still standing with their entablature. The *cella* had a door at either end opening into the fore-temple and back-chamber. Inside the *cella* there was a row of five columns on each side. These columns were 2 ft. 4 in. in diameter. The temple is built of yellowish limestone coated with stucco. The roof and sculptures are of Parian marble. The pavement of the fore-temple and *cella* was covered with a very hard and polished stucco, of a deep crimson colour; portions of it are still preserved.

There are some foundations of an ancient building, perhaps a portal (propylaeum), as you approach the temple from the south-east. At the north-east angle there is a cave, partly artificial.

Leake was of opinion that the temple is the oldest Doric temple in Greece, except the one at Corinth. Cockerell, the chief authority on the subject, agreed with Leake in thinking that it cannot have been built much later than 600 B.C. He says (p. 24): "The marks of a very ancient order are observable throughout in the large proportion of the entablature, the short column of twenty flutings, much diminished [toward the top], the salient cap[ital] and the three sinkings of the hypotrachelium, and the large size and prominence of the upper moulding of the cornice and the cymatium. The κρηπίς is composed of three lofty steps, of which the middle one is the least, as is the case in most of the examples."

See *Antiquities of Ionia*, published by the Society of Dilettanti, Part the Second (London, 1797), pp. 16-19, with plates ii.-vii.; C. R. Cockerell, *The Temples of Jupiter Panhellenius at Aegina and of Apollo Epicurius at Bassae near Phigaleia* (London, 1860); Ch. Garnier, 'Île d'Égine, Temple de Jupiter Panhellénien,' *Revue archéologique*, 11 (1854), pp. 193-204, 345-361, 425-440; Chandler, *Travels in Greece*, p. 12; Dodwell, *Tour*, 1. p. 504 *sqq.*; *Annali dell' Instituto*, 1 (1829), pp. 209-211; Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 441 *sq.*, 3. p. 271 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 270 *sqq.*; Fiedler, *Reise*, 1. p. 277; Wordsworth, *Athens and Attica*,[4] p. 226 *sqq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 511 *sqq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 84; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. p. 341 *sqq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 141 *sq.*

Most of the sculptures which formerly adorned the gables were discovered among the ruins of the temple in 1811 by a party of English and German scholars and architects. In 1812 the sculptures were bought by the Crown Prince of Bavaria (afterwards Ludwig I.) and are now in the Sculpture Gallery at Munich. Some partial restorations were skilfully made by Thorwaldsen. Ten figures from the west gable are preserved, and five from the east. There are also two much smaller

figures which stood on the roof above the gable (*acroteria*), and a number of fragments of the missing figures. The groups in the two gables corresponded very closely to each other. Each represented a combat of spearmen and archers about a fallen warrior. This fallen man lay in the centre of the gable, while above him stood Athena, armed with helmet, shield, and spear. In the east gable a kneeling archer wears a head-dress in the form of a lion's skin. From this it has been inferred that the archer is Hercules, and that the scene in this gable represents the war waged on Laomedon King of Troy by Hercules assisted by Telamon, the father of Ajax. The fallen man is supposed to be Hercules's companion Oicles, who was slain by Laomedon in the war (Apollodorus, ii. 6. 4; Diodorus, iv. 32). The sculptures in the western gable probably represent the combat of the Greeks and Trojans over the body of Achilles; the archer on the spectator's right with the high Asiatic helmet and the effeminate features is Paris, who shot the fatal arrow; the Greek who with uplifted spear protects the fallen Achilles is Ajax, who rescued his body (see Quintus Smyrnaeus, iii. 217 *sqq.*) Another, but less probable, explanation is that the fight represented is the one over the body of Patroclus in which Ajax distinguished himself (Homer, *Iliad*, xvii.) Thus the sculptures were intended to glorify Aegina's famous heroes, Telamon and Ajax. An appropriate time for the erection of these sculptures would be immediately after the great Persian war. For before the battle of Salamis the Greeks specially invoked the help of Telamon and Ajax, and sent a ship to Aegina to fetch the hero Aeacus and his descendants (Herodotus, viii. 64); and in the battle the Aeginetans were thought to have distinguished themselves above all the rest of the Greeks (Herodotus, viii. 93). After much discussion archaeologists seem to be now pretty well agreed that on technical grounds of style the sculptures may most fitly be referred to this period. They were therefore probably executed soon after 480 B.C., and not later than 456 B.C., when Aegina was conquered by Athens. Their style is on the whole hard, stiff, and wanting in idealism. But the sculptures of the eastern gable are much superior to those of the western gable. It is supposed that they were executed by a younger and more skilful sculptor who may have worked either simultaneously with, or at any rate very shortly after, the sculptor who wrought the figures in the western gable. The arrangement of the figures in the gables and the restoration of the missing figures have been much discussed, but cannot be treated of here.

See, in addition to Cockerell's work cited above, Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, 1. plates vi. vii. viii. viii. b; Welcker, *Alte Denkmäler*, 1. pp. 30-66; Brunn, 'Ueber das Alter der aeginetischen Bildwerke,' in *Sitzungsberichte* of the Bavarian Academy (Munich), Philosoph. philolog. Class, 1867, 1. pp. 405-428; *id.*, 'Ueber die Composition der aeginetischen Giebelgruppen,' *ib.* 1868, 2. pp. 448-464; *id.*, *Beschreibung der Glyptothek*,[5] pp. 66-95; A. Prachov, 'La composition des groupes du temple d'Égine,' *Annali dell' Inst. di Corrisp. Archeol.* 45 (1873), pp. 140-162; W. Klein, 'Zur Composition der aeginetischen Giebelgruppen,' *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 1876, p. 200 *sq.*; K. Lange, 'Die Composition der Aegineten,' in *Berichte über die Verhandlungen* of the Saxon Academy (Leipzig), Philolog. histor. Class, 31 (1878), pp. 1-94; *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher f. class. Philol.* 25

(1879), pp. 616-620 (review of Lange's work by L. Schwabe); L. Julius, 'Die Composition der Aegineten,' *ib.* 26 (1880), pp. 1-22; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik,*[4] 1. pp. 164-176; *id.*, in *Berichte über die Verhandl.* of the Saxon Academy (Leipzig), Phil. hist. Cl. 44 (1892), pp. 38-41; Lucy M. Mitchell, *History of Ancient Sculpture*, pp. 237-248; Murray, *Hist. of Greek Sculpture*,[2] 1. pp. 205-223; Friederichs-Wolters, *Gipsabgüsse*, pp. 32-49; O. Bie, *Kampfgruppe und Kämpfertypen in der Antike*, pp. 76-81; Collignon, *Histoire de la Sculpture Grecque*, 1. pp. 286-302; A. H. Smith, *Catalogue of Sculpture in the British Museum*, p. 73 *sqq.*; A. Schildt, *Die Giebelgruppen von Aegina* (Leipzig, 1895). On the history of Aeginetan sculpture, see K. O. Müller, 'De arte Aeginetica,' *Kunstarchaeologische Werke*, 1. pp. 1-19; Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. pp. 82-96.

30. 6. **Athena and Poseidon had a dispute for the possession of the land** etc. This legend, coupled with the fact that Athena was worshipped on the acropolis of Troezen under the title of Polias (Paus. ii. 32. 5 compared with the present passage), proves a close similarity between the religion and mythology of Troezen and Athens. See S. Wide, *De sacris Troezeniorum, Hermionensium, Epidauriorum*, p. 16.

30. 6. **their ancient coins have for device a trident and a face of Athena.** Some of these coins are in existence; the head of Athena is on the obverse, the trident on the reverse (Fig. 45). The identification of the head as that of Athena has, however, been doubted, as the type is unusual. The face is bold and strong and wears no helmet. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 47, pl. M i. The trident on the coins of Troezen is mentioned also by Plutarch (*Theseus*, 6).



FIG. 45.—COIN OF TROEZEN.

30. 7. **the Phoebaean lagoon.** Leake (*Morea*, 2. p. 449) identifies this with the lagoon at the head of the bay of Methana. See note on ii. 31. 10.

30. 8. **Troezen and Pittheus.** They were the sons of Pelops and came to Troezen from Pisa in the land of Elis (Strabo, viii. p. 374).

30. 9. **Anaphlystus and Sphettus.** The site of the Attic township of Anaphlystus (Herodotus, iv. 99; Xenophon, *De vectig.* iv. 43; Strabo, ix. p. 398) is occupied by the modern *Anavyso*, a village situated on the spacious and sheltered bay of *St. Nicholas*, about six miles north-west of Cape Sunium. There are some ancient remains at the place, including some pieces of ancient walls and of moles running out into the bay. See Dodwell, *Tour*, 1. p. 546 *sq.*; Leake, *Athens*, 2. p. 59 *sq.*; Milchhöfer, *Karten von Attika, Erläuternder Text*, Heft iii.-vi. p. 21. The township of Sphettus lay to the east of Mt. Hymettus, but its exact site is disputed. Prof. A. Milchhöfer would place it west of the modern village of *Koropi*. See Leake, *Athens*, 2. p. 24 *sqq.*; L. Ross, *Die Demen von Attika*, p. 96; Bursian, *Geogr.* 1. p. 346 *sq.*; P. Kastromenos, *Die Demen von Attika*, p. 99 *sq.*; A. Milchhöfer, in *Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 12 (1892), pp. 2 *sqq.*, 29 *sq.*, 34 *sqq.*; *id.*, 'Untersuchungen über die Demenordnung des Kleisthenes,' *Abhandlungen* of the Prussian Academy, Berlin, for 1892, p. 25 *sq.*

30. 10. **Sthenelus.** See ii. 18. 5.

31. 1. **Troezen.** The plain of Troezen lies between the sea and a range of rough and rocky hills, wooded with dark evergreens and stunted trees, which shut it in on the west and south. The northern part of the plain is marshy in places, and the marshes breed fever among the sallow inhabitants of *Damala*, the wretched hamlet which nestles among trees at the foot of the hills in the inmost corner of the plain, close to the ruins of Troezen. Stretches of pasture-land, however, and of vineyards alternate with the swamps; and eastward, toward the island of Calauria (*Poros*), the plain is well watered, cultivated like a garden, and verdant with vines, olives, lemon-groves, and fig-trees. Seen from the water of the beautiful almost landlocked bay the green of this rich vegetation, with the tall dark cypresses towering conspicuously over all, is refreshing to eyes accustomed to the arid plains and hills of Greece. At *Damala* groves of oranges and lemons yield the villagers a considerable return. On higher ground, to the north-west of the village, are the ruins of Troezen. The glorious prospect over plain and mountain and sea is unchanged; but of the city itself, which, if we may trust Pausanias, its people regarded with such fond patriotic pride, nothing is left but some insignificant ruins overgrown with weeds and dispersed amid a wilderness of bushes. An isolated craggy mountain, rising steeply on the farther side of a deep ravine, was the ancient acropolis. The ascent is toilsome, especially if it be made at noon on an airless summer day with the sun blazing pitilessly from a cloudless sky, the rocks so hot that you cannot touch them without pain, the loose stones slipping at every step, the dry withered shrubs and herbage crackling under foot and blinding you with clouds of dust and down. The wonderful view from the summit, however, makes amends for the labour of the ascent, ranging as it does across the green fertile plain at our feet and away beyond a bewildering maze of islands, capes and bays to Sunium on the north-east and the snowy peak of Parnassus on the north-west.

Another picturesque bit of scenery, of a different kind, may be seen by following up the ravine to the point where, at a prodigious height overhead, it is spanned by an arch of grey stone, festooned with creepers and fringed with stalactites, which the peasants call the Devil's Bridge. It carries a mediaeval aqueduct across the narrow but profound abyss. Through this romantic ravine the old path used to lead over the mountains to Hermion.

We now retrace our steps to the ruins of Troezen in order to look at them in more detail. Dispersed amongst them are many dilapidated churches, some of which probably occupy the sites of ancient temples. Beside the bank of the stream there is a tableland of some extent on which stand the ruins of the deserted Bishop's Palace (*Palaeo-Episkopi*, as it is called). It is a great rambling building with countless doors and labyrinthine arches, and the villagers have many stories to tell of it. Within it are several churches built entirely of ancient materials, among which may be seen pieces of fluted Doric columns and other fragments of white marble adorned with sculptured foliage in the style of the Erech-

theum. A few yards to the south of the deserted palace former travellers saw the lower walls of a temple finely built of ashlar masonry. A hollow to the east of the palace has been generally taken to be the semi-circular end of the stadium in which Hippolytus is said to have exercised himself in his manly sports, while the love-sick Phaedra watched him stealthily from her bower hard by (Paus. ii. 32. 3). Others think that this hollow marks the site of the theatre, not of the stadium. To the south-east of the palace some excavations, made in 1890 by Mr. Legrand for the French School of Archaeology, laid bare the foundations of a small edifice built of tufa, and measuring 13 metres (42 feet 8 inches) in length by 6 metres (19 feet 8 inches) in breadth. Beside this building the rock is artificially levelled. A few paces from it Mr. Legrand excavated a rectangular structure built of rough stones, perhaps an altar.

To the south-east of this structure, on a platform supported by horizontal courses of masonry, Mr. Legrand excavated a large building of horse-shoe shape, measuring about 100 feet long by 35 feet wide. It opens to the north and encloses a court, in which there seems to have been a colonnade. The main part of the building comprises a large central hall and two side halls in the wings, with a pavement of coarse mosaic, marble benches, and, flush with the ground, certain marble borders of which the object is uncertain. The walls, built of well cut blocks of stone, are standing to an average height of about 3 feet. From inscriptions found on the spot it would seem that the edifice is a gymnasium or a bathing establishment. To the south of this building, but on the same platform, and at the foot of the mountain, Mr. Legrand discovered the foundations of a temple 67 feet long by 33 feet broad, built of common stone.

Between the deserted palace and the village of *Damala*, at about four minutes distance from the former, Gell saw on the left "three columns, bearing a strong resemblance both in form and colour to columns of black basalt. Many of these are found among the ruins of Troezen. They have been well cut, into eight flat faces, diminishing upwards, so that being 7 feet 1 inch in circumference they measure only 6 feet 9 at 3 feet from the base. The faces were at the base about 11 inches, and at the top of the stone only 9½ inches. The holes into which brazen or wooden cubes were inserted for the purpose of uniting the different blocks are 7½ inches square." Gell conjectured that these remarkable columns, so different from the ordinary types of Greek columns, may have belonged to the sanctuary of Thearian Apollo, which Pausanias (ii. 31. 6) declared to be the oldest sanctuary that he knew.

About three-quarters of a mile to the east of the Bishop's Palace is a square tower which is standing to a considerable height; a part of the south-east wall of the city abuts upon this tower.

In the ruined church of Hagia Sotira or Hagia Metamorphosis, near the village, Mr. Legrand found a statue of Hermes with a ram: it is of late date but very fair style (*Bulletin de Corr. Hellénique*, 16 (1892), pp. 165-174). And in the church of Hagia Sotira a stone, serving as

an altar, bears an inscription which shows that it belonged to the base of a statue of Aratus erected by the people of Troezen (*Bull. de Corr. Hellén.* 1889, p. 193).

In 1889 some excavations were made at Troezen for the Greek government by Mr. Staes. He found a prehistoric pit-grave containing a body (its head turned to the east), two large vases of the Mycenaean style, and a golden fillet adorned with what may be alphabetic characters or hieroglyphics. Sixteen Roman tombs were discovered in the course of the same excavations. See Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν, 1889, p. 163 *sqq.*

Lastly, on the acropolis (see above, p. 273) there are remains of a circuit-wall flanked with towers, in which Roman or Byzantine bricks are mixed with old Greek masonry.

As to Troezen see Chandler, *Travels in Greece*, p. 213 *sqq.*; Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 267 *sqq.*; Gell, *Itinerary of Greece*, p. 118 *sqq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 442 *sqq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 56; Fiedler, *Reise*, 1. p. 284 *sqq.*; L. Ross, *Wanderungen*, 2. p. 4 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 431 *sqq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 87 *sqq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 204 *sq.*; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, pp. 46-49. For the inscriptions of Troezen see E. Legrand, 'Inscriptions de Trézène,' *Bulletin de Corr. Hellénique*, 17 (1893), pp. 84-121.

Troezen was distant 15 Greek furlongs from the sea (Strabo, viii. p. 373). The name of its harbour was Pogon ('the Beard'); the Greek fleet assembled in it before the battle of Salamis (Herodotus, viii. 42; Strabo, *l.c.*) The port is distant about a mile and a half from the present village of *Damala*; it is now shallow, obstructed with sand, and accessible only to small boats (Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 268).

31. 1. **the market-place.** Bursian (*Geogr.* 2. p. 88 *sq.*) thought that this may have lain at the place called *Episkopi*, or in a depression to the east of it (his language is not quite clear). There are some ancient remains there. See above, p. 273 *sq.* Mr. E. Legrand thinks that the market-place was near the chapel of Hagia Sotira; in this chapel he found the inscribed base of a statue of a clerk of the market (*agoranomos*). See *Bull. de Corr. Hellén.* 17 (1893), p. 97 *sq.*

31. 1. **Saviour Artemis.** Two inscriptions containing dedications to Artemis have been found at Troezen, one in the ruined chapel of St. George, the other in a ruined chapel to the west of *Episkopi*, above the chapel (also ruined) of the Apostles (*Bull. de Corr. Hellén.* 17 (1893), p. 93).

31. 2. **the hound of hell.** Cerberus. In Hindoo mythology "Yama, the regent of hell, has two dogs according to the *Puránas*, one of them named CERBURA and SABALA, or *varied;* the other, SYÁMA, or *black;* the first of whom is also called *Triśiras*, or *with three heads*, and has the additional epithets of *Calmásha*, *Chitra*, and *Cirmíra*, all signifying *stained* or *spotted*. In Pliny (vi. 6. § 18) the words *Cimmerium* and *Cerberion* seem used as synonymous; but, however that may be, the CERBURA of the Hindus is indubitably the CERBERUS of the Greeks" (Fr. Wilford 'On Egypt,' etc. in *Asiatick Researches*, 3. p. 408 *sq.*) This identification of Cerberus with the Sanscrit *Cerbura* or *sarvara* is approved by Prof. Max Müller (*Essays*, 1. p. 493) and by Mr. Zimmer (*Altindisches Leben*, pp. 419, 421). On Cerberus cp. Paus. ii. 35. 10,

iii. 25. 6. The subject of Hercules dragging up Cerberus from the under world is depicted on about forty extant Greek vases. See Furtwängler, in Roscher's *Lexicon*, 1. p. 2205; P. Hartwig, 'Die Heraufholung des Kerberos auf rotfigurigen Schalen,' *Jahrbuch d. arch. Instituts*. 8 (1893), pp. 157-173.

31. 2. **Semele.** See ii. 37. 5. Mr. Kretschmer proposes to derive the name Semele from a Phrygian root *zemel*, which occurs on Phrygian tombstones in curses directed against any who should violate the tombs. This word Mr. Kretschmer interprets as meaning 'earth.' So Semele would be the earth-goddess. Dionysus in Greek mythology is closely associated with Thrace, and the result of recent philological enquiries is to show a close connexion between the Thracian and Phrygian tongues, which are found to be both Aryan. Again Mr. Kretschmer agrees with the ancients in deriving the first part of the name Dionysus from the same root as Zeus (Ζεύς, Διός, etc.); and the second part (-νυσος) he thinks equivalent to *-nymphus* (connected with nymph, etc.); so that the whole name Dionysus would mean 'the son of Zeus' = Dioscurus (Διόσκουρος). See his essay 'Semele und Dionysos,' in *Aus der Anomia* (Berlin, 1890), pp. 17-29.

31. 3. **Ardalus —— Ardalides.** Cp. Plutarch, *Septem sap. conviv.* 4; Stephanus Byz. *s.v.* Ἀρδαλίδες.

31. 4. **the stone on which nine men of Troezen once purified Orestes** etc. See below, § 8 note.

31. 6. **The sanctuary of Thearian Apollo.** See above, p. 274. In the foundations of the church of St. George at Troezen there was found an inscription in honour of a certain Echilaus of Plataea, who had come to Troezen and contributed to "the salvation of the country:" the inscription contains a provision that the decree in his honour shall be engraved on a slab of stone and set up in the sanctuary of Thearian Apollo (*Bull. de Corr. Hellén.* 17 (1893), p. 102 *sq.*; cp. the fragmentary inscription *ib.*, p. 110). In Aegina the Pythian Apollo had a Thearium (Pindar, *Nem.* iii. 122), which would seem to have been a hall or dwelling-house in which the envoys (*theori*) sent by foreign states to attend the festival were lodged and entertained (see the Scholia on the passage of Pindar).

31. 6. **The temple of Athena at Phocaea.** See vii. 5. 4. On the occupation of Phocaea by the Persians, see Herodotus, i. 164.

31. 6. **The wooden images of the Dioscuri are also by Hermon.** On a coin of Troezen, of the reign of Commodus, archaic figures of the Dioscuri are represented, facing the spectator, with an altar between them (Fig. 46). They stand naked, with long hair, both arms extended before them. The type is most probably copied from the wooden statues described by Pausanias. It is valuable as furnishing evidence of the style and date of the artist Hermon of Troezen. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 48, with pl. M. vii.



FIG. 46.—THE DIOSCURI (COIN OF TROEZEN).

31. 8. **the booth of Orestes.** On the purification of Orestes at

Troezen, see also § 4 of this chapter. According to others, Orestes was purified at the Three Rivers in Thrace (Lampridius, *Heliogabalus*, 7), or at Mt. Amanum or Melantium in Cilicia (Stephanus Byz. *s.v.* Ἄμανον: Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophr.* 1374), or at Comana in Cappadocia (Strabo, xii. p. 535). There must have been another legend that he was purified by Apollo at Delphi, for on vases Orestes is not unfrequently represented sitting, sword in hand, at the *omphalos*, with the avenging Furies gathered round him (see Stephani in *Compte-Rendu* (St. Petersburg) 1863, p. 258 *sqq.*); and on at least three vases the actual process of purification is depicted. These representations are valuable as throwing light on the rites observed on such occasions.

(1) On an Apulian vase Orestes is depicted sitting in a pensive attitude, with his back to the *omphalos*; in his right hand he holds the fatal sword unsheathed; his cloak is wound about his left arm. Apollo stands behind him, holding in his right hand a little pig just above Orestes's head, and grasping in his left hand a long bough of laurel. See *Monumenti Inediti*, 1847, pl. 48; *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 1860, pl. cxxxviii.; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1117. Similarly on an ancient Greek cameo Melampus is represented purifying the daughters of Proetus (see Paus. viii. 18. 7 etc.); he stands holding a little pig over the head of one of them, while in his left hand he grasps a branch (of laurel?) See *Gazette archéologique*, 1879, pl. 19, with the remarks of De Witte, p. 127 *sqq.*; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, fig. 988. It would seem that in these scenes Apollo and Melampus are in the act of sprinkling the pig's blood upon the persons who need purification. For we know that one mode of purification was to wash the hands of the guilty person in the blood of a sucking pig (Apollonius Rhodius, iv. 704-707, with the Scholiast's note on *v.* 704; Aeschylus, *Eumenides*, 283, 449 *sq.*; Eustathius, on Homer, *Iliad*, xix. 251). At Athens there were certain women called *enchytristriae* whose business it was to purify polluted persons by pouring over them the blood of a sacrificial victim (Suidas, *s.v.* ἐγχυτρίστριαι). There is a vase-painting in which these women are perhaps represented at their work. A man, naked except for a fillet round his head, is crouching with his right foot (unshod) planted upon something which is stretched on the ground. His left foot is in advance and rests on the ground, being shod in what seems to be a very rough boot. Behind him are three young women, two of them with torches; the third holds a vessel of a curious shape over the man's head. To the right a woman faces the man, holding up her hands; still farther to the right another woman holds a bowl or saucer towards him. Between these two women is a round-bellied pot on a stand. To the extreme right of the picture is a tall jar (*hydria*) resting upon a stand shaped like a sand-glass. See *Gazette archéologique*, 1884, plates 44, 45, 46. The scene has been recognised by De Witte and Fr. Lenormant (*ib.* p. 352 *sq.*) as one of purification; and Lenormant has identified the object on which the man's left foot rests as the Διὸς κῴδιον ('fleece of Zeus'). This was the skin of the victim sacrificed to Zeus; it was stretched on the ground, and persons who were being purified stood with their left foot

on it. See Hesychius and Suidas, *s.v.* Διὸς κῴδιον: Polemo, ed. Preller, pp. 140-142; Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, p. 183 *sqq.*; W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*,[2] p. 474. It is to be noticed, however, that the man in the scene referred to has his *right* foot on the object (whatever it is); whereas Hesychius states that it was the *left* foot which was kept on the skin. May not the rough boot which the man wears on his *left* foot be made out of the sacred skin? Shoes made out of the skin of sacrificial victims were sometimes almost the only ones which the worshippers were allowed to wear. See the inscription about the Andanian mysteries in Dittenberger's *Syllogé Inscript. Graec.* No. 388 line 23 *sq.*; Servius on Virgil, *Aen.* iv. 518; Festus, ed. Müller, p. 161 A; Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*,[2] p. 438. The custom of blood-sprinkling as a mode of purification is common. See *Leviticus*, xiv. Among the hill tribes of India near Rajamahall, if two men quarrel and blood be shed, the one who cut the other is fined a hog or a fowl, the blood of which is sprinkled over the wounded man "to purify him, and to prevent his being possessed by a devil." Among the same tribes, if a woman in her courses touches a man, even with her garment, he is defiled. The woman "is fined a fowl, which is sacrificed, and the blood is sprinkled on the man to purify him." See *Asiatick Researches*, 4. pp. 78, 79 (8vo ed.) On the use of the pig in antiquity for purposes of purification, see the note on v. 16. 8.

(2) In another vase-painting, the subject of which is the purification of Orestes, the matricide is leaning against the *omphalos* in much the same attitude as on the Apulian vase. Apollo stands behind him, holding a saucer or bowl in his left hand, while his right hand grasps a pair of shears with which he is about to cut off a lock of Orestes's hair. On his left arm the god supports a long branch of laurel. See *Annali dell' Instituto*, 1847, pl. x.; *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 1860, pl. cxxxvii. (Boetticher, in *Archaeol. Zeit.* 1860, p. 62 interprets the object which Apollo holds in his right hand as a bunch of laurel leaves: but Stephani, in *Compte-Rendu* (St. Petersburg) for 1863, p. 271 *sq.*, has no doubt that the object is a pair of shears: he says ancient scissors of the same shape are to be seen in almost all archaeological museums.) This scene represents the cropping of Orestes's hair as a mode of purification. See viii. 34. 3 note.

(3) On another vase Orestes is depicted in much the same attitude as before, except that the *omphalos* does not appear. Beside him stands Apollo with a bowl in his left hand, while in his right he holds a branch of laurel over Orestes's head, sprinkling him with the liquid contained in the bowl. See *Compte-Rendu* (St. Petersburg), 1863, p. 213, with Stephani's remarks, p. 271.

Thus in all three representations of the purification a laurel branch figures as a necessary adjunct. It must have been one of the objects traditionally said to have been used in the purification of Orestes at Troezen, for when these objects were buried in the ground a laurel sprang from them, as Pausanias here informs us. The laurel was regularly used by the Greeks for sprinkling holy water at lustrations.

See Boetticher, *Der Baumkultus der Hellenen*, pp. 369-372 (on p. 370, instead of Clemens Alex. *Strom.* 8, § 49, read Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 8. § 49); *id.*, *Tektonik der Hellenen*,[2] 2. p. 481 *sqq.* After the ceremony of purification was over, the things which had been used to cleanse away the impurity were commonly thrown into the sea or deposited where three roads met. See Hermann, *Gottesdienstliche Alterthümer*,[2] 23. 15; and on purification in general see the whole of Hermann's 23rd section, with the notes; Lomeier, *De veterum gentilium lustrationibus*; P. Stengel, *Griech. Kultusaltertümer*, §§ 83 *sqq.*

31. 9. **Hippocrene (the Horse's Fount).** See above, p. 32 *sq.*

31. 9. **Bellerophon —— Aethra.** Prof. S. Wide has conjectured that the Troezenian story of Bellerophon and Aethra was merely a reduplication, under other names, of the story of Hippolytus and Phaedra, which again he considers to have been in origin substantially identical with the myth of Venus and Adonis. See S. Wide, *De sacris Troezeniorum, Hermionensium, Epidauriorum*, pp. 86-89.

31. 10. **the Golden Stream.** "On the western side of the rock, which seems to have been a citadel, a brook runs in a deep ravine. It is in all probability the brook Chrysoroas [the Golden Stream]. It now turns two mills" (Gell, *Itinerary of Greece*, p. 121). Fiedler (*Reise*, 1. p. 285 *sq.*) says: "In the ravine flows, the whole year through, a stream which may very well have been the occasion of founding Troezen. Most of its water is diverted from the gully to some mills. . . . They say that but little water flows in it from the end of July till the first rain-falls at the end of September." Cp. Chandler, *Travels in Greece*, p. 217; Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 267. The stream described by Fiedler appears to be the *Potami* or *Kremastos*, the chief stream of the Troezenian plain. It issues from a deep romantic glen in the mountains near the village of *Damala* (see above, p. 273), and flows northward. But its waters, being prevented from reaching the bay of Methana by the projecting spurs of the hills, form a lagoon near the Albanian village of *Valaria*. This lagoon is salt, for the waves of the sea wash over into it. Prof. Curtius identifies the *Potami*, not with the Golden Stream but with the Hyllicus (see ii. 32. 7); he thinks that the Golden Stream was merely the chief of the brooks which feed the *Potami*. This seems the more probable view, as Pausanias speaks of the Golden Stream merely as a water, while he distinctly calls the Hyllicus a river and mentions its source. See Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. pp. 431, 435.

32. 1. **Every maiden before marriage shears a lock of her hair for Hippolytus.** This custom of the Troezenian maidens is mentioned by Euripides (*Hippolytus*, 1424 *sqq.*) and by Lucian (*De dea Syria*, 60). Lucian, speaking of Hierapolis in Syria, says: "They observe another custom in which the people of Troezen, alone of all the Greeks, agree with them. The Troezenians made a law for the maidens and youths that they should not marry before they had shorn their hair in honour of Hippolytus; and they observe the law. This custom is practised also in Hierapolis. The youths offer their first beards, and the maidens have sacred tresses, which are suffered to grow without being shorn from their birth. When they come to the temple, they (the youths and

maidens) cut their hair, and deposit it in vessels of silver or gold. Then they hang up the vessels on nails in the temple, write their names on them, and depart. This I did in my youth, and the lock of my hair and my name are still in the temple." Here it will be noticed that according to Lucian the young men of Troezen, as well as the young women, cut off their hair before marriage in honour of Hippolytus. The statement is not borne out by the words of Euripides and Pausanias, though it is hardly inconsistent with them. Plutarch, in relating the life of Theseus (who was a native of Troezen), remarks that it was formerly the custom for lads to go to Delphi and offer the first clippings of their hair to Apollo (*ἀπάρχεσθαι τῷ θεῷ τῆς κόμης*) and that Theseus complied with the custom. See Plutarch, *Theseus*, 5. Lucian is wrong in saying that none but the Troezenians observed the custom in question. For a similar custom was practised by girls at Megara in honour of Iphinoe, and by both girls and lads at Delos in honour of the Hyperborean maidens who were buried there. See Pausanias, i. 43. 4 note. Again, Statius says (*Theb.* ii. 253-256) that it was the custom at Argos for women to cut their hair at their first marriage as a sort of expiation. Indeed Pollux (iii. 38) states generally that before marriage girls made an offering of their hair to Hera, Artemis, and the Fates. Cp. Hesychius, *s.v.* *γάμων ἔθη*. Like customs have been observed by other peoples than the Greeks. In some of the Fiji islands a woman was shorn of all her hair at marriage; in others she lost only a long bunch of hair which, as a spinster, she had worn over her temples (Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians*, 1. p. 171). In Cambodia girls wear their hair long, but cut it short at marriage (Wilken, *Das Haaropfer*, p. 116). The hair of a Zulu girl is completely shaved at marriage, except a small tuft (Wood, *Natural History of Man*, 1. pp. 44, 81). Among the Karague, another African tribe, girls allow their hair to grow till they marry, when they shave it off either entirely or partially (*ib.* p. 447). In the kingdom of Miztecapan (Central America) a lock of hair was cut both from the bridegroom's and the bride's head at marriage. In Ixcatlan when a man wished to marry he went to the priests, who took him to the temple and there, in presence of the idols, cut off some of his hair. They then showed the shorn locks to the people and cried, "This man wishes to wed." He had then to descend and take the first unmarried woman he met, in the belief that she was destined for him by the gods. See Bancroft, *Native races of the Pacific States*, 2. p. 261. On the other hand, among the Nagamis of Assam, young girls shave their heads completely till they marry (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1875, pt. i. p. 327). Inscriptions discovered in recent years at the sanctuary of Zeus Panamarus in Caria show that it was the custom for men (and women?) to dedicate their hair in that sanctuary. A stone slab in the form of a small box was set up in the temple or its precinct. In the front or back of the slab was a cavity, which was sometimes closed with a small plate of marble fitting in a groove. In this cavity the hair was deposited, and on a rectangular sinking was carved the name of the person who dedicated his hair and the name of

the priest (or occasionally of the priestess) in charge. Sometimes one slab contained the hair of several persons. A considerable number of these slabs have been found. See G. Deschamps and G. Cousin, 'Inscriptions du temple de Zeus Panamaros,' *Bulletin de Corresp. Hellén.* 11 (1887), p. 390. It may be conjectured that the persons who thus dedicated their hair were boys (and girls?) at puberty. Messrs. Deschamps and Cousin do not say whether the names in the inscriptions are masculine or feminine; but they publish one inscription, in which are the names of five dedicators of hair, all masculine.

32. 1. **though they know his grave they do not show it.** Perhaps the grave of Hippolytus was one of those graves on which the existence of the state was supposed to depend, and which were accordingly kept secret. See vol. 2, p. 366 *sq.*

32. 2. **a temple of Seafaring Apollo.** The epithet translated 'seafaring' is *embaterios*. More literally it means 'embarking on shipboard.' The Argonauts are said to have set up an altar to Apollo under a similar title (*embasios*) at Pagasae in Thessaly (Apollonius Rhodius, i. 402 *sqq.*) Cp. Preller, *Griech. Mythologie*,[4] 1. p. 258, note 3; S. Wide, *De sacris Troezeniorum, Hermionensium, Epidauriorum*, p. 23.

32. 2. **Damia and Auxesia.** See note on ii. 30. 4.

32. 3. **a stadium.** As to the vestiges of the stadium, see above, p. 274. Not far from the supposed site of the stadium Mr. Legrand found an inscription containing part of a decree in honour of a certain Charmus, master of the gymnasium. Close to the spot where the inscription was found the French archaeologists excavated some remains which they believe to have been those of the wrestling-school. In a wall of *Palaeo-Episkopi* they found a large pedestal inscribed with a dedication by the persons who used the gymnasium (οἱ ἀλειφόμενοι). See *Bulletin de Corr. Hellénique*, 17 (1893), pp. 95-97. These discoveries confirm the view that the hollow to the east of *Palaeo-Episkopi* marks the site of the stadium. For the gymnasium and wrestling-school would naturally be near the stadium. Another inscription, found at *Damala*, records a dedication by the persons who used the gymnasium (*C. I. G.* No. 1183).

32. 3. **the myrtle with the pierced leaves.** See i. 22. 2. The tree was probably a *lusus naturae*, and its perforated leaves gave rise to the legend. We may compare the thornless rose-tree which is still shown at Assisi, and is said to have sprung from the thorns with which St. Francis castigated himself. It has been suggested by Prof. S. Wide that the original story of the love of Phaedra for Hippolytus may have been one of those myths of the love of a goddess for a mortal, of which the myth of Venus and Adonis is the best known example. He compares the association of Phaedra and the myrtle with the association of Smyrna or Myrrha (the mother of Adonis) and the myrrh-tree. See S. Wide, *De sacris Troezeniorum, Hermionensium, Epidauriorum*, p. 86 *sq.*

32. 4. **The image of Aesculapius.** From one of the Epidaurian inscriptions we learn that there was a precinct of Aesculapius at Troezen in which sick people slept in order to receive revelations in dreams

(Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1885, p. 15 *sq.*; P. Cavvadias, *Feuilles d'Épidaure*, 1. p. 28; see above, p. 250). At *Palaeo-Episkopi* in Troezen the French archaeologists have found two inscriptions containing dedications to Aesculapius (*Bull. de Corr. Hellén.* 17 (1893), p. 90).

32. 5. **the acropolis.** This is the steep mountain to the west of the village of *Damala.* The summit is occupied by the shattered remains of a mediaeval castle, under which are some pieces of ancient Greek fortification. There is also a cistern and some fragments of Ionic architecture. The view from the summit is magnificent, indeed one of the finest panoramas in Greece (see above, p. 273). Towards the base a spring issues from the rock which Dodwell identified with the fountain of Hercules mentioned by Pausanias (§ 4). See Chandler, *Travels in Greece*, p. 216 *sq.*; Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 271; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. pp. 431 *sq.*, 437; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 89. The citadel, surmounted by a tetrastyle temple, is represented on Troezenian coins of the imperial age. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 47, pl. M iii. iv.

32. 5. **The wooden image of the goddess.** On a Troezenian coin of the time of Commodus there is represented an archaic image of Athena. It "may be described in the very words already used in describing that at Cleonae [see ii. 15. 1 note], which we supposed to be copied from the work of Dipoenus and Scyllis. This is evidence, so far as it goes, that Callon adhered to the same general scheme as the Cretan artists; although, of course, we must not press the argument, as the die-sinkers may have intended merely to portray the general type of an archaic Athene" (Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 47, with pl. M v.) Callon's name (spelt Calon) occurs in an inscription which is believed to have been found on the Acropolis at Athens, to the east of the Parthenon. The inscription runs:—

Κάλων ἐποίησεν Αἰ[γινήτης].

From the form of the letters the inscription would seem to belong to the very beginning of the fifth century B.C. This inscription proves, what was not known before, that the sculptor Callon was employed in Attica. See Loewy, *Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer*, No. 27. On Callon see also Paus. iii. 18. 8, vii. 18. 10. On Tectaeus and Angelion, see ix. 35. 3 note. On Dipoenus and Scyllis, see note on ii. 15. 1.

32. 6. **Aphrodite of the Height.** Compare i. 1. 3 note.

32. 7. **the road that leads through the mountains to Hermionis.** This road, as we have seen (p. 273), goes up the wild ravine to the west of the village of *Damala.* It is still passable, though the track is a very rough one (Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 437). The Devil's Bridge, which spans the ravine at its narrowest point, is figured in Wordsworth's *Greece*, p. 439.

32. 7. **the river —— originally called the Taurius.** Athenaeus (iii. p. 122 f) mentions this river as the Taurus ('bull'). See ii. 31. 10 note.

32. 7. **the rock of Theseus** etc. See i. 27. 8 note. On Troezenian coins of imperial date Theseus is represented lifting the rock (Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 49, with pl. M xi.)

32. 8. **Poseidon the Nurturer.** Among the ruins of the chapel of Hagia Sotira at Troezen there is an inscribed pedestal which supported a statue of a priest of Poseidon the Nurturer (*phutalmios*). The pedestal, which is of white marble, was converted into the capital of a column in Byzantine times. See *Bull. de Corr. Hellén.* 17 (1893), p. 98. From inscriptions we learn that Poseidon was worshipped under the same title of Nurturer at Athens (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 269), Erythrae (Μουσεῖον καὶ βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Σχολῆς, Smyrna, 1 (1875), p. 106; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Ins. Graec.* No. 370, line 81), and at Rhodes (*Bull. de Corr. Hellén.* 2 (1878), p. 615; *Inscr. Graec. Insul.*, ed. H. de Gaertringen (Berlin, 1895), No. 905; Cauer, *Delectus Inscr. Graec.*[2] No. 188; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Ins. Graec.* No. 375).

32. 9. **The harbour is at —— Celenderis** etc. After having pursued for a short distance the mountain-path that leads to Hermion, Pausanias retraces his steps and goes down to the sea. Later on (34. 6) he returns to the mountain-path and follows it in the direction of Hermion. 'The harbour at Celenderis' would seem to be the arm of the sea nearest to Troezen on the east. At the western corner of this bay there are some ancient foundations, which may be the ruins of Celenderis, the port of Troezen (Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. pp. 444). Chandler says: "On this spot a small fortress had been erected. We could trace the two side-walls running up from the sea, with two round towers at the angles, inland. These remains are thick, and of the masonry styled Incertum" (*Travels in Greece*, p. 213). The harbour was named Pogon. See above, p. 275.

32. 9. **a place which they name Genethlium.** Prof. S. Wide conjectures that this place may have been associated with the worship of Poseidon Genethlius, who had a sanctuary at Sparta (Paus. iii. 15. 10). See S. Wide, *De sacris Troezeniorum*, *Hermionensium*, *Epidauriorum*, p. 12 *sq.*

32. 10. **the Psiphaean Sea.** If Pausanias is continuing to follow the coast eastward, the Psiphaean Sea would seem to be the strait which separates the island of Calauria (the modern *Poros*) from the mainland. This is the view of Curtius (*Pelop.* 2. p. 443 *sq.*), Bursian (*Geogr.* 2. p. 90), and Kiepert. On the other hand, Boblaye (*Recherches*, p. 57) and Leake (*Morea*, 2. p. 448 *sq.*) suppose that the Psiphaean Sea is the head of the bay of Methana, with the salt-water lagoon at *Valaria.* (See note on 31. 10.) It is generally assumed that the Psiphaean Sea is identical with the Phoebaean lagoon mentioned by Pausanias in ii. 30. 7. Hence it has been proposed to alter Psiphaea in the text into Phoebaea (so Leake and Siebelis), or Phoebaea into Psiphaea (so Bursian). If an alteration is necessary, the latter is preferable; for an inscription found at Troezen makes mention of a place Psipha. The inscription gives a list of the sums paid by the Troezenians for various public works, amongst others a certain number of drachms

'to Thessalion for making the road from Psipha.' See Bursian in *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 11 (1857), pp. 322, 329.

32. 10. **a wild olive** etc. On the culture of the olive in ancient and modern Greece, see Fiedler, *Reise*, 2. pp. 592-604; Neumann und Partsch, *Physikalische Geographie von Griechenland*, pp. 412-413; Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Hausthiere*,[4] pp. 82-97; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 544 *sq.* The *phulia* is mentioned by Homer (*Odyss.* v. 476 sq.) as one of the two bushes under which the shipwrecked Ulysses laid him down to sleep; the other bush was an olive (*elaia*).

32. 10. **the sanctuary of Saronian Artemis.** Artemis is mentioned under this title in two inscriptions found in the great Epidaurian sanctuary of Aesculapius (Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Épidaure*, 1. pp. 51, 57, Inscriptions 85 and 128).

33. 1. **Sphaeria —— the Sacred** (*Hiera*) **Isle.** At the eastern mouth of the strait which separates Calauria (*Poros*) from the mainland are two small islets. The eastern of the two has a fort, the western a lazarette. The latter, a small round island very near the shore and surrounded by sandbanks, is covered with the remains of a temple. The island is probably Sphaeria or the Sacred Isle, and the ruins are the remains of the temple of Apaturian Athena. It is no longer possible to wade out to the island from the shore. See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 59; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 446; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 93. Leake thought that Sphaeria must have been that part of Calauria upon which the town of *Poros* now stands. It is a small peninsula separated from the rest of the island by a narrow sand-bank, which Leake supposes to be of recent formation (*Morea*, 2. p. 450 *sq.*) But it seems improbable that it could ever have been possible, in historical times, to wade out to Calauria. The channel is now navigated by the small coasting steamers plying between Piraeus and Nauplia (the larger coasting steamers keep outside).

33. 1. **Apaturian Athena.** Pausanias clearly takes Apaturian in the sense of 'deceitful,' deriving it from *apatan*, 'to deceive.' An Apaturian Aphrodite was worshipped at the Cimmerian Bosphorus. See Strabo, xi. p. 495; Hermann, *Gottesdienstliche Alterthümer*,[2] § 66. 32; cp. Stephani, in *Compte-Rendu* (St. Petersburg) for 1859, pp. 126-130. The epithet can hardly be separated from the Athenian and Ionian festival of the Apaturia, as to which see Herodotus, i. 147; Schol. on Aristophanes, *Acharn.* 146; Suidas, Harpocration, and Hesychius, *s.v.* Ἀπατούρια; Müller's *Dorians*, 1. pp. xi. 95 (Eng. trans.); Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités*, 1. p. 300 *sq.* In the *Etymolog. Magnum*, p. 118, 53 *sqq.* one explanation given of the word is that it means 'fatherless'; it is said that the boys were regarded as fatherless (*apatores*) till after they had gone through the Apaturia. This sense would be very applicable in the circumstances of the legendary begetting of Theseus; for till he was grown up he did not know who his father was. Cp. i. 17. 3; i. 27. 8; ii. 32. 7.

33. 2. **Calauria.** This is the island now called *Poros*, separated from the coast of Troezen by a narrow strait about 400 yards wide at the narrowest. The island is about 16 miles in circumference, though Strabo (viii. p. 373) says it is only 30 Greek furlongs. It is composed

of round rocky hills mostly wooded with firs; gardens are to be seen only in the small plains beside the sea. The town of *Poros* stands picturesquely on a rocky pyramidal-shaped peninsula jutting out towards the mainland and joined to the island only by a low strip of sand, over which, when the wind is high from north or south, the waves wash. The bay of *Poros*, to the west of the town, is deep, roomy, and perfectly snug; it is indeed one of the finest harbours not only in Greece but in the world. Seen from the deck of a steamer the view of the almost landlocked bay is very picturesque. The white houses rising above each other against a back-ground of dark volcanic rock, the deep blue surface of the bay, the luxuriant vegetation on the southern shore, where tall cypresses tower above lemon groves, with the graceful line of mountains rising beyond,—all this makes up one of the most charming and brightly coloured scenes in Greece.

See Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 274 *sqq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 59; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 447 *sqq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 253 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 204; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 46 *sqq.*

33. 2. **the two gods exchanged the places.** Strabo says (viii. p. 373 *sq.*) that Poseidon gave Delos to Latona in exchange for Calauria, and Pytho (Delphi) to Apollo in exchange for Taenarum. Strabo quotes from Ephorus the same oracle that is cited by Pausanias. Panofka has discussed a scene on an Etruscan mirror which he thinks represents Apollo at Delphi proposing to Poseidon to give him Calauria for Delphi (*Annali dell' Instituto*, 17 (1845), pp. 63-67).

33. 2. **there is here a holy sanctuary of Poseidon.** The ruins of this sanctuary are situated in the interior of the island of Calauria, about two and a half miles from the town of *Poros*. They occupy a high plateau (about 500 feet above the level of the sea) near the middle of the island. The site was excavated in 1894 by two Swedish archaeologists, Messrs. Wide and Kjellberg. On the eastern part of the plateau, looking towards Sunium and the open sea, they found the remains of a sacred enclosure about 200 feet long by 100 feet wide. The enclosure had two gates, one on the east and one on the south. In the middle of the enclosure are some remains of the walls and pavement of the temple, which seems to have been of the Doric order and of the kind called distyle *in antis*. An altar has also been discovered within the sacred enclosure. Dodwell found some large blocks which had formed the exterior part of a circular building: he thought they might be the remains of the tomb or monument of Demosthenes (see the next section). A semicircular seat of stone, near the N.W. end of the temple, may possibly be the very seat on which Demosthenes was found sitting by the emissary of Antipater (Plutarch, *Demosthenes*, 29). Coins and the head of an owl of good workmanship have been brought to light by the Swedish excavators. On leaving the sanctuary by the south gate you pass out upon a spacious terrace. Here the imposing foundations of two colonnades of good Greek style have been laid bare. To the west are the remains of some smaller buildings. It may be conjectured that these colonnades and buildings served for the

meetings of the council of the league which had its federal capital in Calauria (see below). The materials of which the buildings are constructed are tufa, blue limestone, and trachyte, all stones native to the island. The tiles of the temple are of marble. Of the small votive offerings found in the sanctuary most seem to belong to the sixth century B.C.; some of them relate to the worship of Poseidon. The temple itself appears to date from the sixth century B.C. One of the so-called Island or Mycenaean gems and a fragment of Mycenaean pottery have also been found here. See Chandler, *Travels in Greece*, p. 211 *sq.*; Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 276 *sqq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 59; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 448 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 93; Baedeker,[3] p. 254; Le Bas, *Voyage Archéologique*, Itinéraire, pl. 15; *Athenaeum*, 28 July, 1894, p. 136; *id.*, 8 September, 1894, p. 328; *id.*, 19 January, 1895, p. 91; *Bulletin de Corr. Hellénique*, 18 (1894), p. 196 *sq.*; *American Journ. of Archaeology*, 10 (1895), p. 128 *sq.*; Strabo tells us (viii. p. 374) that the sanctuary of Poseidon in Calauria was the religious centre of a league (*amphictyonia*) of seven cities, namely Hermion, Epidaurus, Aegina, Athens, Prasiae, Nauplia, and Orchomenus in Boeotia: at a later time Argos took the place of Nauplia, and Lacedaemon of Prasiae. Prof. E. Curtius has tried to prove that not the Boeotian but the Arcadian Orchomenus was one of the members of the league, which he supposes to have been instituted by Phidon of Argos in the time of the second Messenian war as a counterpoise to the growing power of Sparta (*Hermes*, 10 (1876), pp. 385-392; *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 1. pp. 211-218). His views are not accepted by Busolt (*Griech. Gesch.* 1.[2] p. 186) nor Holm (*Griech. Gesch.* 1. p. 292). An inscription has been found in Calauria (*Poros*) which contains provisions for offering sacrifices to Poseidon and Saviour Zeus: a woman named Agasicratis dedicates 300 drachms of silver to Poseidon, out of which sacrifices were to be offered every three years, on the seventh day of the month Artemisius (Collitz, *G. D. I.* 3. No. 3380).

33. 2. **a girl till she is old enough to wed.** As to priesthoods held by boys or girls under puberty see note on vii. 24. 4. For another example of a god served by a virgin priestess see ix. 27. 6.

33. 3. **he never fingered a penny of the gold that Harpalus brought.** The question whether Demosthenes took a bribe from Harpalus or not, has been much discussed both in ancient and modern times. See F. v. Duhn, 'Zur Geschichte des harpalischen Processes,' *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 21 (1875), pp. 33-59; J. Rohrmoser, 'Ueber den Gang des harpalischen Processes und das Verhalten des Demosthenes zu demselben,' *Zeitschrift f. oesterreich. Gymnasien*, 27 (1876), pp. 481-496; H. Haupt, 'Die Vorgeschichte des harpalischen Processes,' *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. 34 (1879), pp. 377-387; A. Holm, *Griech. Geschichte*, 3. p. 420 *sqq.*

34. 1. **Methana.** This is still the name of the mountainous peninsula which runs far out into the sea from the coast of Troezen, forming a very conspicuous landmark in the Saronic Gulf. The isthmus which joins it to the mainland is about 1000 feet across. This isthmus was fortified in the Peloponnesian war (425 B.C.) by the Athenians, who

established a fortified post on the peninsula, from which they ravaged the coasts of Troezen and Epidaurus (Thucyd. iv. 45; Diodorus, xii. 65). Remains of the wall across the isthmus may still be seen with the two castles on the opposite shores. The castle on the western shore is named Fort Diamanti; it is of a regular elliptical form. These fortifications were renewed in the middle ages; and the Greeks attempted to make use of them in the War of Independence. The peninsula itself is a mountainous mass of grand and picturesque outline. The chief peak, Mt. *Chelona*, in the heart of the peninsula, is a cone 2281 feet high. Most of the peninsula is of volcanic origin, the prevailing rock being a dark red or brown trachyte. The general character of the scenery is one of barren desolation, the whole peninsula, with the exception of a few narrow strips on the coast, being occupied by the sharp mountain-ridges which radiate from Mt. *Chelona*. Narrow gullies divide these ridges from each other. Water is scarce, and the air dry and hot. The inhabitants, however, contrive to cultivate patches of ground, supported by terraces, high up on the mountain sides. The contrast is great between this desolate and arid mountain-mass, and the rich and well-watered plain of Troezen which adjoins it on the south.

The town of Methana was situated on the western side of the peninsula, about half an hour to the south-west of the present village of *Megalochorio*. The acropolis stood on a low but abrupt rocky eminence near the sea. The walls are regularly built and well preserved, extending round the edge of the rock. Twenty-one courses of stones were counted by Dodwell in one place. The material is the same red trachyte as the rock. A chapel of the Panagia within the walls contains some ancient blocks, including an inscription referring to Isis. This chapel may therefore have occupied the site of the sanctuary of Isis mentioned by Pausanias. Near the sea Dodwell found the remains of two small buildings of white marble, one of the Doric, the other of the Ionic order.

See Chandler, *Travels in Greece*, p. 218 *sq.*; Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 280 *sqq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 57 *sq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 453 *sqq.*; Fiedler, *Reise*, 1. p. 257 *sqq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 438 *sqq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 91; Baedeker,[3] p. 253; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 205.

All the MSS. of Thucydides (iv. 45) spell the name of the place Methone. This appears to be a corruption arising from a confusion between Methana in Argolis and Methone in Macedonia and Messenia (see note on iv. 35. 1). But it is a very old corruption; for Strabo, who spells the name Methana, notes (viii. p. 374) that it is spelt Methone in some of the MSS. of Thucydides.

34. 1. **Hercules.** At the village of *Megalochorio*, near Methana, Mr. Paul Jamot found an inscription commemorating the building of a temple to Hercules by one Aurelius Trophimus. The characters of the inscription appear to be later than the time of Pausanias, who does not mention a temple, but only an image, of Hercules at Methana. See *Bulletin de Corresp. Hellénique*, 13 (1889), p. 189 *sq.*

34. 1. warm baths. On account of its volcanic character the peninsula of Methana possesses hot sulphur springs. Of these there are two, one at *Vromolimni* ('stinking lake') on the east coast, the other on the middle of the north coast at a place called *Vroma* ('stink'), below the small village of *Kato-Mouska*. The latter is supposed to be the hot baths mentioned by Pausanias, as the distance from Methana recorded by him (30 furlongs) agrees better with the position of *Vroma* than of *Vromolimni*. The water flows from under some fallen blocks of trachyte; it is very salt, very sulphureous, and has a temperature of 28½ Réaumur. On the slope a little above the spring is the back wall of a building, probably erected for the use of bathers. It has three divisions and is built of reddish-brown trachyte, with good brick and mortar work interposed. See especially Fiedler, *Reise*, 1. pp. 257-259; also Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 58; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 442; Leake, *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 278.

34. 1. sharks. The Greek word is κύνες, 'dogs.' Cp. iv. 34. 3. Sharks are common in the Saronic Gulf. My dragoman told me that they used to frequent the bay of Methana, but that, disturbed by the steamers, they have left these waters and gone to the quiet bay of Epidaurus. Another danger to bathers and to the sponge-divers who ply their trade in these seas is the octopus, which is apt to fasten on a man with its powerful tentacles (Fiedler, *Reise*, 1. pp. 260, 267 sq., 270).

34. 2. two men take a cock etc. The object of carrying the pieces of the victim round the vineyard was to place the vines, as it were, within a charmed circle, into which the baneful influence of the wind could not penetrate. This may be illustrated by parallel practices. Meles, King of Sardes, was told that the acropolis of Sardes would be impregnable if a lion were carried round the walls. So he caused a lion to be carried round the whole circuit of the walls except one place, which was so precipitous that he considered it quite safe. But the soldiers of Cyrus made their way into the acropolis at this very point (Herodotus, i. 84). In Elmina, on the Gold Coast of Africa, it was formerly the custom to sacrifice a human victim, cut the body up, and distribute the pieces round the town. A sheep is now substituted for the human victim, and its flesh distributed in the same way. This is believed to render it impossible for a hostile force to make its way into the town. See A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast*, p. 53. Some of the Nagas, a hill tribe of north-eastern India, killed a puppy, cut it up, and buried the pieces at various points outside their gates on the road along which they expected an English force to attack their village: this was supposed to secure the village and render the bullets harmless (*Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 11 (1882), p. 70). In the Nijegorod Government (Russia) "the Siberian Plague is supposed to be kept at a distance by ashen stakes being driven into the ground at crossways, and the remains of a dog, calcined for the purpose, being scattered about the village" (Ralston, *Songs of the Russian People*, p. 395). In the Roman sacrifice of the *suovetaurilia* the victims were carried round the land, which was thus supposed to be protected

from fog, disease, etc. (Marquardt, *Das Sacralwesen*,[2] p. 201). Roman and Greek writers record the belief that if you carry the skin of a hyaena, a crocodile, or a seal round your land, and then hang up the skin over the door of the house, no hail will fall on your land (Palladius, *De re rustica*, i. 35 ; *Geoponica*, i. 14). It is said to be an Austrian custom, on the approach of a hail-storm, to bury an egg at each of the four corners of the field (Ulrich Jahn, *Die deutsche Opfergebräuche*, p. 62). When the people of Car Nicobar (the most northerly of the Nicobar Islands) see signs of an approaching storm, "the people of every village march round their own boundaries, and fix up at different distances small sticks split at the top, into which split they put a piece of cocoa-nut, a wisp of tobacco, and the leaf of a certain plant" (*Asiatick Researches*, 2. p. 342). Among the Esthonians it used to be customary for a farmer to go to his fields on the day of the Annunciation and let fall three drops of blood from the ring finger of his left hand at each of the four corners of all his fields ; this was to make the crops thrive (Kreutzwald und Neus, *Mythische und magische Lieder der Ehsten*, p. 16).

The reason why the people of Methana selected a white cock specially to keep off the South Wester is perhaps explained by the following custom. When the sky is overcast the skipper of a Malay prao takes the white or yellow feathers of a cock, fastens them to a leaf of a special sort, and sets them in the forecastle, praying that the spirits will cause the black clouds to pass by. Then the cock is killed. The skipper whitens his hand with chalk, points thrice with his whitened finger at the black clouds, and throws the bird into the sea. See Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, p. 412 *sq*. The idea of both the Malay and the Greek custom seems to be that the white bird will chase away the black clouds.

34. 3. **the Isles of Pelops.** "As Pausanias remarks that the islands of Pelops, which were near the coast of Methana, were nine in number, those which lie between Epidaurus and Aegina must have been included under this denomination. The principal are *Móni*, *Metópi*, *Anghístri*, and *Kyrá ;* of which *Anghístri* is much the largest, and, being chiefly covered with wild pines, answers in this respect, as well as in its distance from the continent, to the Pityonnesus, which Pliny [*Nat. Hist.* iv. 57] places in face of Epidaurus. *Kyrá*, being nearer to Epidaurus, corresponds equally well with Cecryphalos" (Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 455). Pliny (*l.c.*) says that the islands are 6 miles from the mainland. The Cecryphalus of Pliny, as Leake says, is probably the Cecryphalia of Thucydides (iv. 105), where the Athenians won a naval victory over the Aeginetans. Cp. Diodorus, xi. 78.

34. 3. **to keep off hail by sacrifices and spells.** Pausanias perhaps refers to the ceremonies which were practised for this purpose at Cleonae, and which he himself may have witnessed. See note on ii. 15. 1. Another Greek way of keeping hail from the vines was to tie a strap round one of the vines ; it was supposed that this would save all the rest (Philostratus, *Heroica*, iii. 25). Many other equally absurd modes of averting a hail-storm (by brandishing bloody axes in a threatening

manner at the sky, holding up a mirror to the clouds, rubbing the pruning-knives with bear's grease, etc.) are gravely recorded by ancient writers (Palladius, *De re rustica*, i. 35; *Geoponica*, i. 14; cp. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxviii. 77).

34. 6. **a road from Troezen to Hermion** etc. Pausanias now returns to the road which he quitted in 32. 9. The path ascends the romantic glen of the *Kremastos* (the ancient Hyllicus), passing the Devil's Bridge (see notes on ii. 31. 10; ii. 32. 7). The ascent is exceedingly steep and winding, almost dangerously so. From the top of the pass, which is reached in about an hour and a quarter, a view of the sea to the south with islands (*Hydra*, etc.) is obtained. The path then descends gradually over bushy terraces, between which the broad, often waterless, bed of the *Thermisi* river winds towards the sea. There is a wayside spring where myrtles and plane-trees grow in profusion. Here perhaps stood the temple of Apollo of the Plane-tree Grove, mentioned by Pausanias. Lower down is a table-land, hemmed in by heights. It is called *Ilia*, and is perhaps the Ilei of Pausanias. The dale then opens out into a level stretch of marshy land, where the river reaches the sea. To the west of its estuary is a large salt-water lagoon, where the Venetians had a salt-work. On the south this lagoon is bounded by a rocky coast which ends in Cape *Thermisi*. The application of the name *Thermisi* to the lagoon, the salt-work, and the bay, as well as to the cape, seems to show that the sanctuary of Demeter Warmth (*Thermasia*), mentioned by Pausanias, was in this neighbourhood. Above the salt-work is a chapel with some ruins; perhaps it occupies the site of the sanctuary. The double-peaked hill which rises steeply to the north is crowned with the remains of an old fortification.

See Gell, *Itinerary of Greece*, p. 123 *sqq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 61; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 451 *sq.*; Leake, *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 281 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. pp. 87, 95; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 49; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 206.

34. 7. **Just eighty furlongs off is Cape Scyllaeum.** Cape Scyllaeum is the modern Cape *Skyli*, the sharp promontory forming the southern extremity of the Saronic gulf, between Troezen and Hermion. In favour of identifying Scyllaeum with *Skyli* there is, besides the similarity of the names, the testimony of Scylax, who sailing along the coast from Nauplia to Corinth, mentions Hermion, then Cape Scyllaeum, and afterwards Troezen. He says that Scyllaeum is the boundary of the Saronic gulf (τοῦ κόλπου τοῦ πρὸς ἰσθμόν), and that it is opposite Sunium in Attica; both these descriptions point to Cape *Skyli*. See Scylax, *Periplus*, 51. Pausanias says that Scyllaeum was 80 furlongs from the sanctuary of Demeter Warmth (*Thermasia*). But Cape *Thermisi* is 10 geographical miles (a good deal more than 80 furlongs) from *Skyli*. Therefore if by Scyllaeum Pausanias meant *Skyli*, and if he has given the distance rightly, the sanctuary cannot have stood exactly at Cape *Thermisi*, but must have been farther to the east, nearer Cape *Skyli*. On the derivation of the name Scyllaeum from Scylla, daughter of Nisus, cp. Strabo, viii. p. 373. As to Scyllaeum, see also below, p. 292.

34. 8. **Sailing from Scyllaeum towards the capital** etc. From

this point till he reaches Hermion, Pausanias's description of the coast can with difficulty be reconciled with the actual coast-line. Two ways of interpreting his description have been proposed. Both assume that he has been guilty of some error or confusion. As to the position of Hermion itself there is, however, no question. It was on the site of the modern village of *Kastri*.

(i) It has been supposed that Scyllaeum was not *Skyli*, but the bold round promontory about a mile to the north of it. *Skyli* would then be Bucephala; and the islands of Haliussa, Pityussa, and Aristerae would be the three islets off *Skyli*. From *Skyli* and its islands Pausanias then, compelled by contrary winds or for other reasons, sailed outside the large island of *Hydra*, the eastern extremity of which he called Colyergia and mistook for a piece of the mainland. Tricrana is the modern island of *Trikera*. Buporthmus is Cape *Musaki*. Aperopia is the island of *Doko*. Hydrea is *Hydra*. The 'crescent-shaped beach' is the bay of *Kappari*. The 'spit of land' is the promontory called *Bisti*. Hermion occupied the site of the modern village of *Kastri*. This is the explanation adopted by Boblaye (*Recherches*, p. 60) and Leake (*Pelop.* p. 279 *sqq.*) The difficulties in the way of it are: (1) It shifts Scyllaeum from *Skyli* to a point a mile off. (2) In one of the islands off Scyllaeum Pausanias says there was a good harbour. But there seems to be no harbour in the islets off *Skyli*. (3) It assumes that Pausanias mistook the eastern end of *Hydra* for the mainland; and (4) that he entirely omitted to mention the large island of *Spetzia*.

(ii) The other explanation is that Pausanias, owing to some confusion in his notes or from borrowing his description of the coast from a book without having himself sailed round the whole distance, starts in his description, not from *Skyli*, but from a point on the coast in the opposite direction, namely from a point to the west of Hermion (*Kastri*), say from the harbour of *Kiladia*. Bucephala ('ox-head') would then be the western extremity of the *Kranidi* peninsula, between Cape *Palaeo-Thini* on the north and Cape *Korakas* on the south. The island of Haliussa would be the peninsula at the east end of which is Port *Cheli*; for this peninsula is nearly separated from the mainland by a salt-water lagoon and may have been an island in Pausanias's time. The harbour of which Pausanias speaks would be Port *Cheli*; Pityussa would be *Spetzia*; and Aristerae would be *Spetzia-poulo*. Colyergia would be the cape on which a chapel of St. Aemilianus stands and which in some maps is marked Cape *Mylonas*. The rest of the islands and capes (Tricrana, etc.) are the same as in the previous explanation. This was the view of Lolling (*Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 4 (1879), p. 107 *sqq.*), and to some extent of Bursian, though he identified Haliussa with *Spetzia*, Pityussa with *Spetzia-poulo*, and Aristerae with three small islets east of *Spetzia-poulo* (*Geogr. von Griechenland*, 2. pp. 86 *sq.* note, 100 *sq.*)

The advantages of this view over the preceding are: (1) It supplies a harbour answering to the one described by Pausanias as existing in Haliussa. (2) It does not involve the oversight of the large island of

Spetsia, and it perhaps shows the origin of the modern name in the ancient one (*Spetsia* from Pityussa). (3) The island of *Spetsia-poulo* is more usually known at the present day as *Arasteri*, in which we easily recognise the ancient Aristerae. On the other hand the difficulties about this view are these: (1) It shifts Scyllaeum from its true place to one at the very opposite end of Hermionis. (2) It supposes that what is now mainland was an island in Pausanias's time. (3) It seems very unnatural that Pausanias, approaching Hermion from the east, should take a great leap past the town to the west, and then begin sailing back eastwards to the town. For on this supposition, if he saw the coast as he describes it, he must actually have passed the town, continued his journey for some miles, and then sailed back to the place which he had previously passed on foot. Still on the whole the objections to this view, grave as they are, seem to me less grave than those which tell against the former view. Even the most serious of the mistakes which it seems to impute to Pausanias, namely the transference of Scyllaeum from the eastern to the western extremity of Hermionis, may perhaps be defended or at least explained. For two passages of ancient writers seem necessarily to imply that Scyllaeum was at the western end of Hermionis. Thus Strabo (viii. p. 368), making the circuit of Peloponnese in the reverse direction from Pausanias (Elis, Messenia, Laconia, Argolis), says that after cape Malea you come to the Gulf of Argos and next to the Gulf of Hermionis. The Gulf of Argos, he says, extends as far as Scyllaeum; then comes the Gulf of Hermionis farther to the east, reaching as far as to Aegina and Epidaurus. If the Gulf of Hermionis included, as it surely did, the coast of Hermionis, then Scyllaeum, the termination of the Gulf of Argolis, must have been at the western end of Hermionis: otherwise Hermionis would have been, not on the Gulf of Hermionis, but on that of Argos. The same thing is still more clearly expressed by Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* iv. 17). He says that the Gulf of Argos extends as far as Scyllaeum; then after Scyllaeum comes the Gulf of Hermionis, with the towns of Hermion, Troezen, etc. These two writers, therefore, certainly placed Scyllaeum to the west of Hermionis, and Pausanias would seem to have done so too. Whether they were right in doing so, is another question. That the present *Skyli*, to the east of Hermionis, was called Scyllaeum in antiquity seems certain. That there was another Scyllaeum to the west of Hermionis is possible, but unlikely. It seems more likely that all three writers, Strabo, Pliny, and Pausanias, were misinformed.

Prof. E. Curtius attempted a different solution of the difficulties in the present passage of Pausanias (*Pelop.* 2. p. 452 *sqq.*); but the objections to his view are so numerous that I have not thought it necessary to discuss it.

34. 8. **a harbour where there is good anchorage.** This is perhaps the modern Port *Cheli*. See preceding note. The bay is small and landlocked, and the scenery, without being grand, is peaceful and homelike, reminding a Scotchman of some quiet inlet in the Western Highlands of his native land. There is no wharf, and hardly a sign of

habitation within sight. A ferry-boat puts off to the steamer. The people are Albanians.

34. 8. **Pityussa.** This is probably the modern *Spetzia*, with its thriving town of the same name. No ancient remains are known to exist on the island (Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 101).

34. 8. **Tricrana.** This is probably the modern *Trikera*, an uninhabited island consisting of two mountains joined by an isthmus (Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 101).

34. 8. **Buporthmus.** Pausanias's description of this place applies well to Cape *Mouzaki*, which is a plateau-shaped mountain with steep sides thrust out into the sea and joined to the land by a low and narrow, but rocky isthmus. See Lolling, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 4 (1879), p. 109.

34. 9. **Hydrea.** This island preserves its name in the slightly changed form of *Hydra*. The town is built on the steep slopes which enclose a small inlet; the white houses rising above each other like a theatre present a picturesque aspect to the sea. Three insignificant fragments of antiquity have been found here, all of them, apparently, imported (Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 100). Worked flints and polished stone axes of the neolithic age have been discovered in the island (*Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 207). *Hydra* is the most southerly land seen from Athens; on a clear day (that is, nearly every day) it is visible in the blue distance, where sea and sky meet.

34. 9. **a spit of land runs eastward into the sea.** This is the long neck of land, now called *Bisti*, which runs out into the sea from the village of *Kastri*. Its dimensions agree with those given by Pausanias. "The sea is very deep, so that large vessels might have lain close to the walls, and the ports or bays both on the north and south of the peninsula, seem perfectly secure and land-locked. The anchorage is excellent" (Gell, *Itin. of Greece*, p. 130). On the north side of the peninsula some squared blocks may be seen lying, partly in the water; they are probably the remains of an ancient mole. At the extremity of the cape, which was fortified in Venetian times and in the War of Independence, are the ruins of a tower built of large irregular blocks. On the summit of the promontory is the pavement of a temple, 100 feet long by 38 feet broad, constructed of greyish-blue limestone, the blocks of unequal sizes. It may have formed part of the temple of Poseidon mentioned by Pausanias. Immediately behind it is another ancient pavement, 80 feet long. There are numerous other ancient remains farther to the west, including the ruins of a theatre on the southern side of the peninsula. This theatre is built of bricks and mortar; ten rows of seats are still to be seen. See Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 457 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 96; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 49; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 206.

34. 11. **The present city is just four furlongs from the cape** etc. The spit of land now called *Bisti* on which, according to Pausanias, the older city of Hermion lay, runs eastward into the sea, dividing the northern from the southern harbour. Of these two harbours the northern is the smaller but safer. At it may be seen the remains of an ancient mole (see the preceding note). A few hundred yards

inland from the promontory rises a hill, the Mount Pron of the ancients, separated by a saddle from the range of Mount Thornax (Cuckoo Mountain) on the west. This hill was the ancient acropolis. The modern village of *Kastri* lies on its slope. Vestiges of the ancient wall exist on the north side of the hill. The schoolhouse is built on an ancient wall, 50 feet long, which may have been part of the wall of the acropolis. The chief church of *Kastri*, dedicated to the Taxiarch (St. Michael), seems to occupy the site of an ancient temple. It stands in the upper part of the village, and contains a couple of ancient columns, some fragments of sculpture, and many ancient blocks, including two stones inscribed with dedications to Demeter, Clymenus, and Proserpine. We may conjecture that the church has succeeded to the site of the sanctuary of Demeter, which was, as we learn from Pausanias, the chief shrine of Hermion. Smaller antiquities, such as terra-cottas, bronzes, coins and inscriptions are to be found in numbers on the site of the ancient city.

Possessing no fertile territory, and being accessible on the land side only by a difficult mountain track, Hermion was essentially a maritime city. It owed its importance to its two excellent harbours, which are sheltered by capes and islands from every wind that blows.

See Gell, *Itinerary of Greece*, p. 128 *sqq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 60; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 454 *sqq.*; *Annali dell' Instituto*, 33 (1861), p. 10; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 95 *sq.*; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 49; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 206.

35. 1. **Dionysus of the Black Goatskin.** This title is said to have originated in the appearance of Dionysus, on a certain momentous occasion, clad in a black goatskin. See Schol. on Aristophanes, *Acharn.* 146; Suidas, *s.v.* Ἀπατούρια: *Etymolog. Magn.* p. 119. 10. On Dionysus in goat form, cp. *The Golden Bough*, 1. p. 326 *sq.*, 2. p. 34 *sqq.* The boat-races and swimming-races held at Hermion in honour of Dionysus may perhaps have been associated with the story of the god's adventure with pirates which is told in the Homeric hymn to Dionysus and illustrated by the sculptures on the monument of Lysicrates at Athens (vol. 2. p. 207). Cp. S. Wide, *De sacris Troezeniorum, Hermionensium, Epidauriorum*, p. 43 *sq.*

35. 1. **prizes for swimming-races and boat-races.** The sheltered bay of Hermion was well adapted for these contests. Boat-races seem to have been not uncommon in antiquity. They were held at Sunium (Lysias, *Or.* xxi. 5); and Attic inscriptions show that boat-races formed part of the regular training of the Athenian lads (*ephebi*): they raced in sacred vessels round the peninsula of Piraeus to the harbour of Munychia. See Aug. Mommsen, *Heortologie*, pp. 197, 411; Prof. Percy Gardner, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 2 (1881), pp. 90-97, 315-317; *id.*, 6 (1885), p. 26; *C. I. A.* ii. No. 470, line 16; *C. I. A.* ii. No. 471, line 29 *sq.*; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 347, line 21 *sq.*; *id.*, No. 395, line 78; Plutarch, *Themistocles*, 32.

35. 1. **Artemis surnamed Iphigenia.** At Aegirae in Achaia there was a temple of Artemis which contained a very ancient image of Iphigenia; from which Pausanias concluded that the temple had originally belonged to Iphigenia (vii. 26. 5). Cp. S. Wide, *De sacris Troezeniorum, Hermionensium, Epidauriorum*, p. 29.

35. 1. a bronze Poseidon with one foot on a dolphin. On coins of Hermion there is a representation of Poseidon which is probably copied from the statue here described by Pausanias: the god appears standing with a trident in his hand and one foot resting on a dolphin (Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 50). An inscription found at Hermion mentions a priest of Poseidon (*C. I. G.* No. 1223). At Anticyra the god was similarly represented standing with one foot on a dolphin (Paus. x. 36. 8); and Hyginus says (*Astron.* ii. 17): "We see that those who make images of Neptune (Poseidon) place a dolphin either in his hand or under his foot." As to the worship of Poseidon at Hermion see S. Wide, *De sacris Troezeniorum, Hermionensium, Epidauriorum*, p. 13 *sq.*

35. 1. the shrine of Hestia. The altar in this shrine may have been 'the common hearth' mentioned in a Hermionian inscription as the place where foreign ambassadors were entertained by the magistrates (*C. I. G.* No. 1193; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 389).

35. 3. a place called Limon ('meadow'). Prof. Curtius thinks that this may be a place a good hour's distance on the way to *Kranidi*. There are some springs at this spot. See Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 459.

35. 4. a sanctuary of Demeter on Mount Pron. This sanctuary perhaps occupied the site of the present chief church of *Kastri*, the church of the Taxiarch. See above, p. 294. The sanctuary is mentioned in an inscription of Hermion (*C. I. G.* No. 1193; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 389).

35. 5. the goddess herself is certainly called Chthonia —— and they celebrate a festival called Chthonia. Inscriptions containing dedications to Chthonian Demeter have been found at Hermion (*C. I. G.* Nos. 1193, 1194, 1195, 1198; Roehl, *I. G. A.* No. 47; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 389; Collitz, *G. D. I.* 3. Nos. 3382, 3383, 3396). Demeter was worshipped under this title also at Sparta (Paus. iii. 14. 5). The festival called Chthonia is thus referred to by Aelian (*Nat. Anim.* xi. 4): "The Hermionians worship Demeter and sacrifice to her magnificently and grandly; and they call the festival Chthonia. I hear that the largest cows are brought from the herd to the altar by the priestess, and that they allow themselves to be sacrificed." Then he quotes some verses of Aristocles, in which it is said that a bull such as ten men could not master is led to the altar of Demeter at Hermion by the priestess alone, the bull following her as quietly as a child follows its mother. From an inscription found at Hermion (*C. I. G.* No. 1193; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 389) we learn that a victim was sometimes sent by a friendly state to be offered at the festival of the Chthonia, that ambassadors and others assembled to witness the sacrifice, and that a special official (called θεαροδόκος) was appointed to receive them. These officials are mentioned in other Hermionian inscriptions (Collitz, *G. D. I.* 3. Nos. 3387, 3388). Two other inscriptions of Hermion contain lists of men and women, with the names added, sometimes of their fathers, sometimes of their mothers. Boeckh thought that these are lists of the persons who had been initiated into the mysteries of Demeter (see Paus. ii. 34. 10), with

the names of their fathers or mothers who had initiated them. See *C. I. G.* Nos. 1207, 1211; *Bulletin de Corresp. Hellénique*, 1879, p. 75 *sqq.*; Collitz, *G. D. I.* 3. Nos. 3398, 3401, 3402. The sacrifice at the festival of the Chthonia has been examined by W. Mannhardt, who thought that the cow in this sacrifice represented the spirit of vegetation. See his *Mythologische Forschungen*, p. 58 *sqq.*; cp. also his *Korndämonen*, p. 36. Cp. S. Wide, *De sacris Troezeniorum, Hermionensium, Epidauriorum*, p. 48 *sqq.*

35. 5. **it seems to me a hyacinth.** Hyacinths were among the flowers which Proserpine and her playmates were gathering when she was carried off by Pluto. See Homer, *Hymn to Demeter*, 6 *sqq.*, 425 *sqq.*; Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 437 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Met.* v. 392; Sophocles, *Oed. Col.* 682 *sqq.*; Hesychius, *s.v.* *δαμάτριον*. All these passages are referred to by Stephani, in *Compte-Rendu* (St. Petersburg) for 1865, p. 15 *sq.*

35. 5. **inscribed with the same mournful letters.** So Lucian (*De saltatione*, 45) speaks of "the flower sprung from the blood (of Hyacinth) and the woeful inscription on it." Milton's phrase in *Lycidas* ("that sanguine flower inscribed with woe") will recur to the reader.

35. 7. **Four old women.** Old women are sometimes specially selected to offer sacrifices. Cp. Pigafetta, in Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, 10. p. 342 *sq.*; Crawford, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, 2. p. 234 *sq.*

35. 8. **the thing they reverence above everything else.** Sir Charles Newton (*Hist. of Discoveries at Cnidus*, etc., 2. p. 414) thought that the worshipful object was probably contained in the sacred box (*cista*), comparing Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* 21. p. 18 ed. Potter; Pausan. viii. 37. 4. Gerhard (*Griech. Mythol.* § 420. 3) thought that the *cista* of Demeter contained a serpent. (As to the *cista* see note on viii. 25. 7.) The women called 'drawers' at the Thesmophoria (a festival in honour of Demeter and Proserpine) seem to have carried cakes made in the shape of serpents and of *phalli*. See the scholium on Lucian, published in *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 25 (1870), p. 548 *sqq.*

35. 9. **Clymenus.** This was no doubt, as Pausanias perceived, only a euphuistic name for Pluto. A Hermionian poet, Lasus by name, called Proserpine "the wife of Clymenus" (Athenaeus, xiv. p. 624 ef). Cp. S. Wide, *De sacris Troezeniorum, Hermionensium, Epidauriorum*, p. 49 *sq.*

35. 9. **the god who is said to reign underground.** Pausanias seems to have been very sceptical about the existence of hell. See ii. 24. 4, ii. 31. 2, ii. 36. 7, iii. 25. 5, v. 20, 3; G. Krüger, *Theologumena Pausaniae*, p. 16 *sq.*

35. 10. **the Colonnade of Echo.** There was a colonnade so named at Olympia (v. 21. 17). A mythical account of the origin of the echo is given by Ovid (*Metam.* iii. 356 *sqq.*) Some North American Indians think that echoes are the voices of witches who live in snake skins, and love to repeat mockingly the voices of passers by (*First annual report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington), pp. 45-47; cp. Gill, *Myths and Songs of the South Pacific*, p. 115 *sqq.*)

35. 10. **a chasm in the earth.** This was supposed to be a short cut to hell. The souls of the dead, descending by this chasm, had not to go round by Charon's ferry. So the thrifty people of Hermion put no money in the mouths of corpses to pay the ferry across the Styx, as the rest of the Greeks used to do (Strabo, viii. p. 373). On this custom of giving money to the dead to meet their expenses in the other world, see *Journ. of the Anthrop. Inst.* 15 (1885), p. 78. Caves and fissures of the earth were naturally fixed upon as the places at which to worship the infernal deities. If noxious mephitic vapours issued from the cavern, so much the better; the place was then indeed the mouth of hell. Such caves existed at Hierapolis and Acharaka in Asia Minor; they were sacred to Pluto and bulls were sacrificed to him by being driven into the caves, where they were stifled by the fumes. When Strabo visited the cave at Hierapolis he let some sparrows fly into it; they at once dropped dead. Sick people resorted to Acharaka, where they were treated by the priests, the mode of treatment being revealed to the priest in a dream while he slept in the holy ground. See Strabo, xiii. p. 629 *sq.*, xiv. p. 649 *sq.* The cave at Hierapolis has disappeared (W. M. Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, 1. p. 86). In the sacred enclosure of the infernal deities at Cnidus Sir Charles Newton discovered a curious natural formation of the rock, which he considers may have recommended the spot as a fit place for the worship of these subterranean powers (*Hist. of Discoveries at Halicarnassus*, etc. 2. p. 414; *id.*, *Travels and Discoveries*, 2. p. 195 *sq.*) Pluto seems to have been worshipped at Aeane in Macedonia. See *Revue Archéologique*, N.S. 18 (1868), pp. 18-28. Hades (Pluto) was worshipped at Elis, where he had a temple (Paus. vi. 25. 2). There were other places in Greece besides Hermion where Hercules was said to have dragged up the hound of hell, as Taenarum (Paus. iii. 25. 5), near Coronea in Boeotia (Paus. ix. 34. 5), and at the fountain or conduit known as the Water of Freedom, in Argolis (Hesychius, *s.v.* ἐλεύθερον ὕδωρ: see note on ii. 17. 1).

35. 11. **a sanctuary of Ilithyia.** Ilithyia is mentioned in a Hermionian inscription, which records the dedication of a statue to the goddess (S. Wide, *De sacris Troezeniorum*, *Hermionensium*, *Epidauriorum*, p. 66 *sq.*)

35. 11. **a vast number of votive offerings.** These would be dedicated as thank-offerings by women who had been safely delivered, Ilithyia being the goddess of child-bearing. Many such votive offerings were found some years ago at Nemi in Italy, where Diana was worshipped by women desirous of children or of an easy delivery. See *Bullettino dell' Instituto*, 1885, p. 153 *sq.*; *Athenaeum*, 10 October, 1885; Preller, *Römische Mythologie*,[3] 1. p. 317; G. H. Wallis, *Catalogue of Classical Antiquities from the site of the Temple of Diana, Nemi, Italy*, p. 13 *sqq.* What appears to have been an offering of this kind was found at Sparta some years ago. It is a marble group, representing apparently a woman in the act of child-bearing, assisted by two male divinities. See *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 10 (1885), pp. 177-199.

36. 1. **Halice.** This is probably the place called Halia by Scylax,

who says (*Periplus*, 50) that it possessed a harbour at the mouth of the Argolic Gulf. This makes it tolerably certain that the harbour is the modern Port *Cheli*, opposite the island of *Spetzia*. (See note on ii. 34. 8.) On the southern side of this harbour there are the remains of a considerable town, partly under water. They are probably the ruins of Halice, though the French Surveyors identified the site as Mases. See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 61; Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 462 *sq.*; *id.*, *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 287 *sqq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 461 *sq.*; Lolling, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 4 (1879), p. 108.

36. 1. **Mention is made of natives of Halice on the Epidaurian tablets.** It is a remarkable proof of the accuracy of Pausanias that on the tablets to which he refers and which were discovered some years ago at Epidaurus, there occur the names of three natives of Halice. See the first tablet, line 120, and the second tablet, lines 19 and 69, in Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Épidaure*, 1. p. 27 (Inscr. No. 1), pp. 29, 30 (Inscr. No. 2); Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1883, p. 215; *id.*, 1885, pp. 15, 18. As to these tablets see note on ii. 27. 3.

36. 1. **the transformation of Zeus into a cuckoo.** The story is told in detail by a scholiast on Theocritus (xv. 64), who professes to derive it from Aristotle. He mentions a sanctuary of Full-grown (*Teleia*) Hera on the Cuckoo Mountain. Pausanias, who is more likely to be right, places the temple of Hera on Mt. Pron. On the cuckoo in northern mythology, see the elaborate essay of W. Mannhardt, 'Der Kukuk,' in *Zeitschrift für deutsche Mythologie und Sittenkunde*, 3 (1855), pp. 209-298.

36. 2. **Mases.** This was probably situated on the deep bay of *Kiladia*. This sheltered harbour must have been, as Prof. Curtius points out, of some importance to the people of Hermion, as it was the nearest anchorage on the Argolic Gulf, and goods could be transported from it overland by a short and easy road instead of having to be brought round the rocky coast in vessels. There are here some ancient cisterns and remains of buildings. See Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 463; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 462; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 98.

36. 2. **as Homer represents it.** See *Iliad*, ii. 562.

36. 3. **Struthus —— Philanorium —— Bolei.** Struthus is probably a cape somewhere to the north-west of the bay of *Kiladia*. The other places have not been identified. The distance of 250 furlongs is probably, as Prof. Curtius thinks (*Pelop.* 2. p. 464), a mistake: it would carry us quite out of the district which Pausanias is describing.

36. 3. **Didymi.** This place has preserved its name in the modern *Didyma*, a village surrounded by vineyards, corn-fields, and tobacco-fields, in a small mountain valley at the south-west foot of Mt. *Didyma*. This is a double-peaked mountain 3525 feet high, the shape of which probably gave rise to the name Didymi ('the twins'). In the neighbourhood of the village there are some ancient foundations and a cistern with steps. In the church of H. Marina to the east of the village is an inscription recording a dedication to Demeter, a relic perhaps of the sanctuary of Demeter mentioned by Pausanias. See Leake, *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 289; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 464; Conze e Michaelis,

in *Annali dell' Instituto*, 33 (1861), p. 11 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 98 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 255; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 51.

36. 4. Asine. Strabo says (viii. p. 373) that Asine was near Nauplia, and as it was on the sea-coast (cp. Paus. iv. 34. 12) the site has been identified with the ruins situated on a rocky promontory at Port *Tolon*, about 5 miles to the south-east of Nauplia. "The walls, partly built of neatly-fitted polygonal blocks and partly of layers of trapezoids uneven in level, are still better preserved than those at Tiryns." Colossal towers, 39 feet broad, and projecting about 23 feet, give the walls an imposing appearance. The terrace of the fortress, where most of the buildings seem to have stood, is 121 feet above the sea; the highest point is 164 feet. On the terrace may be seen the foundations of many chambers, built of unhewn Cyclopean stones. There is a large pear-shaped cistern cut in the rock, also three smaller cisterns. Great masses of potsherds of the painted prehistoric kind characteristic of Mycenae and Tiryns are lying about, also very many querns of trachyte, corn-bruisers, etc., also rude hammers of diorite or granite, and great quantities of knives and arrowheads of extremely primitive form, made of obsidian. Together with these is to be found black and red lacquered pottery of the late Greek or Roman age, pointing to a later settlement. In any case the place must have been occupied in the late Middle Ages, for the walls and towers have been repaired in the Venetian period.

See Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 463 *sq.*; *id.*, *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 290 *sqq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 465 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 61; Schliemann, *Tiryns*, p. 49 *sq.* On the destruction of Asine by the Argives see also iii. 7. 4; iv. 8. 3; iv. 14. 3; iv. 34. 9.

Farther to the east than Port *Tolon* there is a small maritime plain of triangular shape. This is the plain of *Kandia*, as it is now called. In the upper corner of this plain is an ancient citadel with walls of polygonal masonry. A fine spring issues from the rock at the foot of the citadel. A mile to the south-east, between two lagoons, rises a hill on which are the foundation-walls of an ancient temple. The French surveyors inclined to identify this place with Asine and the temple with the temple of Pythaean Apollo mentioned by Pausanias. But the situation of the citadel away from the sea, and its distance from Nauplia, are against the identification. The remains are perhaps those of Eiones or Eion, a place mentioned by Homer (*Il.* ii. 561) and destroyed by the Mycenaeans (Strabo, viii. p. 373; cp. Diodorus, iv. 37).

See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 51; Leake, *Pelop.* p. 292 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 465 *sqq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 61.

Still farther to the east is the broad and fertile plain of *Iri* on the coast enclosed by bare mountains. It is watered by the *Bedeni* or *Iri* river, the northern sources of which are not far from the town of Epidaurus. The fortress which commanded this district was on the summit of a mountain, which rises on the right bank of the *Bedeni*, six geographical miles from its mouth. See Leake, *Pelop.* p. 291 *sqq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 465; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 52.

36. 6. The sea at Lerna etc. Pausanias now leaves the eastern side of the Argolic Gulf and resumes his description of the western side. See ii. 24. 5 *sq.* It would have seemed more natural if he had continued his route from Asine to Nauplia, and so round the head of the Argolic Gulf to Lerna. Instead of which he crosses over from Asine to Lerna, and then works his way back to Nauplia.

36. 6. the Erasinus —— the Phrixus. On the Erasinus, the modern *Kefalari*, see note on ii. 24. 6. The course of the Phrixus, according to Bursian (*Geogr.* 2. p. 65, note 1), cannot now be traced, since the water of the *Kefalari* is now conducted in several channels direct to the sea. Leake thought that the Phrixus could be "no other than the brook which issues from the opening between Mounts Lycone and Chaon, and which is so much smaller than the Erasinus, that it would have been more correct to have said that it fell into the Erasinus, than the latter into it" (*Morea*, 2. p. 472). But this identification can hardly be right, else Pausanias going from Argos to Lerna would have crossed the Phrixus before the Erasinus instead of after it.

36. 6. in the same style as those in Argos. See ii. 22. 5.

36. 7. mysteries —— in honour of Lernaean Demeter. The fire which was used in these rites used to be fetched from the temple of Pyronian Artemis on Mt. Crathis in Arcadia (Paus. viii. 15. 9).

36. 8. a mountain which they call Pontinus etc. An hour and a half's ride to the south of Argos we reach three copious sources which form a stream running to turn the northern *Myli* or mills of Nauplia (*Anapli*), to which town they belong, though they are on the opposite side of the bay. The mills are so called to distinguish them from the 'mills of Argos,' which are turned by the Erasinus much nearer Argos (see note on ii. 24. 6). The springs issue from the foot of a rocky hill of conical form, which, stretching eastward till it nearly touches the sea, terminates the plain of Argos in this corner. "The hill and stream are evidently those which were anciently called Pontinus: the river has only a course of a few hundred yards before it joins the sea. The ruins of a castle, made of small stones and mortar, now occupy the summit of the hill, and consequently stand on the site of the house of Hippomedon and of the temple of Minerva [Athena], whose epithet Saitis indicates that her worship was introduced here from Egypt, and thus agrees with the reputed foundation of the temple by Danaus. At Sais we know that Neith, the Greek Athene, was held in great honour (Herodotus, ii. 175)" (Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 472 *sq.*) See note on ix. 12. 2. As to Pausanias's statement that Mt. Pontinus absorbs the rain which falls on it, Dodwell observes that the hill "is composed of a calcareous rock, full of deep fissures, and subterraneous cavities. The falling rain, therefore, after being absorbed, is conducted by the springs which are at the base of the rock to the Lernaean pool" (*Tour*, 2. p. 228). Cp. Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 47; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 368 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 67; Baedeker,[3] p. 275; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 71.

37. 1. Amymone. This is identified with a stream which issues from seven or eight openings under the rocks at the foot of Mt. Pontinus, about half a mile to the south of the river Pontinus. The springs are

much more copious than those of the Pontinus. There is a chapel of St. John near the springs. See Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 473; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 369; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 67; Baedeker,[3] p. 275. The story was that Amymone was one of the fifty daughters of Danaus, whom their father sent out to look for water after Poseidon in his anger had dried up the waters of the Argolic plain (see ii. 15. 5). In her search for water Amymone met Poseidon, who showed her the springs at Lerna or produced them by striking his trident into the rock. See Apollodorus, ii. 1. 4; Hyginus, *Fab.* 169; Lucian, *Dialog. Marin.* 6. The meeting of Poseidon with Amymone was a favourite subject in art. See K. O. Müller, *Handbuch der Archäologie der Kunst*, § 356. 3; De Witte, in *Gazette Archéologique*, 7 (1881-1882), p. 6 *sqq.* The daughters of Danaus, who in hell were compelled to pour water continually into a vessel full of holes, have been plausibly explained as personifications of the springs which flow into the Argolic plain, but dry up in summer. It is a confirmation of this view that Amymone, who gave her name to the perennial spring at Lerna, was exempted from the task of carrying water in hell (Lucian, *l.c.*) The wells at Argos were said to have been discovered by the daughters of Danaus (Strabo, viii. p. 371). Cp. Mure, *Journal*, 2. p. 180 *sq.*; Preller, *Griech. Mythol.*[3] 2. p. 45 *sqq.*; Stark, *Niobe und die Niobiden*, p. 347; Roscher's *Lexikon*, *s.v.* 'Danaiden.'

37. 1. **images of Demeter, surnamed Prosymne, and of Dionysus.** There is an inscription containing a dedication to these deities which is said to have been discovered in this neighbourhood, at the north-west corner of the Alcyonian lake (see § 5 of this chapter). Hence it has been supposed that this was the site of the temple of Demeter. See Conze e Michaelis, in *Annali dell' Instituto*, 33 (1861), p. 20 *sq.* The inscription is also given in Kaibel's *Epigrammata Graeca*, No. 821.

37. 3. **these stories also have been proved not to be by Philammon** etc. The way in which Arrhiphon proved that these stories could not be by Philammon was this. Philammon lived in Greece before the Dorian invasion, and therefore before the Doric dialect was spoken in Greece. But the stories in question were written in Doric. Therefore they could not have been written by Philammon. Pausanias refers to this critical discovery with admiration. The passage has been entirely misunderstood by Bachofen (*Das Mutterrecht*, p. 395).

37. 4. **the hydra.** For some ancient representations of Hercules slaying the hydra, see *Monumenti Inediti*, 1842, tav. xlvi.; Welcker, *Antike Denkmäler*, 3. pp. 257-267; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 657 *sq.* In a ditch at Lerna, W. G. Clark saw "two large water-snakes—Lernaean hydras—marked yellow and black. The creatures abound here still" (*Pelop.* p. 98).

37. 4. **Pisander, of Camirus.** Cp. viii. 22. 4. Pisander wrote a poem called *Heraclea* in two books on the labours of Hercules. According to some he flourished Ol. 33 (648-645 B.C.) See Suidas, *s.v.* Πείσανδρος: *Epicorum Graecorum fragmenta*, ed. Kinkel, pp. 248-253.

37. 5. **the spring of Amphiaraus.** Boblaye, followed by Prof. Curtius, identified this spring with a copious source 100 to 150 paces south of the Alcyonian lake (see next note). It issues from a hill which is

crowned by the ruins of an ancient Greek sanctuary. See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 48; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 369. Leake and Lolling (Baedeker), however, were of opinion that the spring of Amphiaraus has disappeared owing to the extension of the Alcyonian lake (see next note). See Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 475; Baedeker,[3] p. 275. Nor could Ross (*Reisen*, p. 151) or Conze and Michaelis (*Annali dell' Instituto*, 33 (1861), p. 20) discover anything to correspond to the spring of Amphiaraus.

37. 5. **the Alcyonian Lake.** Between the eastern foot of Mount Pontinus and the sea there intervenes a narrow stretch of level coast-land, only a few hundred yards in width. The ground is swampy, abounding in springs, and overgrown with rank vegetation. Along the shore there is a strip of firm gravel, but between this and the foot of the hills the traveller is reminded by ditches full of stagnant water and by the quaking of the ground under his tread that he is crossing the Lernaean Marsh. At the foot of the hill some clear and copious springs rush from under the conglomerate rock, and close by is a still, deep lake, or rather pool, some hundred paces in circumference, fringed by a luxuriant growth of reeds, rushes, yellow irises, and aquatic plants of many sorts. This is the Alcyonian Lake, which in size and appearance still answers closely to Pausanias's description of it. The peasants have assured modern travellers that the pool is bottomless, an attempt to fathom it with a ship's lead having proved fruitless. The ground between it and the sea would be an impassable morass, were it not that the pool is dammed up and its water escapes only by a canal. This canal serves also as a mill-stream, turning some mills which stand close to the seaside and give to Lerna its modern name of *Myli* ('Mills'). Lernaean hydras—great water-snakes marked yellow and black—still abound in the swamp. At the beginning of the century a large but neglected garden, full of orange-trees and other fruit-trees, extended northward from the Alcyonian Lake to the Pontinus river, reaching from the road to the sea-shore. It probably occupied part of the site of the Lernaean grove (see § 1 of this chapter).

See Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 225 *sqq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 473 *sqq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 47 *sq.*; L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 150 *sq.*; Mure, *Journal*, 2. p. 190 *sqq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 368 *sqq.*; W. G. Clark, *Peloponnesus*, pp. 90-98; Conze e Michaelis, in *Annali dell' Instituto*, 33 (1861), p. 20; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 66 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 275; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 234.

37. 5. **Through this lake —— Dionysus went to hell to fetch up Semele.** Compare ii. 31. 2.

37. 5. **Polymnus.** He is generally called Prosymnus, as by Clement of Alexandria (*Protrept.* ii. 34, p. 30, ed. Potter), Arnobius (*Adversus nationes*, v. 28), and a writer in the *Mythographi Graeci*, ed. Westermann, p. 368.

37. 6. **yearly rites, performed by night, in honour of Dionysus.** These rites are apparently described by Plutarch (*Isis et Osiris*, 35). He says: "Many of the Greeks make bull-shaped images of Dionysus. . . . The Argives surname him 'cow-born,' and they summon him from

the water by the blast of trumpets, throwing into the abyss a lamb for the gate-keeper; the trumpets are concealed in thyrsuses." The abyss referred to by Plutarch is probably the bottomless Alcyonian lake. Cp. the scholiast on Pindar, *Olymp.* vii. 60. As Dionysus was supposed to have descended through this lake to hell, it was natural that the trumpet-call to him to return should be sounded on its brink. On the relation of Dionysus to water and the sea, cp. De Witte, in *Gazette Archéologique*, 1 (1875), p. 5 *sqq.*; O. Crusius, 'Der homerische Dionysoshymnus,' etc., *Philologus*, 48 (1889), pp. 193-228; K. Tümpel, Διόνυσος Ἁλιεύς, *ib.* pp. 681-696; and see Paus. ix. 20. 4 note.

38. 1. **Temenium.** From Strabo (viii. p. 368) we learn that Temenium was 26 Greek furlongs from Argos; and from Pausanias (§ 2) that it was about 50 furlongs from Nauplia. As the place was on the shore, these measurements enable us to fix its site. The coast, however, is here so marshy that it is generally inaccessible. But in the dry season, especially with a north wind, it is possible to ride round the shore from Nauplia to *Myli* (the mills of Nauplia). The shore is flat and swampy, but at the point nearest to Argos, between the sanded-up mouth of the Inachus and the reedy estuary of the Erasinus, there is a stretch of higher and firmer ground. Here stood Temenium. On the shore there are foundations, blocks of masonry, potsherds, and fragments of tiles. In the sea may be observed remains of the mole, consisting of large blocks of stone. See Ross, *Reisen*, p. 149; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 383; cp. Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 50; Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 476. Strabo (*l.c.*) mentions that Temenus was buried in Temenium.

38. 2. **Nauplia.** Nauplia, now a busy, flourishing seaport, and one of the chief towns of Greece, occupies the northern side of a rocky peninsula which juts out westward into the Argolic Gulf, near the head of the gulf and on its eastern side. The northern side of the peninsula is flat, and here the narrow and not too savoury streets of Nauplia are crowded together. Thus the town looks across the harbour to the Argolic plain and has no sea-view. The southern side of the peninsula, at the back of the town, is a long and lofty rock called *Itsh-Kaleh*, which seems to have been the original citadel of Nauplia; for ancient walls, built in the polygonal style, may be seen in places serving as foundations for the mediaeval and modern fortifications. Other remains of antiquity exist in the shape of rock-cuttings, staircases, cisterns, and so forth. The steep southern slope of the rock is thickly overgrown with cactus. On the northern side of the peninsula, between it and the shore of the Argolic plain, stretches the harbour which gives Nauplia its commercial importance. Though spacious, it is very shallow; large steamers have to anchor far out. An isthmus connects the peninsula with the mainland. Immediately on the landward, that is, eastern side of the isthmus towers up the precipitous rocky height of *Palamidi* (705 feet), one of the strongest fortresses in Greece. The fortifications which crown its summit were built by the Venetians and Turks; they now serve as a prison. In their walls, as well as in the walls of *Itsh-Kaleh* are built many Venetian inscriptions, some of them bearing the lion of St. Mark. Three sides of the mighty rock are precipitous, but

on the south-eastern side it is accessible, being joined by a ridge to the hills. The ascent from Nauplia is by a long staircase at the north-western corner of the fortress; it begins close to the gate of the town. The name *Palamidi* is derived from Palamedes, the son of Nauplius (cp. Strabo, viii. p. 368). Palamedium was probably the ancient name of the fortress, though no classical writer mentions it. The prospect from the summit over the gulf and plain of Argos, with the background of mountains encircling the plain, is very fine. Nor is the view from the quay of Nauplia across the bay to the mountains of Argolis one to be easily forgotten, especially if seen by moonlight, when the sea is calm, the stars are shining, and the tall yard-arms of the lateen-rigged craft stand out like black wings against the sky, now blotting out and now disclosing a star as the boats heave on the gentle swell.

Prof. Curtius is of opinion that Palamedes, to whom the Greeks ascribed the invention of writing, arithmetic, weights, measures, dice, etc. (Philostratus, *Heroica*, 11), was a personification of the Phoenicians, from whom he believes the Greeks to have derived much of their civilisation. Hence in the name *Palamidi* he sees the trace of an ancient Phoenician settlement at Nauplia. Prehistoric tombs have been discovered and excavated on the north-eastern slope of *Palamidi*, but there seems to be nothing to connect them with the Phoenicians. See above, p. 142 *sq.* Pausanias believed the Nauplians to be of Egyptian origin (iv. 35. 2).

Strabo says (viii. p. 369) that close to Nauplia there were caverns with labyrinths built in them, and that these caves and labyrinths were called Cyclopia. These caverns have not been found in modern times. Boblaye, indeed, who was followed by Prof. Curtius, identified them with some grottoes in the ravine behind *Pronia*, the eastern suburb of Nauplia. But these grottoes appear to be quite shallow and to have no passage leading into the interior of the hill.

When Cleomenes I. invaded Argolis from the south at the head of a Lacedaemonian army, and the omens forbade him to cross the Erasinus river (see above, p. 210 *sq.*), he sacrificed a bull to the sea and transported his army in ships across the gulf to Nauplia, from which he marched northwards and encountered the Argives near Tiryns (Herodotus, vi. 76 *sq.*)

See Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 246 *sqq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 2. pp. 356-362; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 50; Mure, *Journal*, 2. p. 187 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. pp. 389-394; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 59 *sq.*; Schliemann, *Tiryns*, p. 50 *sqq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 255 *sqq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 211 *sq.*; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 64. Prof. Curtius's paper on traces of Phoenician settlements in Argolis, especially at Nauplia, was printed in *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. 7 (1850), pp. 455-460, and reprinted in the author's *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 1. pp. 157-162.

38. 2. **a spring called Canathus.** There seems to be no spring in Nauplia at the present day. Water is brought to the town by an aqueduct from a fine source in one of the rocky heights near Tiryns (Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 360). But the spring in question has been identified with a fantastically ornamented fountain in the shady garden of a little nunnery called *Hagia Moné*, about a mile and a half east of

the suburb of *Pronia.* The way to the nunnery lies through vineyards and olive-groves. The water of the fountain is derived from an ancient shaft in the neighbourhood. See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 50; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 391; Baedeker,[3] p. 257. With the story which Pausanias tells about the spring we may compare a somewhat similar story about a spring in Mesopotamia. Hera was said to have bathed in it after her marriage with Zeus; hence the native Syrians fabled that the spot was ever fragrant, the whole air being filled with a sweet perfume, while shoals of tame fish gambolled in the water (Aelian, *Nat. An.* xii. 30). The Syrian deities whom Aelian here calls Hera and Zeus were probably Atargatis and Bel (W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*,[2] p. 172). In Nauplia itself it is said that the women of the place are handsome, and the women of Argos are ugly; and the cause of the difference is ascribed to the difference of the water in the two towns. Leake thought that this notion was derived from the ancient belief, recorded by Pausanias, that Hera bathed in the spring called Canathus every year (*Morea*, 2. p. 360).

38. 4. **Genesium —— Apobathmi.** South of Lerna the hills retire again, leaving a small plain between them and the sea. The plain is closed on the south by Mt. *Zavitza.* Here probably were Genesium and Apobathmi. Plutarch (*Pyrrhus*, 32) calls the place at which Danaus first landed Pyramia, and speaks of it as being in the Thyrean district. But it may have been the same with Apobathmi. A narrow valley, watered by the *Kiveri* stream, opens into this little plain from the south-west. Following up this valley for a distance of an hour and a half from Lerna we reach, on the left bank of the stream, the ruins of an ancient town. The remains are of some extent, but are much overgrown with shrubs, especially wild olives. Among the ruins are the polygonal foundations of a building about 40 feet square. The place was perhaps the ancient Elaeus ('place of olives'), to which a road led from Lerna (Apollodorus, ii. 5. 2; cp. Stephanus Byz. *s.v.* Ἐλαιοῦς). The soil of the valley is well adapted to the cultivation of olives, which may have given the place its name; and the sequestered situation of the town, in a narrow valley far from the great military highways, may explain the fact that it is never mentioned by ancient historians.

See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 48; Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 476 *sq.*; Ross, *Reisen*, pp. 152-156; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 371 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 67 *sq.*

38. 4. **From here we pass through what is called Anigraea** etc. Pausanias is now proceeding on the way to Sparta. From the point which he has reached, namely the little seaside plain of *Kiveri*, hemmed in by the hills, three ways lead to Sparta.

(1) One way leads up the bed of the *Kiveri* to the south-west, past the ruins of Elaeus, and then on to the villages of *Andritsena* (not to be confounded with the better known *Andritsena* near Olympia) and *Doliana*, and so to Tegea and Sparta.

(2) The second way strikes south from the ruins of Elaeus, crosses the *Kiveri* river, ascends the steep side of Mt. *Zavitza*, and crosses the ridge at a height of about 3000 feet. Here, on the right of the

path, are the remains of an ancient watch-tower; it is round, built of polygonal masonry, and measures 25 feet in diameter. It probably marked the boundary between Argos and Laconia at one time (for the boundaries shifted, see below). The path now descends the southern side of Mt. *Zavitza*. Half-way down are the ruins of an ancient fortress. Then at the foot of the mountain, amid luxuriant groves of olives, is the scattered shepherd village of *Kalyvia Dolianitika*. It lies above the river *Loukou*, the ancient Tanus. Crossing the river we reach in half an hour, on the south side of the valley, the monastery of *Loukou*, the tall cypresses of which are conspicuous from far. Many ancient remains have been found here. Behind the monastery is a gorge, down which flows a tributary of the Tanus. Following this gorge to the south and crossing a broad tableland we see on the left, at the end of the gorge, the ancient fortress now called *Hellenika* (see below, p. 308). The road now proceeds westward to the village of *Hagios Joannes*, which is reached in about seven hours from *Myli*. From *Hagios Joannes* the road goes by the villages of *Hagios Petros* and *Arachova* to Sparta.

(3) The third road skirts the shore for some distance. Leaving the village of *Kiveri* the path runs along the slope of Mt. *Zavitza*, which falls steeply to the sea on the left. This is the road called Anigraea, traversed by Pausanias. It is still, as it was in his days, a very rugged bad road. Now and then we come to a little cove with a beach at the mouth of a narrow glen which cleaves the mountain-side; elsewhere the sea is bordered throughout by sheer cliffs, above which the path scrambles up hill and down dale. The sides of the mountains are chiefly clothed with lentisks and wild olives, with a patch of corn-field here and there. In about two hours and a half from *Kiveri* the path arrives opposite the *Anavolo*, the ancient Dine (see Paus. viii. 7. 2). It is an abundant source of fresh water rising in the sea, about a quarter of a mile from the narrow beach under the cliffs. The body of fresh water appears to be fully 50 feet in diameter. In calm weather it may be seen rising with such force as to form a convex surface, disturbing the sea for several hundred feet around. It is clearly the exit of a subterraneous river of some magnitude, and thus corresponds with the Dine of Pausanias. After clambering along the Anigraea for nearly three hours, we find that the mountain abruptly ceases, and the maritime plain of Thyrea stretches out before us to the south. This is what Pausanias describes as "a tract of country on the left, reaching down to the sea, where trees, especially olives, thrive well." The plain is about 5 miles long, but nowhere more than half that in breadth: its soil is a rich loam, corn-fields and olive-groves cover its surface. The plain is traversed by two streams, the *Loukou* (ancient Tanus) in the north, and the river of *Hagios Andreas* in the south. At the narrowest part of the plain there is a large salt-water swamp overgrown with reeds; it is called *Moustos*: the waters of the swamp are discharged into the sea by a small river. Thus the swamp and its outlet divide the plain into two parts, a northern and a southern. From the northern

half of the plain a long rocky hill runs out into the sea; on it is the modern village of *Astros*. The plain, owing to swamps, is unhealthy, and the people have withdrawn to the terraces above it. Here are their *kalyvias* or winter villages, surrounded by cornland, vineyards, and oliveyards. But in summer the people retire to their larger villages higher up among the hills. Each of these mountain villages (*Hagios Joannes*, *Meligou*, *Korakavouni*, and *Prastos*) has its separate *kalyvia* or winter village (as to *kalyvias* in general, see especially Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 586 *sq.*)

The usual road from *Astros* to Sparta crosses the plain, passes through the *Kalyvia* of *Meligou*, then westward up a valley, passing on the right the ruins called *Helleniko*, then the large village of *Meligou* on the left, and so on to the village of *Hagios Joannes*. The time from *Myli* to *Hagios Joannes*, by *Astros*, is eight hours. After *Hagios Joannes* the road to Sparta is the same as in route 2.

See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 66 *sqq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 476 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 294 *sqq.*; Ross, *Reisen*, p. 152 *sqq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 372 *sqq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 68 *sqq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 271 *sqq.*; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 157 *sqq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. pp. 243-246.

We have still to try to trace Pausanias's route from the time when he entered the Thyrean plain till he reached the Laconian frontier, and to identify the places he mentions by the way. He mentions four places: (1) the place where the battle took place between the Argive and Lacedaemonian champions. (2) Athene. (3) Neris. (4) Eva. Now there are ancient remains at various places in the district, but the identification of any of them with the places mentioned by Pausanias is largely a matter of conjecture. The most notable of these remains are:

(1) At *Astros*, on the landward side of the peninsula, there are remains of a very rough ancient wall, built of unhewn blocks, the interstices being filled up with smaller stones. This wall may have been part of the sea-side fortress which the Aeginetans, settled in the Thyrean district, were erecting in 424 B.C., when they were interrupted by the attack of an Athenian squadron (Thucydides, iv. 57). See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 68; Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 484 *sq.*; Ross, *Reisen*, p. 162; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 377; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 69; Baedeker,[3] p. 273; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 244.

(2) About two miles to the south-west of *Astros*, in the narrow part of the plain below the monastery of the Holy Trinity (*Hagia Triada*), there are some traces of ancient ruins. They used to be more extensive, but have been partly obliterated by the cultivation of the land, partly carried away for building. See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 68; Ross, *Reisen*, p. 163 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 377 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 69 *sq.*

(3) At the extreme south-east corner of the Thyrean plain, on a low rocky hill beside the sea, there are the remains of a somewhat extensive fortress. The circuit of the walls is a walk of twenty minutes. They are 9 feet thick and were provided at intervals with square towers which projected 14 feet. The masonry is irregular, verging on the polygonal.

Within the circuit of the walls are many foundations, the remains apparently of straight streets. The highest point of the hill formed a small acropolis. Here there is a chapel of St. Andrew (*Hagios Andreas*), which gives its name to the ruins. See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 66; Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 497 *sq.*; Ross, *Reisen*, p. 164 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 378; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 70.

(4) About 5 miles from *Astros*, on the way to *Hagios Joannes* and Sparta, are the ruins called *Helleniko* or *Tichio*. They occupy the flat summit of a rocky hill, 2090 ft. high, on the right of the road. The walls are from 6 to 10 feet thick, and are provided with a great many towers, some round, some square. The stones are small, and the masonry irregular, almost polygonal. The interior consists of several long rocky terraces, on which fragments of house walls and numerous cisterns still remain. See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 66 *sq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 494; Ross, *Reisen*, p. 171 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 380; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 70; Baedeker,[3] p. 273 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 245 *sq.*

(5) At and near the monastery of *Loukou* (see above, p. 306) many antiquities have been found, including sculptures and reliefs of the Roman period, capitals of columns of the Corinthian and Ionic orders, fragments of mosaic pavement, round sepulchral tablets with inscriptions of a very late date, etc. In the monastery church of the Transfiguration (*Hagia Metamorphosis*) are four shafts of columns, of streaked white marble. On one side of the monastery garden there are some remains of ancient walls formed of large squared stones mixed with tiles and mortar. The chief part of the settlement seems to have lain below the monastery, on the gentle slope which extends from it to the river. Here among the bushes which cover the site are foundations and other remains of masonry. About a quarter of a mile to the north-east of the monastery lie five fragments of large columns of grey granite, 2 feet 5½ inches in diameter, also two Corinthian capitals of limestone or coarse white marble. Here, too, are some very massive foundations, and some remains of a semicircular apse, built, like all other remaining walls at this place, of large squared stones joined with mortar and mixed with tiles.

See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 66; Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 486 *sqq.*; Ross *Reisen*, p. 169 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 378 *sqq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 70; Baedeker,[3] p. 272; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 244.

(6) Lastly, there are the ruins of an ancient fortress, already mentioned (p. 306), half-way down the southern slope of Mt. *Zavitsa*, on the way from Elaeus to the monastery of *Loukou*. The ruins are now called *Tsorovos*. They seem to be very ancient. The stones are almost unhewn. See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 66; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 378; Baedeker,[3] p. 271.

None of these remains can be identified with certainty as the places mentioned by Pausanias and other ancient writers. Thyrea, the ancient capital of the district, is not described by Pausanias, though he mentions it repeatedly (viii. 3. 3 ; viii. 54. 4 ; x. 9. 12). It has been conjecturally identified with the remains at the *Loukou* monastery by Leake and Ross: with the *Helleniko* by Lolling (Baedeker); with the ruins of *H. Andreas*

by Boblaye and Prof. Curtius; and with the remains at the Holy Trinity (*Hagia Triada*) by Kiepert. Bursian supposes that after its destruction by the Athenians in 424 B.C. (Thucydides, iv. 57) the town was never rebuilt. If he is right, the remains at the *Loukou* monastery can hardly have been Thyrea, since the settlement there appears to have existed to a late date. Thucydides (*l.c.*) mentions that Thyrea was 10 furlongs from the sea, a distance which is applicable to none of the existing ruins, unless to those of *Hagia Triada*.

There is a similar divergence of opinion as to the other places (Athene, Neris, Eva) mentioned by Pausanias. Athene is called Anthene by Thucydides (v. 41) and Lysias (in Harpocration, *s.v.* Ἀνθήνη); it is called Anthana by Stephanus Byz. (*s.v.*) Scylax (*Periplus*, 46) mentions a maritime town of Laconia called Methana. If Methana is here (as Gail conjectured) a mistake for Anthana, then the Athene of Pausanias, the Anthene of Thucydides and Lysias, is probably to be identified with the ruins of *H. Andreas*, which are the only considerable ancient remains actually existing on this coast. Accordingly Bursian and Lolling (Baedeker) place Athene at this spot. It is rather against this identification that Pausanias, immediately after reaching the Thyrean plain, seems to have turned inland (§ 5 "Going up inland" etc.) Boblaye and Leake identify Athene with *Helleniko*, Ross with the remains at *H. Triada*.

Neris is identified by Ross and Bursian with *Helleniko*; by Leake and Lolling (Baedeker) with the site of a mediaeval castle called *Oraeo-kastro*, 'the beautiful castle,' picturesquely situated on a high conical hill to the left of the road which runs from *H. Joannes* to *H. Petros*. (Cp. Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 67.) Statius (*Theb.* iv. 46 *sq.*) says that Neris stood beside a torrent (Charadros) which foamed through a long valley. Ross thinks that the torrent referred to may be the stream which flows down from the foot of *Helleniko* in the direction of *Astros*.

Eva, with its sanctuary of Polemocrates, is identified by Bursian and Lolling (Baedeker) with the remains near the monastery of *Loukou*. Ross would identify it with the ruins half-way down the southern slope of Mt. *Zavitza*.

Prof. Curtius, lastly, conjectures that Athene, Neris, and Eva may have occupied respectively the sites of the modern villages of *Meligou*, *Hagios Joannes*, and *Hagios Petros*; but he seems to have confused the valley of the *Andreas* river with the totally different valley of *Helleniko*, *Meligou*, etc.

It would seem that the identification of these sites can only be settled by future archaeological discoveries, especially by inscriptions.

38. 5. **a place where a battle was fought** etc. See note on ii. 20. 7. According to Chaeroboscus the name of the place where the fight took place was Par (Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, p. 1408).

38. 5. **assigned it to the Aeginetans.** See ii. 29. 5 note.

38. 5. **they recovered it by the award of an arbitration.** After the battle of Chaeronea, Philip of Macedonia restored to the Argives the territory and cities of which they had been deprived by the Lacedaemonians (Polybius, xviii. (xvii.) 14. 7).

38. 7. **the Lacedaemonian boundary meets the boundaries of Argolis and Tegea.** The modern *Hagios Petros* is a thriving village on Mount Parnon 3000 feet above the sea, on the road from *Astros* to Sparta (see above, p. 307). It lies scattered among fields and trees on the western side of the deep valley of the Tanus. About 2 miles beyond the village, on the road to *Arachova* and Sparta, we cross the crest of a ridge which forms the watershed between the waters flowing to the Thyreatic Gulf, to Tegea, and to Sparta. Ten minutes or so further on, to the left as we begin to descend, we see three heaps of stones, each heap about 15 feet in diameter, the three heaps forming a triangle. On these cairns may perhaps have stood the images of Hermes which, as Pausanias tells us, marked the boundaries between Argolis, Laconia, and the territory of Tegea. The Greeks commonly raised cairns in honour of Hermes, and his image sometimes stood beside a cairn. See Babrius, xlviii. 1 *sq.* and the note on Paus. viii. 13. 3. It is tolerably certain, at least, that Pausanias, going to Sparta, must have passed this way; for *Hagios Petros* stands at the point where the chief passes over Mount Parnon diverge towards Laconia and Arcadia. The three cairns are now called by the natives 'the places of the slain' (*Stous Phoneuomenous*), which suggests that they were reared on the site of a murder or massacre. But this murder may have been, as Mr. W. Loring says, of quite recent date, and in that case the cairns could have no connexion with the images of Hermes seen by Pausanias.

See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 67; L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 172 *sqq.*; Leake, *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 298; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 262; *Journal of the R. Geographical Society* (London), 27 (1857), p. 44 (with sketch); Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 72; Baedeker,[5] p. 274; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 246; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 160; W. Loring, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 15 (1895), p. 55.

BOOK THIRD

LACONIA

On the text of Pausanias in this third book there is a special work by A. Beinert, *Symbolae quaedam ad genuinum Laconicorum Pausaniae contextum restituendum* (Olsnae, 1842). The literary sources upon which Pausanias may have drawn in writing this book have been investigated by Mr. W. Immerwahr (*Die Lakonika des Pausanias auf ihre Quellen untersucht*, Berlin, 1889). His work is vitiated, in my opinion, by the false assumption that Pausanias compiled the whole book—the topographical as well as the historical part — from purely literary sources. The religion and local worships of Laconia are examined by Mr. S. Wide in a special work (*Lakonische Kulte*, Leipzig, 1893).

That Pausanias wrote his *Laconia* before writing his *Messenia*, *Elis*, and *Arcadia*, is proved by several passages in these later books (iv. 4. 4; vi. 4. 10; viii. 27. 11).

1. 1. the images of Hermes. See ii. 38. 7 note.

1. 1. the first king who reigned in this country was Lelex etc. The genealogy of Lelex's house is given more fully by a scholiast on Euripides (*Orestes*, 626) as follows: "The first who reigned over Lacedaemon was Lelex, after whom the Leleges were named. By Perdice he had the following children: Myles, Polycaon, Bomolochus (?), Therapne. Of these Myles had by Cleocharea two sons, Eurotas and Pelias. Eurotas, coming to the throne after the flood, converted the stagnant water into a river, and named it the Eurotas. By Cleta he had a daughter Sparta, whom Lacedaemon, son of Taygete, took to wife. And having come to the throne Lacedaemon named the Leleges Lacedaemonians, and the mountain Taygetus, and he founded a city and named it Sparta."

1. 1. Where Polycaon departed to etc. See iv. 1. 1 *sqq.*

1. 3. Hyacinth's tomb is at Amyclae. See iii. 19. 3.

1. 4. Tyndareus fled to Pellana. See iii. 21. 2. The expulsion of Tyndareus by Hippocoon is mentioned by Pausanias elsewhere (ii. 18. 7). Another tradition was that Tyndareus fled to Thestius, prince of Pleuron in Aetolia, whose daughter Leda he married (Apollodorus, iii. 10. 5; Strabo, x. p. 461). According to this last tradition Icarius sided with his brother Tyndareus and shared his banishment.

1. 4. **Thalamae in Messenia.** In Pausanias's time Thalamae belonged to Laconia, but the Messenians claimed to have possessed the district originally. See iii. 26. 1-3. Theopompus reckoned Thalamae to Messenia (Stephanus Byz., *s.v.* Θαλάμαι).

1. 5. **two royal houses arose.** Various explanations of the double kingship at Sparta have been put forward. Prof. C. Wachsmuth supposes that the double kingship arose from a compromise between the Dorian invaders and the old Achaean inhabitants of the land, who agreed that in the united state each race should be represented by a king of co-ordinate jurisdiction. The Agids, according to him, were the Achaean kings; the Eurypontids were the Dorian kings. For proof of this theory he relies largely upon Polyaenus, i. 10 (where he thinks the Eurysthids are the same as the Eurysthenids); Herodotus, v. 72; and topographical reasons, as to which see note on iii. 14. 2. See Wachsmuth's article, 'Der histor. Ursprung d. Doppelkönigtums in Sparta,' *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 14 (1868), pp. 1-9. Mr. G. Gilbert is also of opinion that the two royal houses of Sparta probably arose through the union of two princely houses representing two different communities, but he leaves open the question whether both these communities were Dorian or not. See G. Gilbert, *Studien zur altspartanischen Geschichte*, p. 57 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Griechische Staatsalterthümer*,[2] 1. p. 4 *sqq.* See also Holm, *Gesch. Griechenlands*, 1. pp. 210, 224 *sqq.* (who shows the weakness of some of Wachsmuth's arguments); Busolt, *Griech. Geschichte*,[2] 1. p. 546 *sq.* Siam may be quoted as another country which has had and still has a double kingship. But the second king, who is generally a brother or near relation of the first king, ranks distinctly below the other. See Pallegoix, *Description du Royaume Thai ou Siam*, 1. p. 208 *sq.*

1. 6. **Aristodemus himself died in Delphi before the Dorians returned to Peloponnese.** According to Apollodorus (ii. 8. 2) Aristodemus was killed by a thunderbolt at Naupactus when the Dorian expedition was about to embark for Peloponnese. But the Lacedaemonians themselves affirmed that Aristodemus had led the Dorian host into Laconia (Herodotus, vi. 52; cp. Xenophon, *Agesilaus*, viii. 7).

1. 7. **Theras.** The following account of the colonisation of Thera by Dorians under Theras is taken from Herodotus (iv. 147 *sq.*)

1. 8. **the island Thera.** Thera (now *Santorin*) has in recent years attracted the attention of archaeologists on account of the discovery of prehistoric pottery buried under the *débris* of a volcanic eruption, which is supposed by geologists to have taken place about 2000 B.C. See F. Fouqué, *Santorin et ses éruptions* (Paris, 1879). On the pottery of Thera see Dumont et Chaplain, *Les céramiques de la Grèce propre*, 1. p. 19-42. On the other antiquities of Thera (rock-cut tombs, a small temple in almost perfect preservation dedicated to the Goddess Queen, θεᾷ βασιλείᾳ, etc.), see L. Ross, in *Annali dell' Instituto*, 13 (1841), pp. 13-24; *Monumenti inediti*, 1841, tav. xxv. xxxvi.; A. Michaelis, in *Annali dell' Instituto*, 36 (1864), pp. 254-263; *Gazette Archéologique*, 1883, pp. 220-223. Cp. note on viii. 33. 4 'the Sacred Isle.'

2. 1. **Patreus —— Patrae.** Compare vii. 6. 2; vii. 18. 5.

2. 1. **Penthilus —— had conquered the island of Lesbos.** According to Strabo (xiii. p. 582) it was not Penthilus but his grandson Gras who conquered Lesbos. Tzetzes (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 1374) represents Gras, the conqueror of Lesbos, as a descendant of Orestes, who had attempted to colonise Lesbos a century before. On the existing antiquities of Lesbos see A. Conze, *Reise auf der Insel Lesbos* (Hannover, 1865); and the exhaustive work of R. Koldeway, *Die antiken Baureste der Insel Lesbos* (Berlin, 1890).

2. 3. **Herodotus, in his history of Croesus, says** etc. See Herodotus, i. 65. As to Lycurgus see iii. 16. 6 note.

2. 4. **the following verses of Homer.** See *Od.* xix. 178 *sq.*

2. 5. **Aegys.** See viii. 34. 5 note.

2. 5. **The martial deeds performed by Charillus** etc. See iii. 7. 3.

2. 6. **Teleclus was assassinated by some Messenians.** See iv. 4. 2 *sq.*

2. 7. **the civil dissensions that raged in Crete.** We get a vivid glimpse of the rancorous feuds which raged between neighbour towns in Crete from an inscription found in Crete in 1853. It records an oath taken by the inhabitants of the town of Drerus. Part of the oath runs thus: "I swear by the holy fire (Hestia) in the town-hall, by Zeus of the market-place, by the Tallaean Zeus and the Delphinian Apollo and the city-guarding Athena and the Pythian (?) Apollo and Latona and Artemis and Ares and Aphrodite and Hermes and the sun and Britomartis and Phoenix and Amphiona and the earth and the sky and heroes and heroines and fountains and rivers and all gods and goddesses, that I will never be friendly to the people of Lyttus by any manner of means, neither by night nor day, and that I will do all the harm in my power to the town of Lyttus." See *Philologus*, 9 (1853), pp. 694-710; *Sitzungsberichte* of the Vienna Academy, Philos. histor. Cl. 30 (1859), pp. 431-468 (with a facsimile). On the bronze tablets found at *Gubbio* (Iguvium) in Umbria there is some very spirited cursing levelled at a neighbouring town. See Bücheler's *Umbrica*, pp. 23 *sq.*, 26 *sq.*, 98 *sqq.*, 114. Inscriptions have furnished many examples of curses, public and private. See the collection made by C. Wachsmuth, in *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. 18 (1863), p. 559 *sqq.*; Roehl, *I. G. A.* No. 497; Cauer, *Delectus Inscr. Graec.*[2] No. 480; Roberts, *Greek Epigraphy*, No. 142; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 349, line 61 *sqq.*, Nos. 431, 432; Newton, *Essays on art and archaeology*, pp. 193 *sqq.*, 201 *sqq.*; Kaibel, *Epigr. Graeca*, No. 1136.

3. 3. **Honours were heaped on his memory.** Compare iii. 11. 10; iii. 12. 3.

3. 5. **A Lacedaemonian, named Lichas** etc. The following story of the finding of Orestes's bones is from Herodotus, i. 67 *sq.*

3. 7. **The bones of Theseus.** See i. 17. 6; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 36; *id.*, *Cimon*, 8.

3. 8. **weapons in the heroic age were all of bronze.** This is borne out by the discovery of the prehistoric tombs at Mycenae etc., in

which bronze weapons are found, but iron is almost totally absent. Bronze continued in historical times to be used in religious rites, where iron would have been deemed profane. For example it was used in purificatory rites, and bronze instruments were sounded during eclipses of the moon. See Schol. on Theocritus, ii. 36; Stephani, in *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg) for 1859, p. 58 *sq.*; *The Golden Bough*, 1. p. 172 *sqq.* Greek smiths, perhaps because they wrought at iron, used to hang up some ludicrous symbol before their forges, in order to avert evil influences (Pollux, vii. 108). Instruments of iron are, however, mentioned in Homer. See above, p. 155.

3. 8. **Homer's lines about the axe of Pisander and the arrow of Meriones.** See *Iliad*, xiii. 611 *sqq.*, 650.

3. 8. **the sanctuary of Athena at Phaselis.** The worship of Athena at Phaselis is attested by an inscription found there, which records the honours bestowed by the council and people of Phaselis on a certain man who had been priest of the goddess (*C. I. G.* No. 4332).

3. 9. **Anaxandrides —— had two wives** etc. See Herodotus, v. 39 *sqq.*

4. 1. **Cleomenes —— invaded Argolis** etc. See ii. 20. 8 note.

4. 2. **he freed Athens** etc. See Herodotus, v. 64 *sq.*; Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, 19.

4. 2. **to abet Isagoras** etc. See vi. 8. 6; Herodotus, v. 70 *sqq*; Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, 20.

4. 2. **the Orgas, or sacred land of the Eleusinian goddesses.** An inscription discovered a few years ago at Eleusis records an elaborate method of consulting the Delphic oracle on the question whether the sacred land should be farmed out or left untilled. See Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1888, pp. 26 *sqq.*, 113 *sqq.*; *Bulletin de Corresp. Hellénique*, 13 (1889), pp. 433-467.

4. 2. **He also went to Aegina** etc. See Herodotus, vi. 50.

4. 2. **Darius.** A letter of Darius to a certain Gadatas has lately been discovered engraved on stone. The inscription was found in the house of a peasant near the road from Tralles to Magnesia in Asia Minor. In this letter, which is in Greek (perhaps translated from Persian), Darius praises Gadatas for planting in lower Asia certain fruit-trees which he had transported from beyond the Euphrates. On the other hand Gadatas is blamed for having exacted tribute from the sacred gardeners of Apollo and for having made them work on profane land. See *Bulletin de Corresp. Hellénique*, 13 (1889), pp. 529-542.

4. 3. **Cleomenes intrigued to have Demaratus deposed** etc. See Herodotus, vi. 61-66.

4. 5. **Cleomenes afterwards incurred his death in a mad fit.** See Herodotus, vi. 75.

4. 6. **at Eleus the hero Protesilaus avenged himself** etc. See Herodotus, ix. 116-120. Cp. Paus. i. 34. 2.

4. 9. **Pausanias' treatment of the Coan lady.** See Herodotus, ix. 76.

4. 10. **Pausanias would not mutilate the dead body of Mardonius** etc. See Herodotus, ix. 78 *sq.*

5. 1. **Pausanias repaired to Attica** etc. See Xenophon, *Hellenica*, ii. 4. 29 *sqq.*; Plutarch, *Lysander*, 21.

5. 3. **Lysander repaired to Phocis** etc. See Xenophon, *Hellenica*, iii. 5. 17 *sqq.*; Plutarch, *Lysander*, 28 *sqq.*

5. 6. **took sanctuary in the temple** etc. The practice of allowing to certain places the privileges of sanctuary or asylum must be very ancient, as it exists among savages. In North America each tribe of the Creek and Cherokee Indians had "either a house or town of refuge, which is a sure asylum to protect a man-slayer, or the unfortunate captive, if they can once enter into it" (Adair, *History of the American Indians*, p. 158). Cp. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, 5. p. 279. Sanctuaries for murderers are said to have existed also among the Ojebways (Kohl, *Kitschi-Gami*, 2. p. 67). In some parts of New Guinea the temple or *dubu* is a sanctuary. "Should a man be pursued by an enemy, and take refuge in the *dubu*, he is perfectly safe inside. Any one smiting another inside the *dubu* would have his arms and legs shrivelled up, and he could do nothing but wish to die" (Chalmers and Gill, *Work and Adventure in New Guinea*, p. 186).

5. 6. **the case —— of Leotychides.** See iii. 7. 10.

5. 6. **the case of Chrysis.** See ii. 17. 7.

5. 7. **the guardianship —— devolved upon Aristodemus** etc. See Xenophon, *Hellenica*, iv. 2. 9 *sqq.*

5. 8. **When Agesipolis grew up** etc. See Xenophon, *Hellenica*, iv. 7. 2-7.

5. 9. **He next directed his march against Olynthus** etc. See Xenophon, *Hellenica*, v. 3. 18 *sq.*

6. 2. **Two sons were born to Cleomenes** etc. Compare i. 13. 4 *sq.*

6. 4. **Areus.** This king departed from the ancient Spartan custom by issuing coins bearing his own name (Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, p. 29).

6. 4. **Antigonus —— attacked the Athenians** etc. Cp. i. 1. 1; i. 7. 3; i. 30. 4. This war was called the Chremonidean war. The dates are somewhat uncertain, but it seems to have begun in 268 or 267 B.C. (see Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 163, note 1), and to have ended with the capture of Athens in 263 B.C. See Thirlwall, *History of Greece*, 8. pp. 96-101; Droysen, *Gesch. d. Hellenismus*,[2] 3. p. 225 *sqq.* Two Attic inscriptions relating to the war have been discovered. See *C. I. A.* ii. Nos. 332, 334; Hicks, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, Nos. 169, 170; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* Nos. 163, 164. The former of these inscriptions gives the text of a decree of alliance between Athens and Sparta, Elis, Tegea, Mantinea, etc. The decree was proposed by Chremonides.

6. 7. **At bitter feud with Leonidas was Lysander** etc. How Leonidas was deposed through the intrigues of Lysander and afterwards restored to the throne, is told by Plutarch (*Agis*, 11 *sq.*, 16). One of the devices to which Lysander resorted to gain his end was this. Once every nine years it was the custom of the Ephors to observe the sky on a bright moonless night; and if during their vigil they saw a falling

star, the kings were supposed to have been guilty of impiety and were deposed until an oracle came from Delphi or Olympia ordering them to be restored. Lysander pretended that he had seen a falling star, and on the strength of this he trumped up a charge against Leonidas.

6. 9. **Cleomenes.** See ii. 9. 1-3.

7. 1. **Sous.** See Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 2.

7. 3. **the Lacedaemonians, lured on by a deceitful oracle** etc. See Herodotus, i. 66; and note on Paus. viii. 47. 2. Two lines of the oracle are quoted by Pausanias (viii. 1. 6).

7. 4. **the Messenians murdered Teleclus.** See iii. 2. 6.

7. 4. **the Asinaeans —— were soon afterwards punished by the Argives** etc. See ii. 36. 4 *sq.*

7. 5. **An account of Theopompus —— will be given** etc. See iv. 4. 4; iv. 7. 7 *sqq.*; iv. 8. 8 *sq.*; iv. 10. 3.

7. 5. **the Lacedaemonians fought the Argives** etc. See ii. 38. 5.

7. 7. **Aristo, son of Agesicles** etc. With this and the following section compare Herodotus, vi. 61-67.

7. 9. **Leotychides** etc. With this and the next section compare Herodotus, vi. 71 *sq.* Though Herodotus mentions the Lacedaemonian expedition under Leotychides into Thessaly, and the detection of the king (he was found sitting on a sleeve full of the ill-gotten money), he makes no mention of the Aleuads in the affair It would seem, therefore, that Pausanias had access to some other source.

7. 11. **he had not been one of the promoters of the war.** See Thucydides, i. 80-85.

7. 11. **Sthenelaidas.** See Thucydides, i. 85-87.

8. 1. **Cynisca.** Cp. Paus. vi. 1. 6; Xenophon, *Agesilaus*, ix. 6. Another woman who gained an Olympic victory is mentioned by Pausanias (iii. 17. 6).

8. 2. **there is no people so dead to poetry —— as the Spartans.** Compare what Milton (*Areopagitica*) says of the Spartans. "It is to be wondered how museless and unbookish they were, minding nought but the feats of war. These needed no licensing of books among them, for they disliked all but their own laconic apophthegms, and took a slight occasion to chase Archilochus out of their city, perhaps for composing in a higher strain than their own soldiery ballads and roundels could reach to."

8. 2. **the epigram —— upon Cynisca.** This very prosaic composition is preserved in the Greek Anthology (*Anthol. Palat.* xiii. 16), and a fragment of it has been found engraved on a pedestal at Olympia (see note on vi. 1. 6).

8. 2. **another which Simonides wrote for Pausanias** etc. The epigram is given by Thucydides (i. 132). As to the votive tripod on which the epigram was engraved see x. 13. 9 note.

8. 3. **the Lacedaemonians had various grudges against the Eleans** etc. On this war between Sparta and Elis (401-399 B.C.) see Xenophon, *Hellenica*, iii. 2. 21-31; Diodorus, xiv. 17 and 34; cp. Paus. v. 4. 8, vii. 10. 2. On the relation of Sparta to the Olympian sanctuary

see E. Curtius, 'Sparta und Olympia,' *Hermes*, 14 (1879), pp. 129-140 (reprinted in the writer's *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, I. 219-232).

8. 5. **to dismantle the walls of their city.** It appears from Xenophon (*Hellenica*, iii. 2. 27) that at this time Elis had no city-walls. Hence Dindorf (*Praef.* p. xxxvi.) supposes that Pausanias must have been misled by the words Θρασυδαῖος . . . ξυνεχώρησε σφέας τε τὸ τεῖχος περιελεῖν in Xenophon, *Hellenica*, iii. 2. 30, where σφέας is a mistake of the copyists for Φέας. Schubart (*Methodologie*, p. 98 *sqq.*) tries to defend Pausanias, but not very successfully. That Elis was unwalled is confirmed by Strabo (viii. p. 358).

8. 6. **Decelea.** Decelea stood near the site of the modern *Tatoi*, about 14 miles north of Athens, in a pass over Mt. Parnes. The highroad from Athens to Oropus and Boeotia goes over this pass, ascending from the Athenian plain on the south and then descending in a series of zig-zags (the work of French engineers) on the north in the direction of the Euripus. The whole neighbourhood is now beautifully wooded, and as it stands high the air is often cool and fresh here, when it is hot and stifling at Athens. The king has his summer palace among these delightful woods; the highroad runs through its shady grounds and close to the house. In 413 B.C. the Lacedaemonians under King Agis fortified and garrisoned Decelea, and used it for more than eight years as a fortress from which they sallied to ravage the plain below as far as the walls of Athens (Thucydides, vii. 19, 27, 28; Xenophon, *Hellenica*, ii. 3. 3). The spot was admirably adapted for the purpose; since it commanded on the one side the whole plain of Athens and on the other side the highroad to Boeotia, by which supplies and reinforcements could be introduced with safety, and by which the garrison, if obliged to evacuate the place, could always retire into friendly territory. The ruins of an ancient fortress, now called *Kastro*, on a rounded summit to the south of the king's palace at *Tatoi*, may be those of the Lacedaemonian fortress. See Leake, *Athens*, 2. p. 18 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* I. p. 335; P. Kastromenos, *Die Demen von Attika*, p. 77 *sqq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 124. On ancient remains found at *Tatoi* see A. Milchhöfer, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen* 12 (1887), p. 320 *sqq.* Some excavations were made at Decelea in 1888. See Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν, 1888, p. 159 *sqq.* For an important inscription found at Decelea, relating to the phratries, see Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1888, pp. 1-20; *American Journal of Archaeology*, 5 (1889), pp. 135-153.

8. 7. **The indiscretion —— was repeated by Agis in reference to his son Leotychides** etc. On what follows see Xenophon, *Hellenica*, iii. 3. 1-4; Plutarch, *Agesilaus*, 3; *id.*, *Lysander*, 22. Alcibiades was suspected of being the father of Leotychides.

9. 1. **Agesilaus —— resolved to cross the sea to Asia** etc. On the Asiatic campaign of Agesilaus see Xenophon, *Hellenica*, iii. 4, iv. 1; *id.*, *Agesilaus*, 1; Plutarch, *Agesilaus*, 7 *sqq.*

9. 3. **Agesilaus repaired to Aulis to sacrifice** etc. See Xenophon, *Hellenica*, iii. 4. 3 *sq.*; Plutarch, *Agesilaus*, 6.

9. 5. **Sardes.** On the ruins of Sardes see *Philolog. u. histor. Abhandlungen* of the Berlin Academy, 1872, pp. 84-88; *Revue Arché-*

ologique, N. S. 32 (1876), pp. 73-81; *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1 (1880), p. 86 *sq.*; *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 1881, pp. 150-153.

9. 9. **the Locrians of Amphissa.** According to Xenophon (*Hellenica*, iii. 5. 3) it was the Opuntian Locrians who occasioned the war by plundering the debateable land.

9. 11. **The events which followed** etc. See iii. 5. 3 *sq.*

9. 13. **the sanctuary of Itonian Athena.** See ix. 34. 1 note.

10. 1. **the festival of Hyacinth.** This festival was celebrated in spring. See G. F. Unger, in *Philologus*, 37 (1877), pp. 13-33.

10. 1. **That battalion was attacked —— and cut to pieces.** This famous exploit of Iphicrates is told in detail by Xenophon (*Hellenica*, iv. 5. 7-17). The news was brought to the Spartan king by a horseman who came riding hard, his horse covered with foam. To the questions 'What tidings?' put by bystanders he made no answer, but when he came near the king he leaped from his horse, and with a very sad face told him that the battalion was destroyed.

10. 2. **Agesilaus also went to Aetolia** etc. See Xenophon, *Hellenica*, iv. 6.

10. 2. **Calydon.** On the ruins at Calydon (the modern *Kurtaga*) see D. E. Colnaghi, in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, 2nd Series, 7 (1863), pp. 543-547. They comprise walls, towers, gates, tombs, etc.

10. 2. **he sailed to Egypt** etc. See Plutarch, *Agesilaus*, 36 *sq.*

10. 5. **he crossed to Italy** etc. Cp. vi. 4. 9; Athenaeus, xii. p. 536.

10. 5. **Of Agis —— I have spoken.** See ii. 8. 5; ii. 9. 1.

10. 6. **On the way from the images of Hermes.** See ii. 38. 7 note. On the geography of Pausanias's route from this point till he reached Sparta, there is a monograph by Lieut.-General A. Jochmus in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* (London), 27 (1857), pp. 34-53, illustrated by two useful plans.

10. 6. **the whole country-side is clothed with oak-woods.** The district for a distance of some hours is still covered with a thick oak-coppice (Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 72; Jochmus, *op. cit.* p. 43 *sq.*; Ross, *Reisen*, p. 175; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 116). Polybius (xvi. 37) mentions Scotitas, and says it was between Tegea and Sparta. In spite of Pausanias the place probably got its name of Scotitas ('the dark place') from the shady woods. In the Highlands of Scotland the road between Loch Arkaig and Loch Lochy is overhung with trees and is known as 'the dark mile.'

10. 6. **Zeus Scotitas** etc. It has been conjectured that this sanctuary may have occupied the site of a ruined chapel of H. Theodoros, situated on the flat top of a hill near the village of *Barbitsa*, which lies 10 furlongs (the distance mentioned by Pausanias) to the left of the road to Sparta (Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 72; Ross, *Reisen*, p. 174; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 262; Baedeker,[3] p. 274). Lieut.-General Jochmus, however, would place the sanctuary 6 furlongs to the left (south-east) of the bridge of the village of *Hagios Petros*. Here he found the ruins of a square building, which he identified with the sanctuary of Zeus Scotitas. The

peasants were cutting and breaking the beautiful blocks of limestone, of which the structure was composed, in order to use them for building. See *Journ. R. Geogr. Soc.* 27 (1857), p. 44. The name Scotitas may have been applied to Zeus here because of the dark oak forest in which his sanctuary stood (see the preceding note). Prof. S. Wide, however, interprets Zeus Scotitas as a god of the nether world (*Lakonische Kulte*, p. 20).

10. 6. **a trophy.** It has been suggested that the three heaps of stones, which are still called 'the place of the slain' (see note on ii. 38. 7), may have been the trophy mentioned by Pausanias. In that case the images of Hermes, which marked the Argive and Laconian frontier, would have to be looked for a little way off, perhaps further north. See Ross, *Reisen*, p. 174; Jochmus, in *Journ. R. Geogr. Soc.* 27 (1857), p. 44.

10. 7. **Caryae.** Caryae was situated on the military road between Sparta and Tegea, close to, but within, the Laconian frontier (Thucydides, v. 55; Xenophon, *Hellenica*, vi. 5. 25 and 27; Livy, xxxiv. 26, xxxv. 27). The site of Caryae was identified by Ross and others with some supposed ancient ruins situated on an isolated flat-topped hill two miles to the west of *Arachova*. The hill rises in the fork between two streams, which unite to form a tributary of the *Kelephina* river, the ancient Oenus, which flows from *Arachova* to join the Eurotas. But repeated observation and inquiry convinced Mr. W. Loring that no ancient remains exist, or have recently existed, near the spot in question. It is now occupied by a group of cottages, and Mr. Loring suggests that the disused threshing-floors of the village may easily have been mistaken for traces of antiquity by the French surveyors, who have here marked some ancient ruins on their map. Thus it would seem that we must look for the site of Caryae elsewhere. Mr. Loring believes that he has found it at a place which the villagers of *Arachova* call the *Analepsis* ('Ascension'). It is a small rocky hill on the left bank of the *Vourvoura* river, about a mile south-east of the ruined khan of *Kryavrisi*. (This khan, now in ruins, is situated in the broad bed of the *Saranta Potamos*, and used to be well known to travellers, bound for Sparta, as the mid-day halting-place between Tegea and *Arachova*. Just at the khan the route to *Arachova* quits the bed of the *Saranta Potamos*, which it has followed for some miles, and ascends the eastern bank of the river. See note on viii. 54. 1.) The little hill is the last projection westward of Mount *Tsouka*, being separated from it by a lower neck on which stands, near a holly-oak, a ruined chapel once dedicated, no doubt, to the Ascension. Among the hewn blocks of this chapel is one with the mark of an I clamp, which is obviously ancient; and on the southern slope of the hill are distinct ruins of ancient Greek walls. The peasants told Mr. Loring that these ruins had been formerly much more abundant, but that the stones had been used for building wine-presses etc. in the neighbouring fields. On the top of the hill are remains of a large enclosure, some 60 feet square, built of stones, mortar, and a little tile, the date of which is quite uncertain; but some sherds of the pottery which covers both top and sides of the hill have the black glaze which is characteristic of Greek

ware. This, then, was probably the site of Caryae. It appears to be the place which Lieut.-General Jochmus also identified as Caryae a good many years ago: he speaks of having found the remains of a tolerably large ancient town about half an hour to the west of the village of *Vourvoura*, on the left bank of the river.

See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 72 *sq.*; Ross, *Reisen*, p. 175; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 261 *sq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 357; Jochmus, in *Journal of the R. Geographical Society* (London), 27 (1857), pp. 44 *sq.*, 49 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 118 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 279; W. Loring, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 15 (1895), p. 54 *sqq.*

As to the dancing of the Lacedaemonian maidens at Caryae in honour of Artemis, compare iv. 16. 9. The dance was said to have been taught the Lacedaemonians by Castor and Pollux (Lucian, *De saltatione*, 10). It is mentioned by Pollux (iv. 104), and alluded to by Statius (*Theb.* iv. 225) and the grammarian Diomede (bk. iii. p. [illegible] ed. Keil). Clearchus presented Tisaphernes with a ring on which were engraved figures of the maidens dancing at Caryae (Plutarch, *Artaxerxes*, 18). The name Caryae means 'walnut-trees,' and may have been given to the town from the walnut-trees which grew here. Carya ('walnut-tree') was said to have been a daughter of Dion, king of Laconia. She was beloved by Dionysus, who turned her into a walnut-tree. Artemis informed the Laconians of this transformation; hence they dedicated a temple to Artemis Caryatis. This myth is told by Servius (on Virgil, *Ecl.* viii. 30). Cp. S. Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, pp. 102 *sq.*, 108.

Vitruvius (i. 1. 5) derives the architectural term Caryatids (columns carved in the shape of women) from the town of Caryae, and tells a foolish story to justify the derivation. Compare Preller, *Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, pp. 136-144.

10. 7. Sellasia. Pausanias had diverged from the direct road to Sparta in order to visit Caryae, which lay to the right. The point at which he diverged from the straight road was probably at or near the site of the modern village of *Arachova*. He now resumes the road to Sparta, probably at the point from which he diverged. At the present day the track from *Arachova* to Sparta follows the bed of the *Kelefina* river (the ancient Oenus) for some seven or eight miles. Path there is none. You ride in the stony bed of the river, crossing its scanty water backwards and forwards again and again. The scenery is picturesque, the river winding between high banks, which are generally green with shrubs and trees. Indeed many trees grow in the very bed of the stream, and the traveller in riding has sometimes to be careful not to be knocked off by their boughs. In front of us, as the valley widens, we get glimpses of the high, blue, snowy range of Taygetus. The point at which, quitting the bed of the stream, we ascend its western bank, and the whole magnificent range of Taygetus appears in full view across the valley of the Eurotas, was the scene of the battle of Sellasia. Here at the present day is the khan of *Krevatas*. The ruins of Sellasia itself are distant nearly two miles to the south of the khan. They occupy the summit of a hill over 2700 ft. high on the right bank of the river. The walls and towers may be traced through nearly their whole circuit.

which measures about 1200 yards. They are 10 or 11 ft. broad, and are built of small irregular blocks of schistose limestone (*Kalkschiefer*). The blocks are entirely unhewn and are merely piled together. Most of the towers are round, but some are square. The space enclosed by the circuit-wall is divided into two by a cross-wall. The smaller and higher division, at the northern end of the plateau, may have been the acropolis. The circuit-wall of the acropolis and the cross-wall are still preserved in their entire extent, though only to a small height above the ground. From the ruins there is a commanding view over the valley of the Eurotas with the range of Taygetus across the valley.

The battle of Sellasia between the Macedonians under Antigonus and the Lacedaemonians under Cleomenes (221 B.C.) was fought at and about the khan of *Krevatas*, 2 miles north of Sellasia. The small stream which here joins the *Kelephina* (Oenus) on the right or western bank is the ancient Gorgilus; the hill which rises on the southern side of the Gorgilus is the ancient Mt. Eva (now Mt. *Tourlis*); the hill which rises on the opposite (left or eastern) side of the *Kelephina* is the ancient Mt. Olympus. At the khan of *Krevatas* the roads from Sparta to Tegea and Argos bifurcate. Cleomenes occupied both Mt. Eva and Mt. Olympus with his troops; and thus bestriding (*à cheval*) the road to Sparta, which ran between them, he was prepared to meet Antigonus, in a very strong position, by whichever of the two roads the Macedonians might advance. In 195 B.C. the Romans, advancing against Sparta, which was then under the dominion of the tyrant Nabis, pitched their camp at Sellasia on the river Oenus (Livy, xxxiv. 28). Leake is completely wrong in placing Sellasia at the monastery of the *H. Saranta* ('Forty Saints') some 8 miles, in a direct line, to the south of the khan of *Krevatas*. By posting himself there, Cleomenes would not have blocked the way to Sparta; on the contrary he would have left it open, and the enemy might have marched unopposed into Sparta by the highroad from the north. Leake's mistake is due to his having crossed Mt. Parnon to Sparta by the *H. Andreas* valley, instead of by the road which goes by *H. Joannes* and *H. Petros*. This gave a twist to his topography of this part of Laconia, which he only partially corrected in his later work, *Peloponnesiaca*.

On the battle of Sellasia see especially Polybius, ii. 65 *sqq.*; also Plutarch, *Philopoemen*, 6; *id.*, *Cleomenes*, 27 *sq.*; Paus. iv. 29. 9, vii. 7. 4, viii. 49. 5 *sq.* On the topography of Sellasia and the battle-field see Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 73 *sq.*; Ross, *Reisen*, pp. 181-190 (with map); Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. pp. 259-261; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, pp. 360-370; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 116 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 280; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 242; W. Loring, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 15 (1895), pp. 58 *sq.*, 71 *sqq.*; and especially Lieut.-General A. Jochmus, in *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* (London), 27 (1857), pp. 34-53 (with two maps). A plan of the fortress of Sellasia is given by Mr. W. Loring. Leake's views are given in his *Morea*, 2. pp. 524-532, and *Peloponnesiaca*, pp. 341-353.

A little beyond the khan of *Krevatas* the ancient route to Sparta, which Pausanias is now following, seems to have diverged from the river, passed to the west of the hill of *Hagios Konstantinos* and close to the khan of *Vourlia*, and so descended into the plain. For after this point the bed of the river (the *Kelephina*, the ancient Oenus) gradually

narrows until it becomes a deep and difficult ravine. But the precise spot at which the ancient route descended into the plain must remain doubtful for want of evidence. See W. Loring, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 15 (1895), p. 59 *sq.*

10. 8. Thornax, where there is an image of Pythaean Apollo. Thornax must have been situated to the north of Sparta, somewhere between that city and Sellasia, but its exact site has not yet been determined. Stephanus Byzantius (*s.v.* Θόρναξ) calls it a mountain of Laconia, but there is nothing in the references of Pausanias and Herodotus (i. 69) to show that it was a mountain. Perhaps Stephanus confused it with Mount Thornax near Hermion (Paus. ii. 36. 1). Prof. Curtius, however, apparently accepting the statement of Stephanus, would identify Thornax with the hill of *Pavleika*, which would seem to be the hill between the Oenus (*Kelephina* river) and the Eurotas. On the hill of *Pavleika*, near the track which leads to Sparta from the valley of the Oenus, the French surveyors observed what they took to be the remains of the temple of Apollo. These remains consist of the square marble foundations of a ruined chapel. There is reason, however, to believe that the sanctuary of Apollo was in the plain. For Xenophon, describing the march of the Theban army against Sparta, says that after burning and sacking Sellasia they reached the precinct of Apollo in the plain, and that next day, fearing to cross the Eurotas by the bridge, they marched down the left bank of the river, burning and destroying (*Hellenica*, vi. 5. 27). If this precinct of Apollo mentioned by Xenophon was, as it is natural to suppose, the sanctuary of Apollo at Thornax, then Thornax must have been in the level valley of the Eurotas, on the left bank of the river, a little higher up than Sparta. Hesychius says (*s.v.* Θόρναξ) that Thornax was a sanctuary of Apollo in Laconia, and that hence Apollo received the surname of Thornacian. In the reign of Croesus the Spartans sent to Sardes intending to buy gold with which to gild the image of Apollo at Thornax, but Croesus made them a present of the gold (Herodotus, i. 69).

See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 74 *sq.*; Ross, *Reisen*, p. 100; Leake, *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 348 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 259; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 117; W. Loring, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 15 (1895), p. 60.

11. 1. Sparta. Ancient Sparta stood upon a broad stretch of fairly level ground, broken by a few low eminences (some 50 feet high), on the right bank of the Eurotas, where the river makes a bend to the south-east. Thus the city was bounded on the north and east by the wide gravelly bed of the river. Approaching on the north by the high-road from Tegea you cross the river by a new iron bridge, then traversing a flat strip of ground ascend through a hollow between two of the low eminences or hills which were included within the circuit of ancient Sparta. Leaving these eminences on the right and left you emerge to the south upon a level stretch of cornland, with olive-trees thickly dotted over it. When I saw it, the wheat was breast high, and its waving surface, dappled with the shadows of multitudinous olive-trees, presented a rich and park-like aspect. This plain is about half a mile across; on

the south it is terminated by the low broad-backed ridge, running east and west, on which stands the town of New Sparta. This new town, which has sprung up since the War of Independence, is charming. The streets, crossing each other at right angles, are broad and pleasant. Many of the houses are surrounded by gardens, and the soft verdure of the trees peeping over the low walls is grateful and refreshing to the eyes. The gardens abound with orange-trees, which, when laden with fruit, remind one of the gardens of the Hesperides. In spring the air, even in the streets, is heavy with rich perfumes. On the south the town is bounded by the river of *Magoula*, which here flows from west to east, to fall into the Eurotas a little below the town, opposite the steep heights of Therapnae. Westward the plain extends three or four miles to the foot of the magnificent range of Taygetus, which rises abruptly with steep rocky sides to the height of nearly 8000 feet. A conspicuous landmark to the west, viewed from Sparta, is the sharp conical hill of *Mistra*, leaning upon, but still sharply defined against, the Taygetus range. Though really a mountain over 2000 feet high, it is completely dwarfed by the immense wall of Taygetus rising at its back. The country between Sparta and Taygetus offers points of the most picturesque beauty, especially if, instead of following the highroad, which is rather tame, you strike straight across for *Mistra* from the ruined theatre of Old Sparta. It was a bright evening in spring or early summer (towards the end of April, but summer is earlier in Greece than in England), when I took this walk, and the impression it made on me was ineffaceable. The orange groves, the gardens fresh and green on all sides, men taking their ease in the warm evening air at a picturesque tavern under a great spreading tree, children playing in the green lanes, a group of Spartan maidens filling their pitchers at a spring that gurgled from a grey time-worn wall, a river (the *Magoula*) spanned by a quaint old bridge and winding through groves of orange-trees spangled with golden fruit, and towering above all the stupendous snow-clad range of Taygetus in the west, with the sunset sky above it—all this made up a picture or rather a succession of pictures, of which it is impossible to convey in words the effect. It was a dream of Arcadia, the Arcadia of poets, and of painters like the Poussins.

In this union of luxuriant verdure with grand mountain scenery the valley of Sparta recalls the more famed but not more beautiful Granada with its green spreading Vega, its lilac-tinted mountains basking under the bright sky of Spain, and the snowy range of the Sierra Nevada lying like a great white cloud on the southern horizon. But Taygetus towers above the spectator at Sparta as the Sierra Nevada certainly does not over the spectator at Granada. To see it on a bright day with all its superb outline—its sharp peaks and grand sweeping curves—clearly defined in the pellucid air, its long line of snowy summits glistering in the sun, and the deep purple shadows brooding on its lower slopes, is a sight not to be forgotten. A recent explorer of Greece (Mr. Philippson) has observed that of all Greek cities Sparta enjoys the most beautiful situation. So far as my experience goes, the observation is just.

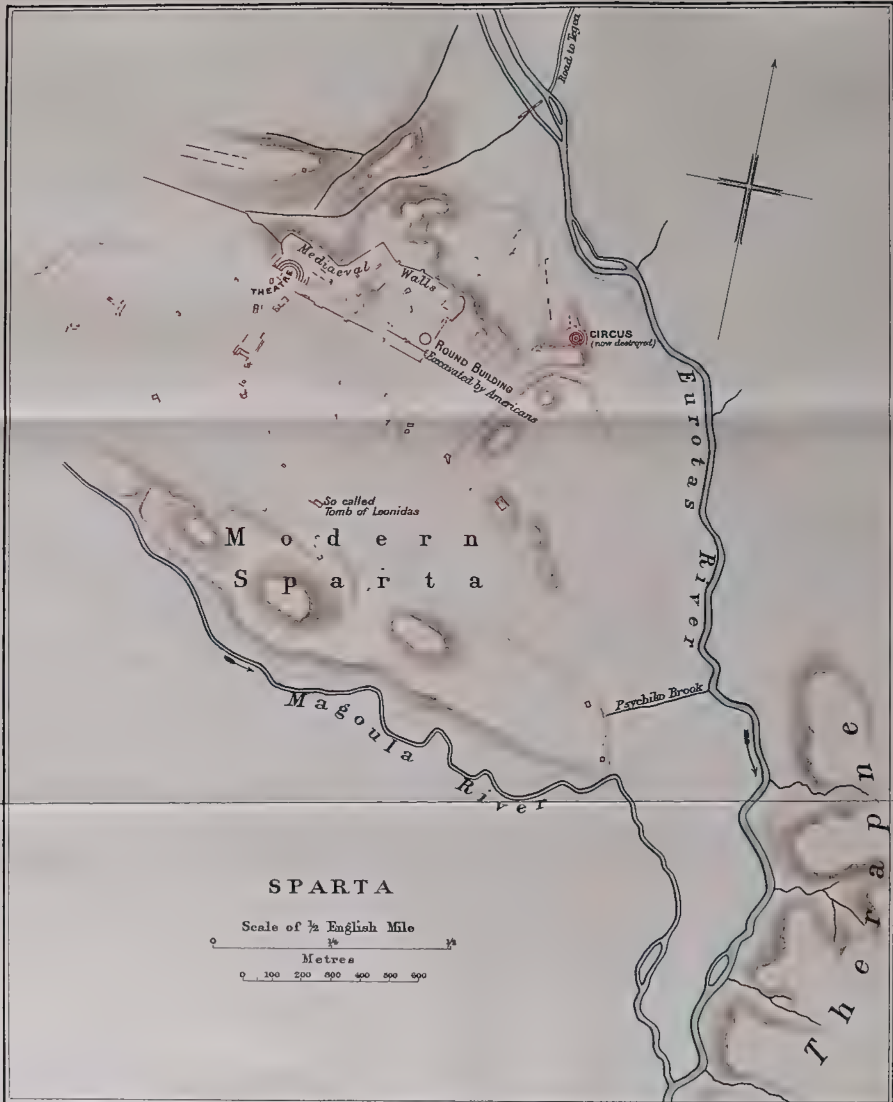
The situation of Sparta is thus described by Polybius (v. 22): "The

city of Sparta is roughly circular in shape and lies on level ground, though it encloses certain uneven and hilly places. The river Eurotas flows past it on the east, and is generally unfordable by reason of its size." Elsewhere (ix. 21) Polybius tells us that the circumference of the city was 48 Greek furlongs or more than 5 miles. But we know from an often quoted passage of Thucydides (i. 10) that the city was not built continuously in streets, but consisted of a loose aggregation of villages in the ancient Greek fashion. Thucydides further observes that the city contained no costly sanctuaries or buildings, and that if it were deserted and nothing but the foundations left, it would seem incredible that such a city should ever have been so great and powerful. Xenophon contrasts the power and fame of Sparta with the smallness of its population (*Respub. Laced.* i. 1). Throughout the period of its greatest power Sparta was unfortified. When some one asked Agesilaus why Sparta was unwalled, he pointed to the citizens in arms and said, "These are the walls of Lacedaemon" (Plutarch, *Apophthegm. Lacon.*, *Ages.* 29). The city was first fortified hastily with a ditch and palisade on the invasion of Demetrius Poliorcetes and afterwards of Pyrrhus (Paus. i. 13. 6; vii. 8. 5). In describing the invasion of Laconia by the Macedonians under King Philip, the historian Polybius makes mention of the walls and gates of Sparta (Polybius, v. 22 *sq.*) The fortifications were greatly strengthened by the tyrant Nabis (Paus. vii. 8. 5); they included a new ditch and a rampart (Livy, xxxiv. 27), and two gates at least, one leading to Pharae, the other to Barbosthenes (Livy, xxxv. 30). These fortifications were not, however, completed when the Romans under Quinctius attacked Sparta in 195 B.C. (Livy, xxxiv. 38). After the death of Nabis the walls of Sparta were demolished by the Achaeans (Paus. vii. 8. 5; Livy, xxxviii. 34, xxxix. 37), but restored by order of Appius, the Roman legate (Paus. vii. 9. 5).

The ancient remains at Sparta are extremely scanty. (1) At the south-west corner of the largest of the eminences or low hills, at the northern end of the plain, are the remains of a theatre. The site is well marked by the vast semicircle which has been cut out of the hill to make the theatre. Some stones of the back upper semicircle are visible on the brow of the hill, and some of the retaining-wall can be seen a little lower down. But the theatre has been used as a quarry by the people of the neighbourhood and very little of it is now left. Leake (*Morea*, 2. p. 155 *sq.*) estimated the breadth of each wing at about 115 feet, and the total diameter at 450 feet. See note on 14. 1. The theatre is the only portion of ancient Sparta which can be identified with certainty.

(2) The structure popularly known as the tomb of Leonidas. It stands just outside the town of New Sparta, on its north side, on your right as you enter the town by the road leading from the northern hills of Old Sparta. The building is a quadrangle. Along the lowest layer of the foundation it measures 12.50 metres in length by 8.30 metres in breadth. The walls are still standing to a height of 3.60 metres in one place. The stones of which the little building is constructed are of enormous size. One of them is 4.75 metres long,

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0.73 metre thick, and 0.95 metre high. On one side of the building the entire course consists of only three blocks. The floor, composed of large blocks, is also preserved. The eastern end of the building is divided off by a cross-wall, through which there are two doorways into the larger western chamber. This western chamber is 6.90 metres long on the inside; the smaller eastern compartment is 3.15 metres long. Prof. Waldstein, who made some excavations and measurements here in 1892, considers that the building was a temple *in antis*. But I doubt much whether he is right. The appearance and arrangement of the building did not seem to me to be those of a temple. The huge size of the blocks would be very unusual for so small a temple.

See L. Ross, *Wanderungen*, 2. p. 15 *sq.*; W. G. Clark, *Peloponnesus*, p. 163 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 224; Baedeker,[3] p. 284; Ch. Waldstein, in *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Archaeological Institute of America* (1891-92), p. 71 *sq.*

(3) To the north of Old Sparta, on the slope toward the Eurotas, Leake observed "a circus, the smallest perhaps in existence, being only twenty-three yards in diameter within. . . . The wall of the circus is sixteen feet thick, and was supported by large buttresses on the outside at small distances from one another. . . . The entrance to the circus was on the side towards the river" (*Morea*, 2. p. 151). I failed to find this structure. It seems to have totally disappeared (Baedeker,[3] p. 285).

(4) On a small terrace or platform towards the south-eastern corner of the theatre-hill I observed a number of remains of small columns. The place is on your right as you emerge from the hollow between the northern eminences or hills on the way from the Eurotas bridge to New Sparta.

(5) To the north of Old Sparta there are remains of an ancient bridge over the Eurotas. This is supposed to have been the bridge Babyka, which formed one of the two extreme limits within which the public assemblies of Sparta had necessarily to be held. See Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 6; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 222 *sq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 379; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 120; Baedeker,[3] p. 285.

(6) There are very considerable remains of fortification-walls running along the northern edge of the theatre-hill. They may also be traced on the other hill or eminence immediately to the east, on the other side of the road which runs through the hollow between the hills. They appear to be mediaeval. Some pieces, however, may be earlier. See Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 152; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 221; W. G. Clark, *Pelop.* p. 170; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 122; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 376.

(7) Lastly, the remains of a large round building were discovered and excavated by Prof. Waldstein in 1892 and 1893. They are situated at the south-east corner of the theatre-hill, on the right of the direct road which runs from the bridge over the Eurotas to the new town of Sparta. At this point I observed in 1890 a good many remains of small columns, which may have belonged to the round building in question (see above, No. 4). Before the excavations began the site

presented the appearance of a circular flat-topped mound of earth about 44 metres (48 yards) in diameter at the base, lying on the gentle slope of the ridge, with the summit of which the upper surface of the mound was continuous at the north-west. The sides of the mound rise steeply. Its summit is highest above the ridge on the south-west, where its height is about 20 feet. The excavations proved that this mound was enclosed by a circular retaining-wall of early Greek masonry. Of this wall the substantial part is built of unwrought stones piled one upon the other and fitted together without the use of clamps or mortar. The thickness of this rough wall varies from 2 ft. 7 in. to 3 ft. 3 in. On its outer side this rough wall was cased with a facing of breccia, which has been entirely destroyed in its upper part. Enough, however, remains of the lower courses of this casing to give a fair idea of what it originally was. It consisted of the usual Greek basement of three steps, upon which rested a vertical wall of about 16 inches thick and of unknown height. Where this vertical wall is best preserved it consists of three courses. The lowest course consists of a row of uprights, each block about 16 inches thick and 4 ft. 3 in. high: the second course is a band of unpolished red marble about 1 foot high: the third course is another row of uprights, about 3 feet high and 17 inches thick. This wall or casing of breccia, together with the three steps of the basement, rests on a foundation of rough stones piled one upon the other. Neither the rough retaining-wall nor its outer facing of breccia is preserved round the whole circumference of the mound. The rough inner wall is standing for about 68 metres (74 yards), or not much more than half the circumference of the circle. The height of the preserved part varies from 1 ft. 8 in. to 6 ft. 7 in. above the top step of the basement. The steps of the basement are preserved for about 62 yards. Of the breccia casing, which rested on the steps, not much is left—only ten blocks of the first course, two of the second, and one of the third.

The diameter of the circular platform enclosed by the retaining-wall is 43.3 metres (141 feet), measured on the outermost (lowest) part of the wall. Its summit is the native rock, which has been weathered into irregular cavities. Near the centre of the platform, however, an area had been artificially levelled and smoothed for the reception of a large basis, part of which was found. The basis probably supported a statue or a group of statues. Near it was found the thumb of a colossal marble statue, probably holding a sceptre: it is of the Roman or late Greek period. In the centre of the circle a round well-like hole, about 3 feet wide and 20 inches deep, is cut perpendicularly in the rock. In the bottom of this hole is a second hole about 20 inches deep and 16 inches wide.

Of the edifice which stood on the circular platform only twenty-two more or less scattered blocks are in their original positions. These blocks are nearly rectangular in shape and are of a very soft white stone. The vertical faces of most of them are left rough, but their tops are carefully smoothed and horizontal. In most cases the native rock has been cut away to form a solid bed for the blocks. The extant

blocks are all arranged nearly in concentric circles round a point which comes very near the centre of the whole platform. All of them, however, with a single exception, lie north of a line drawn east and west through the centre of the circle. But this does not prove that none formerly existed south of this line; they may have formed a complete circle, or rather several concentric circles. Most of these blocks have no special architectural feature, and their smoothed upper faces suggest that they served as supports for the flags of a pavement. But on the upper faces of two of the blocks there is a circular surface .42 metre (1 ft. 4 in.) in diameter, slightly raised above the rest of the surface of the stone. And within two yards of these blocks were found two small Doric columns of white marble, each .39 metre in diameter at the base and about 1.40 metre in height. The diameter of the columns is thus very nearly that of the circular surfaces on the blocks, and it is probable that the columns originally stood on them. Thus it would seem that the circular platform supported a circular colonnade, probably paved with marble, with a statue or group of statuary standing on a pedestal in the centre. To this statue or group of statuary the colossal marble thumb, mentioned above, probably belonged. Prof. Waldstein would identify the edifice with the round building mentioned by Pausanias (iii. 12. 11), which contained images of Zeus and Aphrodite and was said to have been built by Epimenides. He thinks that the style of masonry of the enclosing wall, with its facing of breccia, agrees with the date of Epimenides (about 600 B.C.) A *boustrophedon* inscription, found on the site, may belong to this early period. But the building evidently underwent many changes during the Roman and Christian periods. Traces of repairs in the early building itself, and most of the additions to it, are of Roman date. Inscriptions, too, and fragments of sculpture of the Roman period were found in it. Among the sculptures is a head of a Roman emperor (?) in white marble; the features are cruel and recall the busts of Caracalla. Of the Roman and Byzantine coins found on the site none is so early as the age of the Antonines.

The circular retaining-wall of the platform is joined at its western extremity by a second wall of similar construction and likewise curved. It also consists of a supporting wall of rough stones faced with a casing of breccia, which rests on a basement of three steps. The two walls are joined at their meeting-point with much skill and are apparently contemporary. Unfortunately this second wall exists for a length of only about 7 feet, when it is cut short by a Byzantine church. It may have formed a semicircle or even a larger arc; possibly it supported a second circular mound like the one described above. But the ground here has been so built and rebuilt in Roman and Byzantine times that its original shape is entirely lost.

On this circular edifice see *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Archaeological Institute of America* (1891-92), pp. 74-76; Ch. Waldstein and C. L. Meader, 'Reports on excavations at Sparta,' *American Journal of Archaeology*, 8 (1893), pp. 410-428; Ch. Waldstein, 'The circular building of Sparta,' *American Journ. of Archaeol.* 9 (1894), p. 545 *sq.*

Besides these remains, the museum at the east end of the new town contains a number of antiquities which have been found at or near Sparta. They include reliefs representing the Dioscuri standing facing each other, each holding a horse and wearing a conical cap. On one relief only the heads of the horses are represented appearing above the ground. There are also several dedicatory inscriptions beginning ZANI ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΟΙ (to the Zeus of Freedom).

See further Baedeker,[3] p. 285 *sq.*; and on the sculptures and inscriptions found about Sparta see A. Conze, 'Sculture Spartane,' *Annali dell' Instituto*, 42 (1870), pp. 270-290; Dressel und Milchhöfer, 'Die antiken Kunstwerke aus Sparta und Umgebung,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 2 (1877), pp. 293-474; Milchhöfer, 'Spartanische Kunstwerke,' *Archäologische Zeitung*, 39 (1881), pp. 281-300; id. 41 (1883), pp. 223-230; *Bulletin de Corr. Hellénique*, 1877, pp. 378-388; id. 1885, pp. 512-519.

The remains of antiquity existing above ground at Sparta are far too scanty to enable us to determine the topography of the ancient city, as it is described by Pausanias. Future excavations may fill up some of the blanks in our knowledge, for it can hardly be doubted that considerable ruins are hidden under the fertile cornland and olive groves which now cover most of the site. To attempt to reconstruct the plan of ancient Sparta without very extensive excavations is hardly more than guess-work. But such guess-work has been freely indulged in by some topographers.

See Leake, *Morea*, 1. pp. 150-187; Boblaye, *Recherches*, pp. 78-81; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. pp. 219-245; Beulé, *Études sur le Péloponnèse*, pp. 42-58; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, pp. 373-381; W. G. Clark, *Pelop.* pp. 160-173; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. pp. 119-129; H. K. Stein, *Topographie des alten Sparta.* (Glatz, 1890); K. Nestorides, Τοπογραφία τῆς ἀρχαίας Σπάρτης (Athens, 1892): N. E. Crosby, 'The topography of Sparta,' *American Journal of Archaeology*, 8 (1893), pp. 335-373.

11. 1. I stated in my Attica etc. See i. 39. 3.

11. 2. a market-place. The market-place was to the east of the theatre. See iii. 14. 1.

11. 2. the so-called Bidiaeans. In inscriptions they are called Bidei or Bidyi (Βιδεοι or Βιδυοι). See *C. I. G.* Nos. 1241, 1242, 1254, 1255, 1270, 1271; Gilbert, *Handbuch der griech. Staatsalterthümer*,[2] 1. p. 28.

11. 3. the Persian Colonnade etc. From Vitruvius (i. 1. 6) we learn that the statues of Persians, represented in their native barbaric costume, supported the roof, like Caryatides. Vitruvius adds that the idea of using the statues of Persians as architectural supports was copied in many other buildings. Cp. K. Lange, *Haus und Halle*, p. 105 *sq.*

11. 3. her prowess in the sea-fight at Salamis. See Herodotus, viii. 87 *sq.*

11. 5. a bronze statue of Agias. Cp. x. 9. 7, with the Critical Note on that passage, vol. 1. p. 608.

11. 6. Tisamenus was one of the Iamids etc. See Herodotus, ix. 33-36. As to the Iamids compare iii. 12. 8; iv. 16. 1; vi. 2. 5 note; viii. 10. 5.

11. 6. the pentathlum. In the pentathlum the five contests were leaping, running, throwing the disc, hurling the javelin, and wrestling.

But as to the order in which these contests came on, and the rules by which victory was decided, opinions have differed greatly. See Holwerda, 'Zum Pentathlon,' *Archäologische Zeitung*, 39 (1881), pp. 205-216; Percy Gardner, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1 (1881), pp. 210-223; E. Myers, *ib.* 2 (1882), pp. 217-221; Fr. Fedde, *Der Fünfkampf der Hellenen* (Breslau, 1888); M. Faber, 'Zum Fünfkampf der Hellenen,' *Philologus*, 50 (1891), pp. 469-498.

11. 7. **over all the Arcadians —— at Dipaea.** See viii. 30. 1 note.

11. 8. **the Helots.** With the relation of the Helots to the Spartans we may compare the relation in which certain slave communities stand to the Bakundas, a people of western Africa, near the Cameroons. These slaves live apart from their masters on plantations away in the forest, where they are practically uncontrolled. They have wives and houses of their own, and do not give any of the produce to their masters unless they choose to do so. They form in fact regular independent communities, which have kings of their own. These are the so-called slave-towns. As the slaves are good soldiers, their kings are admitted to the councils of the freemen at important consultations. The slaves are distinguished by a round mark tattooed on their brows and temples. See B. Schwarz, *Kamerun. Reise in die Hinterlande der Kolonie* (Leipzig, 1886), p. 258 *sq.*

11. 8. **These events I will describe presently.** See iv. 24. 5 *sqq.*

11. 9. **a colossal statue of the Spartan People.** On artistic personifications of a whole people or nation see vol. 2. p. 27 *sq.*

11. 10. **the bones of Orestes.** See iii. 3. 6, viii. 54. 4.

11. 10. **his likeness is graved on the signet** etc. This shows that the practice of sealing was ancient in Greece. Gold signets of a date not later than the twelfth century B.C. were found in the tombs at Mycenae. See above, p. 114 *sq.*, and J. H. Middleton, *The Engraved Gems of Classical Times* (Cambridge, 1891), p. 17 *sqq.*

11. 11. **Hermes carrying the infant Dionysus.** On Spartan coins of Imperial times Hermes is represented carrying the infant Dionysus on his left arm, while in his left hand he holds the caduceus (Fig. 47). The representation is probably a copy of the statue mentioned by Pausanias. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 55, with pl. N v. vi. vii.



FIG. 47.—HERMES CARRYING THE INFANT DIONYSUS (COIN OF LACEDAEMON).

11. 11. **the tombs of Epimenides** etc. See ii. 21. 3. That the remains of Epimenides were at Sparta is mentioned also by Diogenes Laertius (i. 10. 115) on the authority of Sosibius. As to Aphareus see iii. 1. 4 *sq.*; iv. 2. 4 *sq.*

12. 1. **Booneta.** Bursian suggested that this may have been the office of the *Boōnai* ('ox-buyers'), the officials who bought the victims for the public sacrifices (*Geogr.* 2. p. 12). There were such officials at Athens (Demosthenes, xxi. 171, p. 570).

12. 2. **Danaus hit upon this device to get his daughters married**

etc. According to Pindar (*Pyth.* ix. 193 *sqq.*) Danaus set his daughters at the end of the race-course; the suitors ran for them, and before mid-day all the daughters had obtained husbands. In the same poem (line 182 *sqq.*) Pindar tells how Antaeus similarly decided the claims of many noble suitors to the hand of his daughter by setting them to run a race.

12. 3. paid the price in oxen. Professor W. Ridgeway has shown that among the Greeks at an early period, before the invention of money, the ox must have been the unit of value, and that the earliest gold-unit (the talent) was equivalent in value to the older ox-unit. See his article, 'The Homeric talent, its origin, value, and affinities,' *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 8 (1887), pp. 133-158; and his *Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight Standards*, p. 1 *sqq.* Cattle formed the primitive medium of exchange among the Romans, as is shown, amongst other things, by the fact that their word for money (*pecunia*) is derived from their word for cattle (*pecus*). See Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. §§ 92, 95; Hultsch, *Metrologie*,[2] p. 254. Amongst other primitive peoples cattle have been and still are the regular measure of value, as among the Irish in ancient and mediaeval times (Ridgeway, in *Journ. of Hell. Stud.* 8 (1887), p. 156 *sqq.*; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 9th ed. vol. 13. p. 255 *sq.*), the Hindoos of Vedic times (Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 257), some savage tribes of Annam (*Cochinchine Française, Excursions et Reconnaissances*, No. 24, p. 317 *sq.*), the Kaffirs (J. Campbell, *Travels in South Africa*, p. 523; Theal, *Kaffir Folk-lore*, p. 15), the Hottentots (Kolbe, *Present State of the Cape of Good Hope*, 1. p. 262), the Kru negroes (Bastian, *Ein Besuch in San Salvador*, p. 191), some of the people of Darfour (*Travels of an Arab Merchant in Sudan*, p. 129), the Ossetes of the Caucasus (Haxthausen, *Transkaukasia*, 2. p. 30), the Circassians (Koch, *Reise durch Russland*, 1. p. 423), and the Nogai Tartars (Haxthausen, *Studien über die innern Zustände etc. Russlands*, 2. p. 371). The Kirgis value everything in horses or sheep (Pallas, *Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des russischen Reichs*, 1. p. 390). See also W. Roscher, *System der Volkswirthschaft*,[15] 1. p. 273 *sq.*; Ad. Bastian, *Rechtsverhältnisse*, p. 126; and especially O. Schrader, *Linguistische-historische Forschungen zur Handelsgeschichte und Waarenkunde*, p. 113 *sqq.*

12. 4. those who sail to India. The notices of India by ancient writers are collected by Sir E. H. Bunbury, in his *History of Ancient Geography*. On Indian embassies to Rome see *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1860, pp. 309-321; *id.*, 1861, pp. 345-361; *id.*, 1861, pp. 274-298. On Roman coins found in India see *Indian Antiquary*, 2 (1873), p. 241 *sq.* On Greek sculptures in India see *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 5 (1836), pp. 567-570; E. Curtius, in *Archäologische Zeitung*, 33 (1876), pp. 90-95 (reprinted in his *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 2. pp. 235-243). On Greek and Roman trade with India cp. Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenlands unter der Herrschaft der Römer*, 2. p. 204 *sq.* Cp. an article 'Graeco-Roman influence on the civilisation of Ancient India,' by Vincent A. Smith, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 58 (1889), pt. 1. pp. 107-198.

12. 5. **a precinct of Taenarian Poseidon.** See iii. 25. 4. Inscriptions found at Sparta show that there was a religious college or society called the Taenarians, doubtless for the worship of Taenarian Poseidon. Among the officials of the society were a secretary, a diviner, heralds, a flute-player, a cook, a god-bearer (*siophoros*), etc. See Conze e Michaelis, in *Annali dell' Instituto*, 33 (1861), pp. 41-45. The college is mentioned, under the name of the Taenarists, by Hesychius (*s.v.* ταιναρίας), who also speaks of a Taenarian festival celebrated by the Lacedaemonians.

12. 7. **The people of Aegium in Achaia also show —— the tomb of Talthybius.** See vii. 24. 1.

12. 7. **to demand earth and water.** As symbols that the land, the rivers, and the seas of Greece belonged to Persia. Symbolic messages of this sort are common among barbarous peoples. Some of the wild Naga tribes of eastern India have been known to send a piece of charred wood, a bullet, and a chilli, tied together, to a neighbouring village. The charred wood meant that they would burn the village; the bullet that they would come with guns; and the chilli signified the smarting, stinging nature of their vengeance. See *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1857, Pt. 1. p. 317. On symbolic messages in West Africa see *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 16 (1887), pp. 295-299. Amongst the Nagas, already referred to, a ceremony of submission after defeat is to take a handful of earth and grass, and after placing it on the head to put it on the edge of a sword, and then chew it between the lips (*Journ. Anthrop. Inst.* 11. (1882), p. 71). But the idea in this case is probably not the same as in the Persian demand for earth and water.

12. 7. **the wrath of Talthybius** etc. See Herodotus, vii. 134 *sqq.* Herodotus tells us that Talthybius had a sanctuary at Sparta, and that his descendants dwelt there, and held the hereditary office of herald.

12. 8. **Apollo Acritas.** Prof. S. Wide suggests that Apollo Acritas may have been a form of the Carnean Apollo (*Lakonische Kulte*, p. 91).

12. 8. **Maleatian Apollo.** See ii. 27. 7 note.

12. 8. **a sanctuary of Dictynna.** From a mention of this sanctuary by Livy (xxxiv. 38) it appears to have been at the outskirts of the city, which agrees with Pausanias's description.

12. 9. **Maron and Alpheus.** See Herodotus, vii. 227.

12. 9. **Tropaean ('turner to flight') Zeus.** The Attic lads sacrificed to Tropaean Zeus on the anniversary of the battle of Salamis (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 467). Tropaean Zeus was also worshipped at Pergamus, as we learn from inscriptions (Fränkel, *Inschriften von Pergamon*, 1. Nos. 237, 247).

12. 10. **the Scias.** It was a round building (*Etymolog. Magnum*, *s.v.* Σκιάς, p. 717).

12. 10. **Theodorus the Samian.** See viii. 14. 7 note; ix. 41. 1; x. 38. 6.

12. 10. **the lute of Timotheus** etc. It is said that the Lacedaemonians, fearing to be rendered effeminate by the strains of this

famous musician, took his lute from him, cut out the new strings which he had added, and expelled him from the city (Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* xxxii. and xxxiii., vol. 1. p. 423, vol. 2. p. 19 *sq.*, ed. Dindorf).

12. 11. a round building. See above, p. 325 *sqq.*

12. 11. Epimenides. As to Epimenides at Sparta see ii. 21. 3.

13. 1. Cynortas. See iii. 1. 3.

13. 1. the sons of Tyndareus. The late W. Mannhardt interpreted Castor and Pollux, as well as their Indian congeners the Asvins, as the Morning and Evening Star (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 7 (1875), p. 309 *sqq.*)

13. 2. Abaris. See Herodotus, iv. 36; Suidas, *s.v.* Ἄβαρις; Pauly's *Real-Encyclopädie*, ed. Wissowa, *s.v.* 'Abaris.'

13. 3. Carneus, whom they surname Domestic etc. A Laconian inscription (*C. I. G.* No. 1446) mentions a certain lady Damosthenia who had been hereditary priestess of Domestic Carneus and Poseidon of the House. Whatever he may have been originally, this Carneus was no doubt identified in classical times with Carnean Apollo, of whom Pausanias goes on to speak. The name probably comes from *karnos*, 'sheep,' 'ram' (Hesychius, *s.v.* κάρνος). Literally it signifies 'the horned one,' being derived from the noun meaning 'horn,' which is etymologically identical in several languages—Greek *keras*, Latin *cornu*, English *horn*. See Curtius, *Griech. Etymologie*,[5] p. 147. Thus Carnean Apollo is the Horned Apollo or the Ram Apollo. This explanation of the name is supported by the sacrifice of rams at the Carnean festival (Theocritus, v. 82 *sq.*), and by the myths, here told by Pausanias, of the god's relations to the two soothsayers Carnus and Crius, both of whose names mean 'ram,' and both of whom consequently are probably nothing but anthropomorphised forms of the old ram-god. In the Carnasian grove images of Carnean Apollo and of the Ram-bearing Hermes stood together (Paus. iv. 33. 4). It seems probable that the ram-god Carneus was worshipped in Laconia by the Achaeans, or rather the Minyans, before the Dorian invasion, and that the Dorians, taking over his worship from the conquered people, identified him with their Apollo under the title of the Carnean Apollo. But while the old god Carneus, and his later double the Carnean Apollo, was on the one hand a god of sheep, there is some evidence that on the other hand he was also a god of harvest or at least of vintage. For his festival fell in the month Carneus (Thucydides, v. 54), which corresponds nearly to August, and was the season of the vintage; and at his festival young men bearing clusters of grapes pursued a man, decked with wreaths, who fled before them, and as he fled prayed for the public weal; it was a good omen if they caught him, but an ill omen if they did not (Hesychius, *s.v.* σταφυλοδρόμοι; Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, p. 305 line 25 *sqq.*) The two aspects of the god may be reconciled by supposing that as a spirit of vegetation in general or of the vintage in particular he was conceived of in the form of an animal: for embodiments of a spirit of vegetation in animal form are common in popular superstition. And the legend of the murder of Carnus (cp. the Scholiast on Theocritus, v. 83) may possibly be a reminiscence of a custom of

killing the representative of the spirit of vegetation, in the form of an animal or man, at the harvest or vintage festival. Customs of this sort were first collected and explained by the late W. Mannhardt (in his *Mythologische Forschungen*, etc.), and have been touched upon by the present writer (in *The Golden Bough*).

On Carneus, the Carnean Apollo, and the Carnean festival see W. Mannhardt, *Antike Wald- und Feldkulte*, p. 254 *sq.*; the two articles 'Karneios' by Wide and Höfer in Roscher's *Lexikon*; and especially S. Wide's *Lakonische Kulte*, pp. 73-87 (of whose results the foregoing note is a summary). That the Carnean Apollo was a ram-god had been recognised by others. See Welcker, *Griech. Götterlehre*, 1. p. 471; Gerhard, *Griech. Mythologie*, § 300. 1; G. Gilbert, *Studien zur altspartanischen Geschichte*, p. 44 *sq.*; Preller, *Griechische Mythologie*,[4] 1. p. 251.

13. 5. **there grew some cornel-trees** etc. This derivation of the epithet Carnean is mentioned by the Scholiast on Theocritus, v. 83. There was a very holy cornel-tree on the slope of the Palatine at Rome; it was said to have sprung from the spear-shaft of Romulus (Plutarch, *Romulus*, 20).

13. 6. **Aphetaeus.** The name probably means 'the starter.' Compare iii. 12. 1, and Wide's *Lakonische Kulte*, p. 274.

13. 6. **Ambulian Zeus, Ambulian Athena** etc. The epithet Ambulian seems not to occur elsewhere except in a gloss of Suidas (*s.v.* Ἀμβούλιος), and its meaning is uncertain. The adjective perhaps means 'counselling.' Cp. S. Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, p. 13.

13. 7. **the place named Colona, and a temple of Dionysus Colonatas.** The archaeologist Polemo, in a work *On the votive offerings in Lacedaemon*, mentions both Colona and the sanctuary of Dionysus at it; he says that close to Colona there was a chapel of a noted courtesan Cottina. Polemo's work is lost, but the fragment in which he mentions Colona is quoted by Athenaeus (xiii. p. 574 c d). Strabo (viii. p. 363) mentions "the sanctuary of Dionysus in the Marshes" at Sparta; it may perhaps be identical with the one at Colona.

13. 7. **the other eleven —— Dionysiades** etc. Hesychius (*s.v.* Διονυσιάδες) says that the Dionysiades were maidens at Sparta who ran a race at the festival of Dionysus.

13. 8. **Areus in his epic poem** etc. This poet seems to be otherwise unknown.

13. 9. **Hipposthenes.** Cp. iii. 15. 7; v. 8. 9.

14. 1. **a cenotaph of Brasidas.** Brasidas was buried at Amphipolis (Thucydides, v. 11).

14. 1. **the theatre.** See above, p. 324. The theatre was much better preserved when Gell visited it early in the nineteenth century than it is now. He says: "The radius of the orchestra is 70 feet, and the diameter of the whole is 418. The scene seems to have been only 28 feet deep, and the seats were divided into three cinctions, of which the breadths ascending were 20 feet for the lowest, 23 feet for the next, and 40 for the highest. Above this was a space only 13 feet wide, and behind that, the last, which might have been a portico, was

32 feet deep. The upper surface of each seat was divided into two portions, of which a sinking, 1 ft. 4 ins. in breadth, received the feet of the person who occupied the seat above, and a space only 1 ft. 1 in. in width was left for the seat of the person below. About 20 yards to the northward is an opening in a wall, which may have been the entrance to the upper seats: the whole is a strange mixture of good and bad workmanship" (Gell, *Narrative of a Journey in the Morea*, p. 328). The Gymnopaediae were held in the theatre; it was while witnessing this spectacle in the theatre that the deposed king Demaratus was insulted by his successful rival Leotychides with the taunt which drove him into exile and helped to bring the Persians into Greece (Herodotus, vi. 67). Again, it was while the people were witnessing the Gymnopaediae in the theatre that messengers arrived with the tidings of the great Lacedaemonian defeat at Leuctra; with true Spartan stoicism the magistrates refused to allow the festivities to be interrupted (Plutarch, *Agesilaus*, 29). We hear of other musical and athletic exhibitions being held in the theatre (Lucian, *Anacharsis*, 38; Athenaeus, iv. p. 139 e).

14. 1. **Opposite the theatre is the tomb of Pausanias** etc. "A fine sepulchral chamber of a square form, regularly constructed with large blocks, is situated nearly opposite the theatre, and a short distance from it. It has been opened, and the interior is composed of brick-work" (Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 404). This sepulchre seems now to have disappeared. As to the building popularly called the Tomb of Leonidas see above, p. 324 *sq.* It is too far from the theatre to answer to Pausanias's description of the site of the real tomb of Leonidas.

14. 1. **games are held.** As to games in honour of the dead see vol. 2. p. 549.

14. 1. **forty years.** See Critical Note on this passage, vol. 1. p. 576.

14. 2. **the graves of the Agid kings.** Prof. C. Wachsmuth, in *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 14 (1868), p. 3, argues that the graves of the Agiads (Agids) lay between the hills of Old Sparta and the river, and that the graves of the other royal house, the Eurypontids, lay away to the south, on the rising ground now occupied by New Sparta. Hence he infers that these two royal houses originally presided over two separate communities, settled at Old and New Sparta respectively, and that by the fusion of these two communities the Spartan state with its double kingship arose. All this is hardly more than pure hypothesis. The hypothesis, however, is accepted by Mr. G. Gilbert (*Studien zur altspartanischen Geschichte*, p. 60 *sq.*; *Griech. Staatsalterthümer*,[2] 1. p. 4 *sq.*)

14. 2. **the Pitanatians.** See note on iii. 16. 9.

14. 2. **Aeginaean Artemis.** Prof. S. Wide suggests that the epithet Aeginaean may be derived from *aix*, 'a goat,' and that it refers to the goats which were sacrificed to Artemis in various places (Preller, *Griech. Mythologie*,[4] 1. p. 302, note 4). See S. Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, p. 109.

14. 2. **Artemis Issora.** Plutarch (*Agesilaus*, 32) mentions "the Issorium, a place well fortified and difficult to storm, where is the

sanctuary of Artemis." And Polyaenus (ii. 1. 14) speaks of the place as "a hill sacred to Issorian Artemis, near Pitane." While the Theban army under Epaminondas was ravaging the country outside, a knot of disaffected Spartans seized this hill; but the conspiracy was quelled by Agesilaus (Plutarch and Polyaenus, *ll.cc.*) There was a festival called Issoria (Hesychius, *s.v.* Ἰσσωρία). Cp. Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Ἰσσώριον.

14. 2. **Britomartis of Crete. I have told her story** etc. See ii. 30. 3.

14. 3. **Chionis.** His first, second, and third Olympic victories were won in the years 668, 664, and 660 B.C. See iv. 23. 4 and 10; viii. 39. 3. There was a tablet at Olympia inscribed with a record of his victories (vi. 13. 2).

14. 3. **Battus of Thera in his expedition** etc. See Herodotus, iv. 150 *sqq.*

14. 3. **Cyrene.** See Smith and Porcher, *Discoveries at Cyrene;* F. B. Goddard, 'Researches in the Cyrenaica,' *American Journal of Philology*, 5. pp. 31-53.

14. 5. **the sanctuary at Hermion.** See ii. 35. 4 *sqq.*

14. 6. **the Course.** The Course (*Dromos*) seems to have been a park outside of the walls; for we are told that when the tyrant Nabis suspected some of the citizens of disaffection, he led out all the Lacedaemonians into the field or plain called the Course, and there disarmed them and arrested eighty of the ringleaders (Livy, xxxiv. 27).

14. 6. **Eurycles, a Spartan.** See ii. 3. 5 note.

14. 6. **Leader Artemis.** Compare viii. 37. 1; viii. 47. 6. Prof. Wide interprets Leader Artemis as the goddess who leads the souls of the dead to the spirit-land (*Lakonische Kulte*, p. 110 *sqq.*) He suggests that she was originally an independent goddess who was afterwards identified with Artemis. Near Asea in Arcadia a marble figure of a seated woman has been found bearing the inscription Ἀγημώ, *i.e.* 'Leader' (Roehl, *I. G. A.* No. 92). Cp. Preller, *Griech. Mythologie*,[4] 1. p. 306.

14. 7. **Alcon was a son of Hippocoon.** So too says Apollodorus (iii. 10. 5).

14. 7. **Poseidon of the House.** A Laconian inscription, which has been already referred to (note on iii. 13. 3), mentions a certain lady Damosthenia, who had been hereditary priestess of Domestic Carneus and Poseidon of the House (*C. I. G.* No. 1446).

14. 8. **The place where the lads fight is surrounded by a moat** etc. Compare Lucian, *Anacharsis*, 38: "And remember, if you ever come to Lacedaemon, not to laugh at them nor to fancy that they labour in vain when they come to blows with each other in the theatre about a ball, or when, entering a place surrounded by water, they divide into two troops, the troop of Lycurgus and the troop of Hercules, and thereupon attack each other until the one side drives the other side out of bounds by pushing them into the water; for after that there is peace between them and no blow is struck." To this combat in Plane-tree Grove Cicero refers when he says, "I have myself seen troops of lads

fighting with incredible fury—striking, kicking, scratching, biting, and dying rather than confess themselves beaten" (*Tuscul. Disput.* v. 27. 77). The passage of Lucian, taken together with the present passage of Pausanias, seems to show that on one of the two bridges leading into the island there was a statue of Lycurgus, and on the other bridge a statue of Hercules, and that the two troops were named respectively after the one or the other of the statues, according to the bridge by which they entered the arena. Accordingly in the text we should read ἐφ' ἑκατέρᾳ with Buttmann instead of the MS. reading ἐφ' ἑκάτερα. The translation will then run: "On one of the two bridges there is an image of Hercules, and on the other a statue of Lycurgus."

14. 9. the Phoebaeum. The Phoebaeum was not far from Therapne, as we learn from Pausanias (cp. iii. 20. 2), who is confirmed by Herodotus (vi. 61). It was one of the places from which the Romans attacked Sparta in 195 B.C. (Livy, xxxiv. 38).

14. 9. sacrifices a puppy to Enyalius. The Spartan sacrifice of puppies to Enyalius is mentioned also by Plutarch (*Quaestiones Romanae*, 111). Dogs were sacrificed to the war-god by the Carians (Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* ii. 29, p. 25, ed. Potter; cp. [Plutarch,] *Proverb. Alexandr.* 73).

14. 9. a black female puppy. On the colour and sex of the victims sacrificed by the Greeks see P. Stengel, in *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 32 (1886), pp. 321-331; *id.*, *Die griech. Sakralaltertümer*, §§ 80, 81.

15. 3. the fight with Hippocoon and his sons etc. See Apollodorus, ii. 7. 3; Diodorus, iv. 33; Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 90.

15. 3. to be purified after the murder of Iphitus. Iphitus, searching for some lost mares and mules, came to the house of Hercules, who entertained him hospitably and then treacherously murdered him (Homer, *Od.* xxi. 22 *sqq.*) According to Apollodorus (ii. 6. 2), Hercules in a fit of madness killed Iphitus by hurling him from the walls of Tiryns. Thereupon (continues Apollodorus) Hercules went to Neleus, king of Pylus, to be purified; but Neleus refusing to purify him, Hercules betook himself to Amyclae, where he was purified by Deiphobus, son of Hippolytus. But as he still suffered from a grievous malady on account of the murder, Hercules next repaired to Delphi, where he was informed by the oracle that he would be healed of the disease if he allowed himself to be sold into slavery, and served three years as a bondman, and paid a bloodwit to Eurytus, the father of the murdered Iphitus. Cp. note on ii. 7. 7.

15. 7. an ancient image of Enyalius in fetters. For other examples of fettered images see below, § 11; viii. 41. 6; ix. 38. 5. The images of Dionysus in Chios, and of Artemis at Erythrae, were fettered (Polemo, referred to by Schol. on Pindar, *Olymp.* vii. 95). The feet of Saturn's image at Rome were fastened with woollen bands, which were only taken off at the Saturnalia (Macrobius, *Sat.* i. 8. 5; Minucius Felix, 22. 5; Arnobius, iv. 24; Statius, *Sylv.* i. 6. 4). The people of Tyre are said to have kept their gods in bonds (Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 61). When Tyre was besieged by Alexander the Great, one of the Tyrians dreamed that he saw Apollo deserting the city. So the Tyrians chained

the image of Apollo to the altar of Hercules (Melcarth) with a golden chain (Curtius Rufus, iv. 3. § 15). In Burma there are two images of Buddha which are said to have been formerly shackled. One of them is at Pegu, from which it is said to have once run away. The other is at Mandalay; it was brought from Arakan in 1784, and the people are afraid it will return thither (R. C. Temple, in *Folk-lore*, 4 (1893), p. 249). The general intention of chaining up a god is to prevent him deserting or being lured away by the enemy. When the Romans sat down to besiege a city they used to invite the guardian gods of the enemy to come over to their side, assuring them of good treatment. And the name of the guardian god of Rome was kept a profound secret, lest the enemies of Rome should similarly entice him away. See Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxviii. 18, cp. *id.*, iii. 65; Macrobius, *Sat.* iii. 9. 2 *sq.*; Servius on Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 351; Livy, v. 21; Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 61; Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, iv. 50. So when the Tahitians were besieging a fortress, they used to take the finest mats, cloth, etc., as near the ramparts as they could go with safety; then they would hold them up and offer them to the gods of the enemy, tempting them to come over to the side of the besiegers. The besieged, on the other hand, made the best show they could of all their property to induce the gods to stay. See Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, 1. p. 316, cp. 280 (ed. 1832). It is probable that the intention of keeping the temple of Janus closed in peace and open in war, was to detain the war-god in custody till he was wanted to go out and fight the battles of Rome. So Virgil seems to have explained the custom (*Aeneid*, i. 293 *sqq.*, vii. 611 *sqq.*) When the Alfoers of Halmahera (a large island to the west of New Guinea) are going to war, they catch their war-god (he lives in the forest), shut him up in a basket, and carry him with them to battle. After the battle they let him out of the basket on parole. See *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde*, 27 (1882), p. 447 *sq.*; *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde van Neerlandsch Indie*, 4de volg. 8 (1884), p. 183 *sq.* This may explain Homer's story (*Iliad*, v. 385 *sqq.*) that Otus and Ephialtes kept Ares shut up in a brazen pot for thirteen months. Cp. *Classical Review*, 2 (1888), p. 222. But this need not be the universal explanation of chained idols. In the ruins of the temple of Mandoot in Java there are two huge female figures, one of which is bound to the altar on which it rests by a chain carved out of the stone; the other figure is nailed through the thigh. The story is that they were the two jealous wives of the god Slambey, who punished them in this way for following him to the war. See W. B. D'Almeida, *Life in Java*, 2. p. 171 *sq.* Again, when a god is mischievous, it is deemed well to keep him a close prisoner. In Samoa there was a certain temple called "the house of the gods." It was carefully shut up all round, because "if it was not so, the gods would get out and in too easily, and be all the more destructive" (Turner, *Samoa*, p. 53). At Vailala in New Guinea rain, thunder, and lightning are supposed to be the work of a god called Semese. Hence, when the people are going to have a great feast, Semese's temple is shut up and the god kept a prisoner inside till the feast is over. Then the door is opened and the

god is free to go and thunder, lighten, and rain as much as he likes. See Chalmers and Gill, *Work and Adventure in New Guinea*, p. 152.

15. 7. the Athenians have a notion about the Victory called Wingless etc. See i. 22. 4 note.

15. 9. the only Greeks who surname Hera Goat-eating. Elsewhere I have shown grounds for believing that whenever a deity is called the eater of a certain animal, that animal was originally an embodiment of the deity in question (*The Golden Bough*, 1. p. 328). In the case of Hera this is confirmed by a representation of her wearing a goat's skin, with the head and horns of the goat as a head-dress, and the rest of the skin dangling about her. See Muller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, 1. pl. lix. 299 b. Pausanias is wrong in saying that the Lacedaemonians were the only Greeks who sacrificed goats to Hera. We have seen (note on ii. 3. 6) that goats were sacrificed to Hera of the Height at Corinth.

15. 10. Teleclus. I shall mention him hereafter etc. See iv. 4. 2 *sq.*; iv. 31. 3.

15. 10. armed Aphrodite. Cp. ii. 5. 1; iii. 23. 1. A Laconian inscription (*C. I. G.* No. 1444) mentions a certain Pomponia who had been hereditary priestess of Armed Aphrodite and of many other deities. The Spartan worship of the Armed Aphrodite is mentioned by Plutarch (*Instit. Lacon.* 28). The goddess seems to have been represented with a spear, shield, and helmet (Plutarch, *De fortuna Romanorum*, 4; *Anthol. Palat.* Appendix Planudea, 176). Roman schoolboys wrote essays on the question, Why is Venus represented as armed in Lacedaemon? (Quintilian, *Inst. Or.* ii. 4. 26). An absurd answer to the question is given by Lactantius (*Divin. Inst.* i. 20). In the Greek Anthology there are several epigrams on the Armed Aphrodite of Sparta (Appendix Planudea, 173-176). The type of the Armed Aphrodite is supposed to be of Phoenician origin. A gloss in Hesychius (ἐγχεῖος· Ἀφροδίτη· Κύπριοι) is thought to show that this type of the goddess occurred in Cyprus, and according to Prof. Curtius "the recent discoveries in Cyprus (of no less importance to the history of religion than to that of art) have even brought to light, among the numerous varieties of the native deity, some excellent examples of a helmeted type" (*Religious Character of Greek Coins*, p. 14; *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 2. p. 453). Cp. Welcker, *Griechische Götterlehre*, 2. p. 708; Bernoulli, *Aphrodite*, pp. 58, 424; P. Gardner, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 2 (1881), p. 329 *sq.*; K. Tümpel, 'Ares und Aphrodite,' *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*, Supplementband 11 (1880), pp. 653 *sq.*, 660 *sq.*; S. Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, p. 136 *sqq.* Cp. note on ii. 20. 8.

15. 10. the only temple I know that has an upper story etc. We may compare the two churches of the Franciscan monastery at Assisi, built one above the other, and adorned with the frescoes of Giotto and Cimabue. The great Byzantine church of St. Luke at Stiris in Phocis is built over a crypt, which is the church of St. Barbara (see note on x. 35. 8).

15. 11. Morpho is a surname of Aphrodite etc. Cp. Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 449; Hesychius, *s.v.* Μορφώ.

16. 1. a sanctuary of Hilaira and Phoebe —— Leucippides. Cp. ii. 22. 5; iv. 31. 9 and 12. Plutarch mentions the sanctuary of the Leucippides at Sparta, and says that beside it there was a shrine of Ulysses (*Quaestiones Graecae*, 48). A Greek inscription of Roman date, found at Sparta, mentions a priest of the Leucippides and of the Tyndarids (Cauer, *Delectus Inscr. Graec.*[2] No. 36). As to the Leucippides in ancient literature and art, see S. Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, p. 327 *sqq.*; Kuhnert, art. 'Leukippiden,' in Roscher's *Lexikon*, 2. p. 1988 *sqq.*

16. 1. the author of the epic called the Cypria. See note on x. 26. 1.

16. 1. the famous egg. On representations of the egg of Leda in ancient art see Stephani in *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg) for 1861, pp. 137-140. Lobeck suggested that the egg seen by Pausanias may have been an ostrich egg (*Aglaophamus*, p. 52 note). On representations of Leda and the swan, see O. Jahn, *Archäologische Beiträge*, pp. 1-11; *Archäologische Zeitung*, 1865, plate cxcviii., with pp. 49-56. Stephani maintained that the bird in the original legend was not a swan but a goose (*Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg) for 1863, p. 23 *sq.*) The Syrian Aphrodite was said to have sprung from a great egg which fell from heaven into the river Euphrates. Some fish rolled the egg to the bank, and doves sat on it and hatched it. So the Syrians looked on fish and doves as gods and would not eat them. See Hyginus, *Fab.* 197. The Les of Hainan believe that they are all descended from an egg (B. C. Henry, *Ling-Nam*, p. 397). On the great egg which appears in various primitive cosmologies see Latham, *Descriptive Ethnology*, 1. p. 439 *sqq.*; A. Lang, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, 1. pp. 252, 316; Fr. Lukas, 'Das Ei als kosmogonische Vorstellung,' *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, 4 (1894), pp. 227-243.

16. 2. the women weave a tunic for the Apollo of Amyclae. On the custom of dressing images in real clothes see vol. 2. p. 574 *sqq.*

16. 3. silphium. The plant called silphium by the ancients, once the great staple of the trade of Cyrene, is now unknown, It is commonly represented on coins of Cyrene. See *e.g.* Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, plate ix. Nos. 29, 30; Head, *Coins of the Ancients*, iii. c. 44, iv. cc. 39-41, v. c. 42. Cp. Bähr on Herodotus, iv. 169. The process of weighing the bales of silphium and storing them in a magazine is represented on an archaic Greek vase. See Studniczka, *Cyrene*, p. 2; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1664.

16. 4. who sailed with Dorieus. See iii. 3. 10; iii. 4. 1; and on the Sicilian expedition of Dorieus see Herodotus, v. 43-48, vii. 158.

16. 6. a sanctuary for —— Lycurgus. Cp. Herodotus, i. 66; Strabo, viii. p. 366; Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 31; Nicolaus Damascenus, Fr. 57 (Müller's *Frag. hist. Graec.* 3. p. 390); Suidas, *s.v.* Λυκοῦργος. Annual sacrifices were also offered to Lycurgus as to a god (according to Plutarch) or as to a hero (according to Nicolaus Damascenus and Suidas). The 'god Lycurgus' is mentioned in Laconian inscriptions, together with the names of several officers (ἐπιμελητής, σύνδικος) connected with his worship (*C. I. G.* Nos. 1256, 1341, 1362). An ἐξηγητὴς τῶν Λυκουργείων is also mentioned in an inscription (*C. I. G.* No. 1364);

probably he was an official interpreter or expounder of the laws attributed to Lycurgus. Of late years the historical existence of Lycurgus has been called in question. Arguing from the fact of his worship at Sparta and from the composition of his name, some scholars have identified him with Lycaean (Wolfish) Zeus or Lycian (Wolfish) Apollo. See G. Gilbert, *Studien zur altspartanischen Geschichte*, pp. 80-120; v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *Homerische Untersuchungen*, pp. 267-285; Ed. Meyer, 'Die Entwickelung der Ueberlieferung über die lykurgische Verfassung,' *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. 41 (1886), pp. 560-591; *id.* 42 (1887), pp. 81-101; Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*,² i. p. 565 sqq.; S. Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, p. 281 *sqq.* Mr. Gelzer supposes that Lycurgus was the title of a line of priests, who regarded themselves as incarnations of Apollo, and who in virtue of their semi-divine character were able gradually to mould the Spartan polity into the shape in which we know it. See H. Gelzer, 'Lykurg und die delphische Priesterschaft,' *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. 28 (1873), pp. 1-55.

16. 6. **the Cleestonaeans.** No such people is known. The Greek text is probably corrupt.

16. 6. **Eurybiadas.** See Herodotus, viii. 2, 42, 74, 124.

16. 6. **the shrine of the hero Astrabacus.** The shrine stood at the gate of the palace of King Ariston, whose wife pretended that she had been visited by the hero in phantom shape, and that Astrabacus was the father of her son Demaratus (Herodotus, vi. 69). Astrabacus is mentioned again by Pausanias below (§ 9).

16. 7. **The place called Limnaeum.** Limnaeum means 'the marshy place.' Strabo says (viii. p. 363): "No part of the site (of Sparta) is marshy, but of old the suburb was marshy and they called it Limnae ('marshes'); and the sanctuary of Dionysus in Limnae rested on wet ground, but now it is on dry soil." Limnae was one of the quarters or wards of the city. See below, § 9 note.

16. 7. **The wooden image** etc. Cp. i. 33. 1; viii. 46. 3; and see below, note on § 8 'the image —— was afterwards presented' etc.

16. 8. **the Cappadocians on the Euxine claim to possess the image.** According to Strabo (xii. p. 535) and Dio Cassius (xxxvi. 13) the image of the Tauric Artemis was supposed to be at Comana in Cappadocia. Comana was far from the Euxine; but the Cappadocians on the coast of the Euxine may very well have set up a rival claim to the possession of the famous image. Cappadocia extended to the coast of the Euxine, according to Ptolemy (v. 6), though not according to Strabo. See Smith's *Dict. of Geography*, article 'Cappadocia.'

16. 8. **Artemis Anaeitis.** For inscriptions of Asia Minor in which Anaeitis is mentioned see *Bulletin de Corresp. Hellénique*, 1880, p. 128; *ib.* 1884, p. 376; *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 10 (1889), p. 226.

16. 8. **the image —— was afterwards presented by Seleucus to the Syrians of Laodicea.** According to Porphyry (*De abstin.* ii. 56) a virgin was formerly sacrificed every year to Athena at Laodicea; but a deer was afterwards substituted. This Athena was probably the goddess whom Pausanias calls Artemis. It is likely that she was neither Artemis

nor Athena, but the native Syrian goddess Astarte. Cp. W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*,[2] p. 466 *sq.* Still Seleucus may perfectly well have identified her with Artemis and presented to the city the old Greek image of Artemis which had once stood at Brauron. Prof. C. Robert (*Archäologische Märchen*, p. 146 *sqq.*) thinks that the story of the removal of the Brauronian image by the Persians was a mere fiction devised not earlier than the time of Seleucus in order to give historical interest to the image of Artemis which Seleucus presented to Laodicea. He supposes that the old image must still have been at Brauron when Euripides wrote the *Iphigenia in Tauris*, since Euripides makes no mention of the loss of the image. It is hard to see why Euripides should have mentioned it; for to have done so would have served no dramatic purpose and would only have reminded the Athenians of their shame. Some coins of Laodicea bear an archaic figure of Artemis (Fig. 48). She wears the 'modius' or 'polos' on her head, a long tunic and upper garment; in one hand she holds aloft an axe, in the other she has a round buckler. A stag stands on each side of her, making it certain that the goddess is Artemis. The axe which she holds in her hand is not the double axe, but "an axe of the form of a socketed celt." This figure on the coins of Laodicea is doubtless a copy of the image presented by Seleucus to the city, whether that image was the Brauronian one or not. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 57 *sq.*, plate N xi. xii.



FIG. 48. — ARTEMIS (COIN OF LAODICEA IN SYRIA).

16. 9. **the Spartan Limnatians, the Cynosurians, and the people of Mesoa and Pitane.** Limnae or Limnaeum, Cynosura, Mesoa, and Pitane, seem to have been the quarters or wards of Sparta, the inhabitants of each quarter forming a local tribe. Originally they were probably separate villages (cp. Thucydides, i. 10), which gradually grew into a single city and were enclosed at a later time by regular city-walls. These quarters of the city seem to have had their own subdivisions; see Paus. iii. 14. 2. Pitane appears to have been the aristocratic quarter (Plutarch, *De exilio*, 6). Herodotus speaks of it (iii. 55) as a township or parish (deme). See also Herodotus, ix. 53; Thucydides, i. 20; Athenaeus, i. p. 31 c; Hesychius, *s.v.* Πιτανάτης στρατός; Polyaenus, ii. 14. 1; Strabo, viii. pp. 363 and 364; Stephanus Byzant. *s.v.* Μέσσοα; *C. I. G.* Nos. 1241, 1243, 1338, 1347, 1377, 1386, 1425, 1426; K. O. Müller, *Die Dorier*,[2] 2. p. 44 *sqq.*; G. Gilbert, *Griech. Staatsalterthümer*,[2] 1. p. 43 *sq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 175 *sqq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 227; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 121.

16. 10. **scourging the lads.** Spartan lads often died under the scourge (Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 18; Lucian, *Anacharsis*, 38). Before coming forward to be scourged, the lads had to go through a course of bodily training (Hesychius, *s.v.* φουάξιρ). Although tradition averred that the scourging of the youths was instituted as a substitute for human sacrifice, analogy suggests that it was simply one of those cruel ordeals which among savage tribes youths have to undergo on attaining to

manhood. For example among the Bechuanas no lad may marry till he has gone through the initiatory ceremony called *boguera*. The ceremony is performed upon a number of lads together. They live for six or eight months in huts erected in a secluded spot. They are scourged frequently and mercilessly, and they "make it a point of honour to affect absolute impassibility, and the greater number display a stoicism which would have been admired at Lacedaemon, at the feasts of Diana [Artemis] Orthia." Blood spouts from their backs under the switches, and the marks remain deep and broad for life. In other respects the training of these young blacks resembles that of the Spartan youths. During the *boguera* they are allowed no flesh meat except what they can steal; if they are caught stealing "they are beaten unmercifully for their clumsiness, while a successful foray is regarded as deserving of all praise." They are trained to endure cold and hunger, and are daily practised in the use of arms. After the *boguera* they are divided into bands under leaders, and hunt antelopes, gazelles, buffaloes, elephants, etc. See Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*, p. 146 *sq.*; Casalis, *The Basutos*, p. 263 *sq.*; John Mackenzie, *Ten Years north of the Orange River*, p. 375 *sqq.*; E. Holub, *Sieben Jahre in Süd-Afrika*, 1. p. 483 *sqq.*; James Macdonald, 'Manners, customs, superstitions, and religions of South African tribes,' *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 19 (1890), p. 268 *sq.*; *id.*, *Light in Africa*, p. 157. With all this may be compared the training of the Spartan youths as described by Xenophon (*Reipub. Lacedaem.* 2-4) and Plutarch (*Lycurgus*, 16 *sqq.*) So among some Australian tribes at the initiatory ceremony called *Bora* the youths are all flogged severely by old men with strips of bark and have to endure in silence (W. Ridley, *Kamilaroi and other Australian Languages*, p. 154). Among the Kolosh of Alaska young men used to be severely beaten with supple rods (A. Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer*, p. 251). Among savage tribes girls at puberty have also to undergo various initiatory ceremonies; among some tribes of Brazil and British Guiana the girls on these occasions are lashed by their friends and relatives so severely that they sometimes die under the rod: "it is considered an offence to the parents not to strike hard." See A. R. Wallace, *Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro*, p. 496 (p. 345 of the reprint in the Minerva Library); Schomburgk, *Reisen in Britisch Guiana*, 2. p. 315 *sq.*; Martius, *Zur Ethnographie Amerika's*, p. 644. The tortures undergone at initiation by the young men of the Mandan Indians are familiar from the descriptions and sketches of Catlin (*Letters and Notes etc. on the North American Indians*, 1. p. 157 *sqq.*) Probably, as I have suggested elsewhere (*The Golden Bough*, 2. p. 233 *sq.*), these ordeals were originally instituted, not as tests of endurance, but as religious purifications. Among primitive peoples beating is certainly practised as a healing and purifying ceremony, without any idea of punishing or testing the endurance of the sufferer. See *The Golden Bough*, 2. pp. 149 *sq.*, 187, 213-217, 233 note 3.

16. 10. **the image grows so heavy** etc. This mode of divination by weight is very widespread. Among the Greeks themselves we are told that women who desired the divine guidance on some matter used

to repair to a sanctuary, and there lifting up a clod or a stone judged of the answer to their question by the apparent weight of the clod or stone; to some the clod or stone seemed light, to others so heavy that they could hardly stir it (Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* xiii. vol. 1. p. 241 ed. Dindorf). So among the Esquimaux a woman will tie a heavy stone to a strap, and twisting it about will judge of the answer of the goddess Sidné to her questions by the apparent increasure or diminution in the weight of the stone (Ch. F. Hall, *Narrative of the Second Arctic Expedition made by Ch. F. Hall*, edited by Prof. J. E. Nourse (Washington, 1879), p. 188, cp. p. 242). We are not told which was regarded as the favourable sign by Greek and Esquimaux women; but we may conjecture that the feeling of lightness was a good omen, the feeling of weight a bad one. At least this is the general rule, where a like mode of divination has prevailed. In regard to the Esquimaux this is directly stated by another observer. When they are sick they fasten a heavy stone to a stick; if they can lift it easily, they are sure of recovery. See *Recueil de Voyages au Nord* (Amsterdam, 1715), 2. p. 291 (p. 394 *sq.* of the Amsterdam edition of 1732). So when the Lapps lifted up the sacred stone which represented their god, if the stone seemed heavier than usual it was a sign that the god was angry; if it felt light, it was a sign he was propitious (Scheffer, *Lapponia* (Frankfurt, 1673), p. 115 *sq.*) In Samoa there was a war god Taema, who was believed to reside in a bundle of sharks' teeth done up in cloth. Before going to battle the people consulted the bundle. If it felt heavy, it was a bad omen; if light, it was a good one. See Turner, *Samoa*, p. 55. On the ascent to Mandalay Hill, in Burma, there is a little chapel in which there is a flat, oval stone, with mystic characters inscribed on it. People consult the stone as to the issue of a journey or enterprise. If the stone is heavy, the omen is bad. Again at Nyoung Oo, in Burma, there is a twisted stone which sick people try to lift. If they can do so, they will recover; if not, they will die. See Shway Yoe, *The Burman*, 1. p. 287; Bastian, *Die Völker des östlichen Asien*, 2. p. 76. In some parts of Loango (West Africa) there are certain iron hammers; a woman who desires to have children will try to lift one of these hammers. If she can do so easily, she will have a child. If she cannot move it, she will have none. See Bastian, *Die deutsche Expedition an der Loango-Küste*, 1. p. 269. On the other hand, the king of Gowa in Celebes deems it a very bad omen if certain golden chains weigh a fraction less than they weighed the year before (B. F. Matthes, *Einige Eigenthümlichkeiten in den Festen und Gewohnheiten der Makassaren und Buginesen* (Leyden, 1884), p. 21).

16. 10. **it was found in a thicket of willows** etc. A very similar legend was told of the image of Hera at Samos. Some Tuscan pirates carried it off, but finding that their ship could not move with the image on board they placed it on shore again. Here it was discovered by some people sent to look for it. They set it against a willow-tree and twined the longest willow branches round it. In this state the image was found by the priestess. The Carian custom of wearing crowns of willow was explained by this legend. See Athenaeus, xv. p. 672 *sq.* Cp. Bötticher,

Der Baumkultus der Hellenen, pp. 29 *sq.*, 333 *sq.* These legends seem to show that the willow was sacred both to Artemis Orthia and to the Samian Hera. The oldest tree known to the Greeks was said to be the willow which grew in the sanctuary of Hera at Samos (Paus. viii. 23. 5).

17. 1. like the Cadmea at Thebes and the Larisa at Argos. It is a little strange to find the Cadmea classed with the Larisa as an example of a lofty citadel. It is rather a low tableland sloping away gently to the plain, very different in all respects from the steep, lofty, sharp-peaked Larisa.

17. 1. the highest of them they name the acropolis. This is probably the hill or eminence marked by the remains of the theatre. There would scarcely have been room upon the others for all the buildings described by Pausanias. This is the view of Prof. Curtius (*Pelop.* 2. p. 227), W. G. Clark (*Pelop.* p. 166 *sq.*), Vischer (*Erinnerungen*, p. 376), Bursian (*Geogr.* 2. p. 122 *sq.*), and Lolling (Baedeker,³ p. 264). Leake thought (*Morea*, 1. p. 173 *sq.*) that the acropolis was the smaller eminence to the north of the theatre hill. To the present writer that eminence appeared to be higher than the theatre-hill; and so thought Gell (*Journey in the Morea*, p. 330). W. G. Clark, however, judged the contrary (*Pelop.* p. 166). But even if the northern hill is the higher, we cannot be sure that it was included within the limits of Sparta.

17. 2. Protectress of the City. She is mentioned in a dedicatory inscription, found at *Mistra*, recording the equestrian victories of one Damonon. See Roehl, *I. G. A.* No. 79; Cauer, *Delectus Inscr. Graec.*[2] No. 17; Roberts, *Greek Epigraphy*, No. 264.

17. 2. She of the Brazen House. The sanctuary of Athena of the Brazen House at Sparta was famous. Most ancient writers refer to it as a precinct or sanctuary simply, but some of them speak of a temple of the goddess (Polybius, iv. 35; Plutarch, *Parallela*, 10; Pausanias here and iv. 15. 5). The precinct certainly contained a small building with a roof and door; for in this building the royal traitor Pausanias took sanctuary and, being walled up in it, was starved to death (Thucydides, i. 134; cp. Diodorus, xi. 45; Polyaenus, viii. 51; Lycurgus, *In Leocr.* 128; Plutarch, *Parallela*, 10). We hear of other persons taking sanctuary within the precinct (Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 5; *id.*, *Agis*, 11; *id.*, *Apophthegm. Lacon.*, *Lycurg.* 11). There was an altar in it on which sacrifices were offered (§ 7 below; Plutarch, *Apophthegm. Lacon.*, *Agesil.* 8; Apostolius, ix. 22). The precinct must have been of some extent, for we read of troops being ordered to muster in it (Polybius, iv. 22). At a certain sacrifice it was the custom for the Spartan soldiers to march in procession to the precinct, where the ephors superintended the sacrifice (Polybius, iv. 35). Solemn oaths were sometimes sworn in the sanctuary (Plutarch, *Apophthegm. Lacon.*, *Archid.* 6). Lycurgus is said to have set up an image of Athena Optilletis in the precinct (Plutarch, *Apophthegm. Lacon.*, *Lycurg.* 7). In it, too, was a picture of Famine, represented as a pale gaunt woman with her hands tied behind her back (Polyaenus, ii. 15). The Messenian hero Aristomenes is said to have secretly dedicated in the precinct a shield inscribed with a taunt to the Spartans (Paus. iv. 15. 5; Polyaenus, ii. 31. 3). We hear of the

sanctuary having been once robbed (Plutarch, *De garrulitate*, 14). The Goddess of the Brazen House is mentioned by Aristophanes (*Lysistrata*, 1300, 1320).

Though Pausanias tells us here that the temple was made of bronze (cp. x. 5. 11), and Livy (xxxv. 36) speaks of the bronze temple of Athena (cp. Suidas, *s.v.* χαλκίοικος), it is probable that the building was merely lined with bronze plates, like the so-called Treasury of Atreus at Mycenae (above, p. 126). We must similarly interpret the statement of Pausanias (vi. 19. 2) that two chambers in the treasury of the Sicyonians at Olympia were made of bronze. The practice of lining buildings with plates of bronze or copper prevailed in Assyria, from which Mr. A. S. Murray believes that it was borrowed by the Greeks at an early period. He says: "That the younger country had, in fact, learned from the older, may be demonstrated from the circumstance that whereas in Assyria the habit of plating wooden structures with copper was founded on utility and doubtless was evolved under necessity, from the scarcity of a durable and resisting material like marble or stone; in Greece, on the other hand, copper plating was applied to walls of stone, which, from their massiveness and durability, have fairly withstood all the effects of time and barbarism from near the Homeric times till now. There was thus no obvious utility in the process, and for this reason no sufficient motive for the independent invention of it in Greece" (*History of Greek Sculpture*,[2] 1. p. 38). At Balawat, in Assyria, Mr. Rassam discovered some bronze plates which had been attached to the wooden gates of two large edifices built by Shalmaneser II. between 859 and 824 B.C. These bronze plates, now in the British Museum, are adorned with long belts of figures sculptured in relief, representing the king's campaigns and victories. See Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 2. p. 620 *sqq.* Probably the reliefs, described by Pausanias, in the temple of Athena of the Brazen House, were similarly arranged in bands which ran round the walls. Mr. A. S. Murray thinks it probable that "the original idea of long narrow strips of bas-relief, such as are associated chiefly with the friezes of Greek temples, grew out of the system of covering and ornamenting walls with plates of copper" (*op. cit.* 1. p. 39). It has been suggested, however, that the reliefs in the temple of Athena of the Brazen House were not on the walls but on the statue of the goddess. For on Lacedaemonian coins of the reign of Gallienus (Fig. 49) there is figured an archaic Athena, helmeted, holding lance and shield, while the lower part of her body from the waist downwards is surrounded by horizontal parallel bands adorned with reliefs. This figure is supposed by some to be a copy of Athena of the Brazen House. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 58, with pl. N xiii. The elaborate reliefs sculptured on the garment of the colossal statue which was found a few years ago at Lycosura (see note on viii. 37. 3), lend some support to the view that the reliefs here



FIG. 49.—ATHENA (COIN OF LACEDAEMON).

described by Pausanias were on the image rather than on the walls. But on the whole the other view (that they were on the walls) is the more probable. As to these reliefs see W. Klein, in *Archaeologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn*, 9 (1885), p. 169 *sq.*; A. S. Murray, *History of Greek Sculpture*,[2] 1. pp. 38, 88; Collignon, *Hist. de la Sculpture Grecque*, 1. p. 229; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. p. 71 *sqq.* As to the date of Gitiades, the sculptor who wrought the reliefs and the image of the goddess, see note on iii. 18. 7.

17. 2. **the spoils of Aphidna.** See i. 17. 5 note; ii. 22. 6.

17. 3. **the rape of the daughters of Leucippus.** On representations of this legend in ancient art see Bursian, 'Raub der Leukippiden,' *Archäologische Zeitung*, 1852, pp. 433-444, with plates xli. xlii.; Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1885, p. 121, with pl. 5; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 162 *sq.*; Kuhnert, in Roscher's *Lexikon*, 2. p. 1993 *sqq.*

17. 3. **Hephaestus —— unloosing his mother** etc. See i. 20. 3.

17. 3. **the nymphs are giving him the cap and the shoes.** This subject is depicted on two vases in the British Museum. On one of them, a black-figured *amphora* of Chalcis (No. 584), Perseus is represented as a young man armed with a sword and moving to the left. Three nymphs are coming to meet him; the first carries the winged shoes, the second the cap, and the third the wallet. Behind Perseus is Athena. On the other vase, a red-figured cratera (No. 1686), Perseus is depicted as a bearded man wearing a pointed cap and armed with a spear and an Argolic shield. He is standing between two nymphs, of whom the one is presenting him with the scimitar and winged shoes, the other is offering him a goblet. See Fr. Knatz, *Quomodo Persei fabulam artifices Graeci et Romani tractaverint* (Bonnae, 1893), p. 14. The cap made him invisible whenever he put it on (Apollodorus, ii. 4. 2). The cap of invisibility and the shoes of swiftness occur often in fairy tales, for example in a Kalmuck story. See B. Jülg, *Kalmükische Märchen*, p. 12; cp. Steel and Temple, *Wide-awake Stories*, p. 37; and in general W. A. Clouston, 'Invisible caps and cloaks: shoes of swiftness' etc., *Popular Tales and Fictions*, 1. p. 72 *sqq.*

17. 4. **Lysander —— his two battles.** See ix. 32. 6 *sq.*

17. 5. **to the melody of flutes and the harping of lyres and lutes.** Thucydides (v. 70), Aristotle (quoted by Aulus Gellius, i. 11), and Plutarch (*Lycurgus*, 21) speak of flutes only.

17. 6. **the parts have been hammered separately** etc. "The most conspicuous instance of this process at present known is a bronze bust found in the Polledrara tomb at Vulci in Etruria, and now in the British Museum, with which were discovered several porcelain vases bearing incorrect imitations of Egyptian hieroglyphics, and a porcelain scarab with the cartouche of Psammetichos I. (early part of seventh century B.C.)" (Murray, *History of Greek Sculpture*,[2] 1. p. 40 note).

17. 6. **Clearchus of Rhegium.** This artist is mentioned only by Pausanias here and vi. 4. 4. Brunn inclined to place the active period of Clearchus's life between 540 B.C. and 500 B.C. (*Geschichte der griech.*

Künstler, i. p. 50). On Dipoenus and Scyllis, his reputed masters, see note on ii. 15. 1.

17. 6. **what is called the Scenoma.** Prof. Curtius has suggested (*Pelop.* 2. p. 313) that this may be the 'small building' mentioned by Thucydides (i. 134) as the place in which King Pausanias took refuge.

17. 7. **Pausanias —— his history** etc. See Thucydides, i. 128-134; Diodorus, i. 44 *sq.* Cp. Duncker, *Abhandlungen aus der griech. Geschichte*, pp. 62-86; H. Landwehr, 'Der Process des Pausanias,' *Philologus*, 49 (1890), pp. 493-506.

17. 7. **what I heard from a man of Byzantium.** A story substantially identical with what follows is told by Plutarch (*Cimon*, 6, and *De sera num. vind.* 10). But see the next note.

17. 9. **he had recourse to the wizards at Phigalia.** According to Plutarch (*Cimon*, 6; *De sera num. vind.* 10) it was at Heraclea that Pausanias visited the necromancers and "by certain propitiatory rites and libations called up the soul of the girl," who appeared to him, and in dark language hinted at his approaching death. There were various places in Greece where the souls of the dead were summoned up and interrogated, as the ghost of Samuel was brought up by the witch of Endor. The Greeks called such places 'oracles of the dead,' 'soul-conjuring places' (νεκυομαντεῖον, ψυχομαντεῖον, ψυχοπομπεῖον). There was one in Thesprotia, near the river Acheron, where Periander had the ghost of his murdered wife Melissa conjured up and questioned (Herodotus, v. 92; see vol. 2. p. 161). There was an oracle of the dead at Taenarum (Plutarch, *De sera num. vind.* 17); and it is said that there was anciently one at the Lake Avernus in Italy (Diodorus, iv. 22; Strabo, v. p. 244). Cp. P. Stengel, *Die griechische Sakralalterthümer*, § 51; Bouché-Leclerq, *Histoire de la divination*, 3. p. 363 *sqq.* According to Plutarch (*Consolat. ad Apoll.* 14) the regular mode of consulting such oracles was to offer a sacrifice and then go to sleep in the holy place; the soul of the dead person thereupon appeared to the sleeper in a vision and gave him his answer. But sometimes, perhaps, the credulous were deluded by phantoms raised by the jugglery of the necromancers. Hippolytus has described in detail the tricks by which the ancient magicians raised spectral apparitions in the dark. See his *Refut. omnium haeres.* iv. 32 *sq.* 35 *sq.*; and cp. the words of Procopius cited in R. Kühner's note on Cicero, *Tuscul. Disput.* i. 16. 37.

17. 9. **at the bidding of the Delphic oracle the Lacedaemonians** etc. Plutarch tells us (*De sera num. vind.* 17) that the Lacedaemonians, being commanded by an oracle to appease the soul of Pausanias, fetched necromancers from Italy, who by their sacrifices "dragged away the ghost from the sanctuary" which it was haunting (ἀπεσπάσαντο τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸ εἴδωλον).

17. 9. **a spirit called Epidotes.** The epithet Epidotes ('bountiful') is elsewhere applied to Sleep (ii. 10. 2), to Zeus (viii. 9. 2), and certain gods who are not defined (ii. 27. 6).

18. 1. **Aphrodite Ambologera** ('she who staves off old age'). According to Plutarch (*Quaest. Conviv.* iii. 6. 4. 2) in some of the

hymns to the gods there was a prayer, "Stave off old age, O fair Aphrodite."

18. 1. **images of Sleep and Death.** On the question how the ancients represented Death see Julius Lessing, *De mortis apud veteres figura*; C. Robert, *Thanatos* (Berlin, 1879); Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1728 *sqq.* As to Sleep see note on ii. 10. 2.

18. 1. **the lines in the Iliad.** The passage is *Il.* xiv. 231.

18. 2. **Athena Ophthalmitis.** Plutarch (*Lycurgus*, 11) gives the surname of the goddess as Optilitis (Ὀπτιλῖτις), adding that the Dorians of the district called eyes *optiloi.* He mentions another view, that Lycurgus did not lose the sight of his wounded eye, and that he dedicated the temple as a thank-offering for recovering the use of it. Cp. Plutarch, *Apophthegm. Lacon.*, *Lycurg.* 7. K. O. Müller (*Die Dorier*,[2] 1. p. 401) thought that Ophthalmitis means no more than 'sharp-sighted,' comparing the 'Sharp-sighted Athena' at Argos (ii. 24. 2). Those who see in Lycurgus only a god might compare the one-eyed Zeus on the Larisa at Argos (ii. 24. 3).

18. 3. **Ammon —— the Libyan oracle.** On the oasis and oracle of Ammon see Parthey, 'Das Orakel und die Oase des Ammon,' in the *Abhandlungen* of the Berlin Academy (Philosoph. histor. section), 1862, pp. 131-194; J. Dümichen, *Die Oasen der libyischen Wüste* (Strasburg, 1877); *Gazette Archéologique*, 1879, pp. 136 *sqq.*, 222 *sqq.*

18. 3. **when Lysander was besieging Aphytis** etc. See Plutarch, *Lysander*, 20.

18. 4. **Cnagian Artemis.** Welcker derived the epithet Cnagian from the Doric *knakos* (κνακός), 'tawny,' an epithet applied to a goat's skin by Theocritus (vii. 16; cp. iii. 5). Hence Welcker interpreted the Cnagian Artemis as Goat-Artemis. He explained similarly Cnacalesian Artemis at Caphyae (viii. 23. 3) and Cnaceatian Artemis near Tegea (viii. 53. 11). Artemis was certainly associated with the goat; on a silver medallion from Herculaneum her head appears between two leaping goats. But the correctness of Welcker's explanation of these epithets is doubtful. See Welcker, *Griechische Götterlehre*, 1. p. 591; *id.*, *Antike Denkmäler*, 2. pl. iii. 5; Preller, *Griechische Mythologie*,[4] 1. p. 302 *sq.*; Schreiber, in Roscher's *Lexikon*, 1. p. 506; S. Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, p. 120.

18. 5. **I do not believe that there was a battle at Aphidna** etc. See i. 17. 4 *sq.*

18. 6. **Amyclae.** Polybius says (v. 19) that Amyclae was a place with fine trees and fine fruits, distant 20 furlongs to the south of Sparta; the precinct of Apollo at Amyclae was, he remarks, probably the most famous sanctuary in Laconia. Excavations conducted in 1890 by Mr. Tsountas for the Greek Archaeological Society have proved that this celebrated sanctuary occupied the conspicuous hill of *Hagia Kyriake* (St. Sunday), situated an hour to the south of Sparta and ten minutes west of the Eurotas. On the top of the hill there is a chapel of *Hagia Kyriake*, resting on ancient foundations; and many ancient architectural fragments are built into the walls. Mr. Tsountas excavated, for a distance of 113 yards, the remains of a massive wall which ran round the top of the hill

on its eastern and northern sides. This wall appears not to have been a fortification-wall, but to have been built to support the banked-up earth on the top of the hill. Hence it is only found on the northern and eastern sides of the hill, which are steep; whereas on the western and southern sides, where the slope is gentle, there is no trace of a wall. In places the wall is preserved to a height of over 6 feet. It is built of large and well-wrought stones, bonded with iron clamps, run with lead. The largest of the stones measure from 6 ft. 6. in to 7 ft. 6 in. in length by 2 ft. 3 in. in height. To the north-west of the chapel Mr. Tsountas discovered a semicircular foundation, which he believes to have been the foundation of the throne of Apollo, of which Pausanias has given us an elaborate description. The semicircular foundation is built of unhewn stones bonded with clay, and is, according to Mr. Tsountas, the oldest of all the walls discovered by him on the hill. The earth to the south-east of this semicircular foundation was found to be blackened as with fire; here were discovered some ashes and the bones of animals, including the horns of rams and the teeth of a cow. Hence the spot seems to have been a place of sacrifice. Among the objects found by Mr. Tsountas on the hill were fifteen fragments of roof-tiles, bearing the inscription (more or less mutilated) Ἀπόλλωνος ἐν Ἀμυκλαίοι ('of Apollo at the Amyclaean sanctuary'). These inscriptions prove that the site of the sanctuary of Apollo was on the hill. Some archaic bronze statuettes like those of Olympia, and some terra-cotta statuettes of women, like those of Mycenae, were also found.

In Pausanias's time Amyclae was a village (see 19. 6). It is supposed to have been situated in the plain to the south or south-west of the hill of *Hagia Kyriake*, at or near the villages of *Mahmoud-Bey* and *Sklavochori*, where there are some fragments of antiquity and inscriptions, particularly in the Byzantine chapels at *Sklavochori*.

The road from Sparta to Amyclae leads through a rich and fertile country, among groves of orange-trees, lemon-trees, fig-trees, and mulberries, and fields of maize, barley, and wheat.

See Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχ. Ἑταιρ. 1890, p. 36 *sq.*; Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1889, p. 131; *id.*, 1892, pp. 1-26; *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 15 (1890), p. 350 *sq.*; *American Journal of Archaeology*, 6 (1890), p. 568; Leake, *Morea*, 1. pp. 133-147; *id.*, *Pelop.* p. 162 *sqq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 245 *sqq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 381 *sqq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 129 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 290 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 257. In the neighbourhood of the *Hagia Kyriake* hill two prehistoric rock-cut tombs, like those of *Spata*, Nauplia, and Mycenae, were found a few years ago (Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1889, p. 131).

18. 6. a river Tiasa. This is sometimes identified with the *Magoula*, which skirts the new town of Sparta on the south. But the Tiasa may have been the modern *Panteleimon* further south, which Pausanias must also have crossed on his way from Sparta to Amyclae. The *Magoula* may have been the ancient Cnacion, one of the boundaries of Sparta (see Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 6). See Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 145; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 244; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 120; Baedeker,[3] p. 287. The Tiasa is called the Tiassus by Athenaeus (iv. p. 139 b).

18. 6. a sanctuary of the Graces, Phaenna and Cleta. Cp. ix.

35. 1. Not far from this sanctuary, on the banks of the river Tiasa, there was a sanctuary of Corythalian Artemis, to which nurses carried their infants to celebrate a certain festival. Huts were erected in the fields, beds of brushwood were made on the ground with rugs laid over them, and the people feasted on goat's flesh, cheese, beans, figs, loaves of a peculiar shape, etc. See Polemo, in Athenaeus, iv. p. 138 f-139 a b. Prof. S. Wide interprets the epithet Corythalian, applied to Artemis, as meaning 'she who makes children thrive' (*Lakonische Kulte*, p. 123 *sq.*)

18. 7. **bronze tripods** etc. This and the following section are beset by chronological difficulties. Pausanias speaks of five tripods, three dedicated from the spoils of the Messenian war, two from the spoils of Aegospotami. It is with regard to the three former that the difficulties arise. Elsewhere (iv. 14. 2) we are told that the three tripods in question were made from the spoils of the *first* Messenian war, and in the present passage we are told that the tripods were made by the artists Gitiadas and Callon. But the first Messenian war was concluded in 724 B.C., and Callon seems to have flourished about 500 B.C. (see note on ii. 32. 5). How is this apparent contradiction to be explained?

(1) Prof. Overbeck formerly suggested (*Geschichte der griech. Plastik*,[3] 1. p. 112) that the tripods may have been made and dedicated long after the war. This is hardly probable.

(2) Bursian, following Welcker, supposed that only the two tripods made by Gitiadas were dedicated from the spoils of the Messenian war, and that Pausanias made a mistake when he classed with them the tripod made by Callon. The date of Gitiadas is uncertain: all that we know about him is that he made these two tripods, and the temple and image of Athena of the Brazen House (Paus. iii. 17. 2). Bursian supposed that Gitiadas may have been at work immediately after the first Messenian war. See *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 2 (1856), p. 513.

(3) A third view is that Pausanias has confused the first Messenian war with the third, and that it was from the spoils of the latter (not of the former) that the tripods were made. The conclusion of the third Messenian war is variously dated 462 B.C. and 456 B.C. This was Brunn's view. He held that, as we should infer from Pausanias, the artists Callon and Gitiadas were contemporaries, and that Callon may still have been at work at the close of the third Messenian war. Schubart was also of opinion that Pausanias has mistaken the first for the third Messenian war.

(4) Prof. Overbeck now considers that Pausanias was mistaken in connecting the tripods with the Messenian wars at all. He holds that Gitiadas was a contemporary of Callon, and that he lived at the end of the sixth or the beginning of the fifth century B.C.

On the other hand Mr. Collignon inclines to assign Gitiadas to the first half of the sixth century B.C.

See Schubart in *Zeitschrift für Alterthumswissenschaft*, 8 (1850), p. 106 *sqq.*; Brunn, *Gesch. der griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 85 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Die Kunst bei Homer*, p. 48 *sqq.*; Immerwahr, *Die Lakonika des Pausanias*, p. 98 *sqq.*; W. Klein, in

Archaeologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn, 9 (1885), p. 169 *sq.*; Collignon, *Histoire de la Sculpture Grecque*, 1. p. 229 *sq.*; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. pp. 71 *sqq.*

18. 8. **Aristander of Paros.** It has been conjectured that this artist was the father of the famous Scopas. For in two inscriptions found at Delos mention is made of a Parian sculptor by name Aristander, son of Scopas. The Aristander of the inscriptions cannot be the Aristander here mentioned by Pausanias, since the inscriptions belong to a very much later date than 405 B.C., the date of the battle of Aegospotami. But as Greek family names are known to have often alternated from father to son, and the profession of artist was often hereditary, the Aristander of the inscriptions may have been a descendant of the Aristander who made the tripods, and the latter may have been the father of the great Scopas. The date of the tripods, which were made from the spoils of the battle of Aegospotami, would agree with this supposition.

For the inscriptions see *Bulletin de Corr. Hellénique*, 5 (1881), p. 462 *sq.*; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, Nos. 287, 288. On the supposed relation of Aristander to Scopas see Urlichs, *Skopas*, p. 3 *sqq.*; Murray, *Hist. of Greek Sculpture*, 2. p. 285; Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 319 note; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 2. pp. 14 *sq.*, 34.

18. 8. **Polyclitus of Argos.** It is doubtful whether this is the elder or the younger Polyclitus. Brunn and Urlichs decided for the younger. See Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 280; *id.*, 'Zur griech. Künstlergeschichte,' *Sitzungsberichte* of the Bavarian Academy, Munich, Philos. philol. Cl., November, 1880, p. 467; Urlichs, *Skopas*, p. 4; Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, No. 942; *id.*, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. p. 508; Collignon, *Hist. de la Sculpture Grecque*, 1. p. 486 *sq.*

18. 8. **These tripods are larger than the others** etc. By 'these tripods' Pausanias means us to understand two tripods under which stood the image of Sparta and the image of Aphrodite respectively. These two tripods, he says, were larger than the three which were made out of the spoils of the Messenian war.

18. 9. **Bathycles the Magnesian, who made the throne of the Amyclaean god.** Nothing is positively known about this artist beyond what Pausanias here tells us. It has been supposed, however, that he was a contemporary of Croesus. For we know that a present of gold sent by Croesus was employed by the Spartans to adorn the image of the Amyclaean Apollo (Paus. iii. 10. 8), and it has been conjectured that this 'adornment' of the image refers to the making of the throne. Moreover the artist was a Magnesian and his assistants were also Magnesians (§ 14 of this chapter); which suggests that they may have been sent by Croesus along with the gold. Another theory is that the conquest of Lydia by the Persians in the reign of Croesus may have driven this group of Magnesian artists to seek their fortunes abroad. On either theory Bathycles would have flourished about 550 B.C. This then would be the approximate date of the making of the throne.

The shape of the throne and the arrangement of the reliefs upon it

have to be gathered from the vague description of Pausanias. We have to remember that what the Greeks called a throne was simply a chair; and we must therefore picture to ourselves the Amyclaean throne as a colossal chair, the back and the lower parts of which were adorned with sculptures in relief. Various conjectural restorations of the throne have been proposed. In Mr. A. S. Murray's restoration the throne is represented, roughly speaking, as an arm-chair without legs, the seat resting immediately on the ground and the image of Apollo standing on the seat. But since Pausanias speaks of the supports of the throne (iii. 18. 10) and of going under the throne (iii. 19. 15), we must suppose that the seat was raised above the ground on supports resembling the legs of a chair. This view, as L. Stephani pointed out, is strongly supported by the device on some coins of Aenus (Fig. 50), which represents a regular throne or arm-chair with seat, back, arms, and legs, and a pillar-like image of Hermes, like the pillar-like Amyclaean Apollo, set upright on the seat (see P. Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, pl. xii. No. 9; Head, *Historia Nummorum*, p. 214 *sq.*) On the whole Prof. Furtwängler's ingenious and plausible restoration may be provisionally accepted (see Fig. 51). On this hypothesis the throne resembled a chair, or rather a seat for several persons, with a back and legs, but no



FIG. 50.—HERMES ON THRONE (COIN OF AENUS).



FIG. 51.—THE AMYCLAEAN APOLLO ON HIS THRONE (FURTWÄNGLER'S CONJECTURAL RESTORATION).

arms. The reliefs described by Pausanias in iii. 18. 10-13 were arranged in three horizontal rows, one above the other, on the back of the chair. Each of the scenes occupied a separate panel, and there

were nine panels in each of the three rows, the panels in the middle and at the ends of each row being larger than the others, because the scenes portrayed on them contained more figures. The reliefs described by Pausanias under the throne (iii. 18. 15 *sq.*) were placed on the cross-bars which connected the legs of the chair on all sides except the front, which seems to have been open. The seat proper of the chair was formed, not by slabs or planks fitted together, but by a row of horizontal cross-beams extending from the back to the front of the chair, with an empty space between each pair of beams. Each of these beams might be regarded as a seat in itself: the central beam was the broadest, and on it the image of the god stood (see iii. 19. 1). Immediately under this central beam was the tomb of Hyacinth, serving as a pedestal to support the central beam and the colossal image of Apollo (iii. 19. 4). Prof. Furtwängler supposes that the throne was of wood, and that the reliefs were wrought on plates of bronze, which were fastened into the wooden framework of the throne. He holds that the semicircular foundation discovered by Mr. Tsountas (see above, p. 349) was the foundation, not of the throne, but merely of the tomb of Hyacinth, which seems, from some remains, to have been constructed of marble. The tomb was doubtless far older than the throne; it may have been originally round, and have had its front cut away for the sake of symmetry when the colossal throne was erected over it.

See Quatremère-de-Quincy, *Le Jupiter Olympien* (Paris, 1815), pp. 196-210; Pyl's articles in *Archäologische Zeitung*, 10 (1852), pp. 465-476; *id.*, 11 (1853), pp. 137-144; also his articles in *Zeitschrift für Alterthumswissenschaft*, 1853, Nos. 1-6, 13-16, 25-29; Ruhl, in *Archäologische Zeitung*, 12 (1854), pp. 257-263; W. Watkiss Lloyd, in *Museum of Classical Antiquities*, 2 (1852), pp. 132-160; Welcker, 'Ueber das Zeitalter des Gitiadas,' *Kleine Schriften*, 3. pp. 533-549; Brunn, in *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. 5 (1847), p. 325 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Gesch. der griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 52 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Griechische Kunstgeschichte*, 1. pp. 178-182; L. Stephani, 'Parerga archaeologica,' in *Mélanges Greco-romaines tirés du Bulletin historico-philologique de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Petersbourg*, 1 (1849-1855), pp. 194-200; Overbeck, *Gesch. der griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. pp. 67-71; *id.*, in *Berichte über die Verhandl. d. k. sächs. Gesell. d. Wiss. zu Leipzig*, Philolog. histor. Cl. 44 (1892), pp. 10-25; A. S. Murray, *History of Greek Sculpture*,[2] 1. p. 89 *sqq.*; W. Klein, 'Bathykles,' *Archäologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn*, 9 (1885), pp. 145-191; E. Pernice, in *Jahrbuch des kais. deutsch. archäolog. Instituts*, 3 (1888), p. 369; Collignon, *Histoire de la Sculpture Grecque*, 1. pp. 230-232; A. Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, pp. 689-719.

18. 9. **Leucophryenian Artemis.** She was specially worshipped at Magnesia on the Maeander. See i. 26. 4 note; Preller, *Griech. Mythol.*[4] 1. p. 331. This makes it certain that the Magnesia to which Bathycles belonged was Magnesia on the Maeander.

18. 10. **reliefs representing Atlas** etc. Brunn thought it probable that Atlas was represented, not in a scene by himself, but as part of the foregoing group, watching the rape of his daughters Taygete and Alcyone (*Griech. Kunstgeschichte*, p. 179). This view is accepted by Prof. Overbeck (*Geschichte d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. p. 70), but rejected by Prof. Klein (*Archäolog.-epigraph. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn*, 9 (1885), p. 151). The language of Pausanias lends itself

more naturally to the view that Atlas was represented in a separate scene.

18. 10. **the single combat of Hercules with Cycnus.** Cp. i. 27. 6 note.

18. 10. **Pholus.** The legend ran that Hercules was hospitably entertained by the centaur Pholus in his cave on Mt. Erymanthus. But the other centaurs, attracted by the smell of the wine, came armed with rocks and pine-trees and attempted to force their way into the cave, till they were chased away by Hercules (Apollodorus, ii. 5. 4). On representations of Pholus and Hercules on vases see Stephani, in *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg) for 1873, p. 90 *sqq.* As Hercules's fight with a centaur was represented on another part of the throne (see below, § 16), Prof. Furtwängler suggests that in the present panel the scene depicted was not Hercules's combat with the centaurs at the cave of Pholus, but Pholus's hospitable entertainment of the hero (*Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, p. 709).

18. 11. **why Bathycles represented the Bull of Minos** etc. Theseus's adventure with the Minotaur was represented on another part of the throne (see § 16 of this chapter). Probably, therefore, Stephani is right in supposing that Pausanias here mistook the Marathonian bull for the Minotaur. For tradition always represented the Marathonian bull as led captive by Theseus, and the Minotaur as slain by him. See Stephani, 'Parerga archaeologica,' in *Mélanges Greco-romains* (St. Petersburg), 1. p. 129 *sqq.* Stephani's suggestion is accepted by Prof. W. Klein (*Archäolog.-epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn*, 9 (1885), p. 152) and Prof. A. Furtwängler (*Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, p. 709). As to the Marathonian bull see Paus. i. 27. 10 note.

18. 11. **a troop of Phaeacians dancing** etc. Prof. Klein conjectures that this group is wrongly described by Pausanias, and that it really represented the dance of the youths and maidens whom Theseus saved from the Minotaur, and that the figure whom Pausanias took to be Demodocus was Theseus himself (*Archäolog.-epigr. Mittheil. aus Oesterreich-Ungarn*, 9 (1885), p. 153). His view is accepted by Prof. Overbeck (*Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. p. 70).

18. 11. **Perseus, too, is represented slaying Medusa.** Lucian (*De domo*, 25) mentions a picture of Perseus cutting off Medusa's head. The subject is represented on many existing monuments of ancient art, especially reliefs and vase-paintings. On the archaic monuments Perseus, generally represented beardless, is seizing with his left hand Medusa, who is running away, while with his right hand he puts the knife or sword to her throat. On the later monuments Medusa, represented as a beautiful woman with naked breast, has fallen on her knees; Perseus, a young man with a mantle fluttering in the wind, attacks her from the spectator's left; with averted face he grasps her hair with his left hand, while with his right he puts the sword to her throat. On some of the later monuments Athena stands behind Perseus holding her shield so that Perseus may see the reflexion of Medusa in it, exactly as Lucian in another passage (*Dial. Marini*, xiv. 2) describes the deed as having been done. See Fr. Knatz, *Quomodo Persei fabulam artifices Graeci et*

Romani tractaverint (Bonnae, 1893), pp. 13-16, 54 *sq.*; G. Loeschcke, *Die Enthauptung der Medusa* (Bonn, 1894).

18. 11. **Tyndareus' fight with Eurytus.** This combat is otherwise unknown. Hence Mr. Pernice conjectured that Tyndareus was really represented as present at the rape of the daughters of Leucippus, who were carried off by Castor and Pollux, the sons of Tyndareus (*Jahrbuch d. arch. Inst.* 3 (1888), p. 368 *sq.*) This view was at first rejected but afterwards accepted by Prof. Overbeck. See *Berichte über die Verhandl. d. k. sächs. Gesell. d. Wiss. zu Leipzig*, Philolog. hist. Cl. 44 (1892), p. 19 *sq.*; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. p. 70.

18. 11. **Hermes is seen bearing the infant Dionysus.** The regular tradition, as recorded both in literature and in art, was that after his birth Dionysus was carried by Hermes, not to heaven, but to the nymphs to be reared by them. Probably, therefore, as Stephani has pointed out, Pausanias misinterpreted the relief. See Stephani, 'Parerga archaeologica,' in *Mélanges Greco-romaines* (St. Petersburg), 1. p. 150 *sqq.* On representations of the child Dionysus in the arms of Hermes see H. Heydemann, *Dionysos' Geburt und Kindheit* (Halle, 1885), p. 20 *sqq.*

18. 11. **Athena is leading Hercules to dwell thenceforward with the gods.** The same scene was represented on the altar (iii. 19. 5). Hence Prof. Furtwängler plausibly suggests that in the present panel the scene represented was Athena shaking hands with Hercules—a scene which is often depicted on the later black-figured and early red-figured vases (Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, p. 710; *id.*, in Roscher's *Lexikon*, 1. p. 2216; Welcker's *Antike Denkmäler*, 3. pl. v. 1). For representations on vases of Hercules led to heaven see *Annali*, 52 (1880), pp. 100-117; *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 5 (1884), p. 235 *sqq.*, with plate xli.

18. 12. **Cephalus is carried off by Day.** See i. 3. 1 note.

18. 13. **Anaxis and Mnasinus.** Cp. ii. 22. 5.

18. 13. **one horse is carrying Nicostratus and Megapenthes.** Prof. Klein is perhaps right in supposing that the artist intended to convey the impression that there were two horses, one for each rider, but that one of the two was hidden by the other (*Arch.-epigr. Mittheil. aus Oesterreich-Ungarn*, 9 (1885), p. 155).

18. 15. **Hercules slaying the sons of Actor.** See ii. 15. 1; v. 2. 1 *sq.*

18. 15. **Apollo and Artemis are shooting arrows at Tityus.** The same subject was represented in a group of statuary at Delphi. See x. 11. 1. It occurs on vase-paintings. See Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, Besonderer Theil, 3. pp. 382-391.

18. 16. **the wrestling of Hercules with Achelous.** On representations of this combat on vases see *Archäologische Zeitung*, 1862, pp. 314-327, 329-331, with plates clxvii. clxviii.; *Gazette Archéologique*, 1875, p. 84 *sqq.*, with plate 20.

18. 16. **how Hera was bound fast** etc. See i. 20. 3; iii. 17. 3.

18. 16. **Menelaus and the Egyptian Proteus.** See Homer, *Od.* iv. 384 *sqq.* Prof. Overbeck, however, holds that Pausanias probably

misinterpreted this scene, and that the wrestlers were Hercules and the Old Man of the Sea (*Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] i. p. 70). As to the Old Man of the Sea see iii. 21. 9 note.

18. 16. **the Trojans offering libations to Hector.** Hector was worshipped at Troy (Ilium) even under the Roman empire; indeed his worship survived the public recognition of Christianity by the state. For the Emperor Julian, in a letter which was discovered some years ago, describes how the bishop took him to the sanctuary of Hector. Here the emperor saw a bronze statue of Hector in a little shrine. The embers were still glowing on the altar in front of the statue, and the statue itself was still glistening with oil. Facing the image of Hector, but in the open air, was a statue of Achilles. When the emperor, feigning surprise, asked the bishop if the people of Ilium still sacrificed to Hector, the prelate shrugged his shoulders, and observed that Hector had been a good townsman of theirs and that if they paid their respects to him it was no more than Christians did to the martyrs. See Julian, ed. Hertlein, p. 603 *sq.* The letter was first published by Henning, in *Hermes*, 9 (1875), p. 257 *sqq.* Cp. Lucian, *Deorum concilium*, 12; Strabo, xiii. p. 595; Philostratus, *Heroica*, iii. 21 *sq.*

19. 1. **The part of the throne where the god would sit is not continuous** etc. For Prof. Furtwängler's interpretation of this passage see above, p. 353, and Fig. 51. The passage is commonly and perhaps more correctly interpreted to mean that on the seat of the throne (which, it must be remembered, was of colossal size) there were a number of smaller seats projecting at intervals from the back and perhaps from the sides of the chair; that the space between the two middle of these lesser seats was wider than the space between any of the other seats; and that in this widest interval stood the image of Apollo. This interpretation fits Pausanias's language much better than the one given by Prof. Furtwängler. For Pausanias seems to say that the image stood in (ἐνέστηκε) the widest of the intervals between the seats: he does not say, what Prof. Furtwängler supposes him to say, that the image stood upon (ἐφέστηκε) the widest of the seats.

19. 1 and 2. **here the image stands** etc. The image is represented on Spartan coins. On one coin the image is clad in a long robe, on another (Fig. 52) it is represented unclad and pillar-shaped, the pillar tapering away to the bottom. The image is helmeted and carries a lance and a bow, exactly as it is described by Pausanias. "The head of the deity is archaic, with long curl falling on to the neck, and a queue behind." See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 59, with plate N xvi. xvii. These writers assume that the unclad type is the older. But we know from Pausanias (iii. 16. 2) that a garment was woven for the image every year. May not the coins represent the image as it appeared on different occasions, now clothed, now unclothed, according to the requirements of the ritual? As to the position of the image standing upright on the seat of the



FIG. 52.—THE APOLLO OF AMYCLAE (COIN OF LACEDAEMON).

throne or chair, there is an exact parallel to this on the coins of Aenus. See above, p. 352.

19. 3. **The pedestal of the image is in the form of an altar, and they say that Hyacinth is buried in it** etc. Probably this worship of the dead Hyacinth was the original local cult of Amyclae, upon which at a later period the worship of Apollo was superposed by the Dorian invaders, just as in later times the Virgin and the saints succeeded to, without wholly superseding, the old Greek gods and heroes. See E. Rohde, *Psyche*, p. 128 *sqq.*; A. Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, p. 694; S. Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, p. 289 *sqq.*

19. 4. **Nicias —— painted him as the pink of youthful beauty.** This picture of Hyacinth by the Athenian painter Nicias greatly took the fancy of Augustus, who, after the capture of Alexandria, carried it off to Rome. Hence Tiberius placed the picture in the temple of Augustus after the death of the latter (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxv. 131). Pausanias may have seen the picture at Rome. The painter Nicias seems to have flourished in the second half of the fourth century B.C. (Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 2. p. 167). He may be the Nicias, whose choregic monument was partly built into the Beulé gate of the Acropolis at Athens (see vol. 2. p. 250). The date of that monument is 320-319 B.C. If this identification is correct, the name of the painter's father was not Nicomedes, but Nicodemus. And in fact in Paus. i. 29. 15 two MSS. (Pc La) do give the name as Nicodemus. See Köhler in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 10 (1885), p. 231 *sqq.*; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 344 *sqq.*; W. Gurlitt, *Ueber Pausanias*, p. 181 *sq.*

19. 6. **a sanctuary of Alexandra.** At the village of *Mahmoud Bey*, about 4½ miles south of New Sparta, in a garden near the church of the Hagia Paraskeve, was found in 1878 an inscription which seems to show that this was the site of the sanctuary of Alexandra. The inscription records a decree passed by the people of Amyclae in honour of some of their magistrates, and mentions that the stone bearing the inscription was to be set up in the sanctuary of Alexandra. Other remains of antiquity found in the village confirm the view that here was the sanctuary in question. If this is so, it follows that the village of Amyclae in Pausanias's time could not have stood on the hill of *Hagia Kyriake*. See *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 3 (1878), pp. 164-171; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscript. Graec.* No. 306; Cauer, *Delectus Inscr. Graec.*[2] No. 32; Baedeker,[3] p. 291.

19. 6. **the Dorians call wings** *psila*. The word *psilon* (ψίλον) seems to be only a dialectic form of *ptilon*, *pteron* (πτίλον, πτέρον), the regular Greek words for a wing. See Vaniček, *Griech. Latein. Etymolog. Wörterbuch*, p. 466; Gustav Meyer, *Griech. Grammatik*,[2] § 210. But Lobeck (on Phrynichus, p. 435) interprets Psilax as 'beardless' from ψιλός. On supposed representations of Dionysus Psilax (the winged Dionysus) in ancient art see Roscher's *Lexikon*, 1. p. 1152 *sq.*; *Gazette Archéologique*, 1875, pp. 110-113. Cp. Hesychius, *s.v.* ψίλακα.

19. 7. **a wooden image of Athena Alea.** Though Pausanias only mentions an image, there appears to have been a spacious precinct of the goddess; for when the Thebans were about to cross the Eurotas to

attack Sparta, they saw that the precinct of Athena Alea was full of soldiers. So they refrained from crossing. See Xenophon, *Hellenica*, vi. 5. 27. Beside the new bridge over the Eurotas Mr. Nestorides saw vestiges of ancient foundations built of massive walls, together with a piece of a column. He conjectures that these were the ruins of the sanctuary of Athena Alea. These remains seem to have been since destroyed. See K. Nestorides, *Τοπογραφία τῆς ἀρχαίας Σπάρτης*, p. 93.

19. 7. **in the hollow of his hand** (*kotule*). Sosibius, as reported by Clement of Alexandria, tells us that in the fight with the sons of Hippocoon Hercules was wounded in the hand (Clement of Alex. *Protrept.* ii. 36, p. 31, ed. Potter). This seems at first sight to determine the sense of *kotule* here in Pausanias. But sometimes the word means the socket of a joint, especially of the hip-joint (see Liddell and Scott, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* κοτύλη). Prof. S. Wide supposes that Sosibius meant to say that Hercules was wounded in the hip-joint (*kotule*), and that Clement of Alexandria, in reporting him, misunderstood the obsolete word *kotule*, and substituted for it *cheir*, 'hand' (*Lakonische Kulte*, p. 187). This view is strongly confirmed by a passage of Pausanias, overlooked by Prof. Wide, where our author mentions "an image of Hercules, with a wound on his thigh, which he received in the first battle which he fought with the sons of Hippocoon" (viii. 53. 9). Probably, therefore, in the present passage of Pausanias the word *kotule* should be translated 'hip-joint,' not 'hollow of the hand.' My version of the passage (vol. 1. p. 165) should be corrected accordingly. For other instances of divine or heroic beings wounded in the leg see viii. 28. 6 note.

19. 8. **Ares got the surname Theritas** etc. Pausanias derives the surname Thēritas from *thēr*, *thērion*, 'a wild beast.' Prof. S. Wide thinks that the worship of Ares Theritas was imported from Boeotia: he compares the name of Theras, a descendant of Cadmus (Paus. iii. 1. 7 *sq.*), and is inclined to accept Prof. Maass's conjecture that Colchis, to which the Argonauts sailed and from which this image of Ares was said to have been brought back, was no other than Calchis in Euboea. See S. Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, p. 149 *sq.*

19. 8. **as Homer says of Achilles** etc. See *Il.* xxiv. 41.

19. 9. **Therapne.** Therapne or Therapnae, as it was also called, lay a little to the south-east of Sparta on the opposite (eastern) side of the Eurotas. A line of precipitous cliffs here skirts the eastern bank of the river, just opposite the point where the *Magoula* river falls into the Eurotas. The passage between the foot of the cliffs and the river is very narrow. On these heights, of which the highest reaches an elevation of about 760 feet, stood Therapne. It has been supposed that Therapne was the site of the Achaean city which bore the name of Sparta, and that accordingly the Homeric Sparta was at Therapne (cp. Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Θεράπναι). Certainly the position of the place, on a commanding and not very accessible height, is more like the situations which, to judge from Mycenae and Tiryns, the Achaeans chose for their strongholds than the much lower site of Sparta. The

association of Menelaus and Helen with Therapne points in the same direction, and so too does the discovery of Mycenaean pottery near the sanctuary of Menelaus (see below). Herodotus (vi. 61) mentions a sanctuary of Helen at Therapne; it contained an image of the goddess Helen. This sanctuary of Helen may have been identical with the temple of Menelaus mentioned by Pausanias. Polybius (v. chs. 18, 21, 22) and Livy (xxxiv. 28) give the name of Menelaeum to the height on which the sanctuary of Menelaus stood. Isocrates tells us (x. 63) that at Therapne holy sacrifices continued to be offered to both Menelaus and Helen as to a god and a goddess, not merely as to a hero and heroine. There was a festival of Menelaus (Athenagoras, *Supplicatio*, 14. p. 62, ed. Otto), and a festival of Helen, at which the girls went in procession to the sanctuary in wicker cars (Hesychius, *s.vv.* ἑλέν(ε)ια and κάνναθρα). It was in Therapne that Castor and Pollux were supposed to lie buried on the alternate days when they were not among the gods on Olympus (Pindar, *Nem.* x. 101 *sqq.*; *Pyth.* xi. 94 *sqq.*; *Isthm.* i. 41 *sq.*: Alcman, cited by the schol. on Euripides, *Troades*, 210). According to Stephanus Byzantius (*s.v.* Θεράπναι) there was a temple of the Dioscuri at Therapne.

The ruins of what was probably the temple of Menelaus still exist on the highest summit of the line of heights at Therapne. They were partially excavated by Ludwig Ross in the winter of 1833-34. The edifice was in the form of a quadrangle extending from north to south. Only the foundations remain, consisting of three platforms, the uppermost of which (38 feet long by 20 feet broad) no doubt supported the temple. Ross excavated the short north side of the building, and cleared the outer wall of the lowest platform. This wall is more than 60 feet long and is well preserved to a height of from 3 to 8 feet; it is built of great blocks of a hard conglomerate, some of the blocks measuring 12 feet long and 1½ feet high. It seems that the wall was crowned by a marble cornice with simple mouldings; some of the marble slabs of the cornice were found lying at the foot of the wall. The inner core of the foundations was built of a much softer stone, which has weathered and crumbled away. The north wall of the lowest platform rests on a step which projects 6 or 7 inches. On or beside this step were found, lying along the whole length of the wall, innumerable little leaden figures, 1 or 2 inches high. Some of them represent men wearing plumed helmets and great round shields which cover the body from the neck to the knee, and over the rim of which the spear projects. Other figures, still more numerous, represent women clad in striped and checkered garments, which are drawn in at the waist. Other figures, again, less numerous than the preceding, represent horses with or without riders. In addition there was found an immense quantity of leaden rings with rays projecting from them on all sides. Lastly, a smaller number of similar figures made of clay came to light, most of them very rudely shaped. All these were probably votive offerings to Menelaus and Helen. The back of all the figures is quite smooth and flat, from which we infer that they were meant to be attached to something. In 1889 the Greek Government completed the excavation of the

building; five little leaden figures of men armed with bow or shield etc. were found in the course of the excavations. To the south-east of the building, a little lower down the hill, there is a chapel of the Prophet Elias, in which some architectural fragments of antiquity may be seen. And 100 or 200 yards to the south of the chapel many potsherds of the Mycenaean style have been found, all of them, however, unpainted and unglazed.

See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 82; Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 181 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Pelop.* p. 161 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. pp. 239 *sq.*, 316 *sq.*; L. Ross, in *Archäologische Zeitung*, 12 (1854), pp. 217-220; *id.*, *Archäologische Aufsätze*, 2. pp. 341-344; *id.*, *Wanderungen*, 2. p. 13 *sq.*; *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 2 (1877), p. 320 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 128 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 287; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 254; Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν, 1889, p. 171 *sq.*; Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1889, p. [illegible] *sq.*

19. 9. **The story told by the Rhodians** etc. A somewhat different legend is told by Polyaenus (i. 13). He says that when Menelaus was returning from Egypt with Helen, he put into Rhodes; and that Polyxo, hearing of their arrival and eager to avenge the death of her husband Tleptolemus who had perished at Troy, ran down to the beach with a multitude of men and women armed with fire and stones. But Menelaus concealed Helen in the hold of the ship, and dressed up the fairest of her handmaidens in the apparel of her mistress. So the Rhodians, taking the handmaiden to be Helen, slew her. But Menelaus sailed away with the real Helen. Ptolemaeus says (*Nov. Hist.* iv. p. 189 of Westermann's *Mythographi Graeci*) that a certain herb called Helen's herb grew in Rhodes and was so called because it was found growing beside the oak on which Helen hanged herself; all who ate of the herb fell to quarrelling. Cp. E. Maass, *Aratea*, p. 367 *sq.* With the Rhodian worship of Helen of the Tree (*i.e.* of Helen who was hanged on the tree) we may compare the Arcadian worship of the Strangled Artemis (viii. 23. 6 *sq.*) That Helen of the Tree was really a nymph or goddess of the tree is probable, and the probability is confirmed by a passage of Theocritus (xviii. 43 *sqq.*) in which he represents twelve Spartan maidens about to place a wreath of lotus flowers on a plane-tree, to drop oil from a silver flask under the tree, and to cut on its bark the words, "Worship me, I am Helen's tree." As here a plane-tree is sacred to Helen, so at Caphyae in Arcadia there was a plane-tree named after Helen's husband Menelaus (viii. 23. 4). Cp. Botticher, *Baumkultus der Hellenen*, p. 50 *sq.*; W. Mannhardt, *Antike Wald- und Feldkulte*, p. 22 *sq.*; S. Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, p. 342 *sqq.*

19. 9. **Nicostratus and Megapenthes.** They were bastard sons of Menelaus (iii. 18. 6).

19. 11. **the White Isle.** On this island see especially Philostratus, *Heroica*, xx. 32-40 (pp. 313-316 of the Didot ed.) According to Philostratus there was a sanctuary in the island containing images of Achilles and Helen. Seamen might land and sacrifice at the sanctuary, but they had to quit the island at sunset. No one was allowed to take up his abode in the isle. Women might not set foot on it. At night Achilles and Helen held high revelry, carousing and singing of their loves and chanting the verses of Homer in high clear voices, which

went ringing far over the sea, thrilling with awe and wonder the sailors who heard them. Mariners who had anchored off the shore declared, too, that they had heard the trampling of horses, the clash of arms, and the shouts of warriors. A Greek inscription, recording a decree of the people of Olbia, has been found on the island (*Bulletin de Corresp. Hellénique*, 1885, pp. 375-379). Cp. *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 5 (1884), p. 16 *sq.*; Roscher's *Lexikon*, 1. p. 59 *sq.*

19. 12. **a Crotonian named Leonymus.** The story which follows is told also by Conon (*Narrationes*, 18), but he calls the hero of it Autoleon, instead of Leonymus.

19. 12. **Ajax was posted in the van.** When the Locrians marched to battle, they used to leave a clear space for the soul of Ajax in their line of battle (Conon, *l.c.*) The Zulus believe that the souls of their ancestors go out to battle with them and aid them in the fight (Francis Fleming, *Southern Africa*, p. 259; cp. A. Bastian, *Der Mensch in der Geschichte*, 2. p. 364 *sq.*)

19. 12. **the Pythian priestess bade him sail to the White Isle** etc. On an amphora of Lower Italy a scene is painted which has been interpreted as the purification of the Locrian hero in the White Isle. A warrior is standing armed with helmet, shield, and spear. Before him sits a man resting on his shield, and grasping in his right hand a branch of laurel, while a third man is holding a bowl toward the seated man. These figures have been interpreted respectively as Leonymus (Autoleon), Achilles, and Ajax. A bird is sitting with expanded wings on the thigh of the seated man. It is supposed to be one of the white sea-birds which attended on Achilles in the island, fanning his sacred grove with their wings and sprinkling it with spray as they skimmed over it (Philostratus, *Heroica*, xx. 37). See *Archäologische Zeitung*, N. F. 1 (1847), pp. 97-107.

19. 13. **tell Stesichorus that the loss of his eyesight** etc. It was said that in one of his poems Stesichorus had spoken ill of Aphrodite, and had been blinded by the goddess as a punishment, but that on composing a poem in recantation of his blasphemy he recovered his sight (Isocrates, *Helene*, 64). According to one account, the remark which drew down the wrath of the goddess was that in sacrificing to the gods Tyndareus had forgotten Aphrodite (Schol. on Euripides, *Orestes*, 249).

20. 1. **the fountain Messeis.** It is mentioned by Homer (*Il.* vi. 457).

20. 2. **Poseidon, surnamed Earth-holder.** From a Laconian inscription we learn that chariot-races were held in his honour (Roehl, *I. G. A.* No. 79; Cauer, *Delectus Inscr. Graec.*[2] No. 17). The race-course or hippodrome of Poseidon the Earth-holder near Sparta is mentioned by Xenophon (*Hellenica*, vi. 5. 30). It would seem that the shaking and rumbling of earthquakes were supposed to be caused by Poseidon driving his chariot underground; hence it was not unnatural that chariot-races should be held in his honour. Cp. S. Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, p. 38.

20. 2. **Alesiae.** This may have been at *Mistra* or its neighbour

village to the south *Parori* (Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 131; cp. Leake, *Pelop.* p. 164 *sq.*) The name Alesiae means no more than 'mill-town,' and the place was probably so called from the mills there. The French surveyors found a great many millstones in the gardens at the foot of the hill of *Mistra.* The rock of which they are made and which alone is suitable for the purpose is found only about *Mistra.* See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 83. As to the mythical Miller (Myles) cp. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, p. 1194.

The scenery of the district at the eastern foot of Mount Taygetus, to which Pausanias here conducts us, is well described by Vischer (*Erinnerungen*, p. 385 *sqq.*) as follows: "While in Therapne, Amyclae, and the round buildings of *Vaphio* and *Marmalia* we met with vestiges of a very ancient civilisation which flourished in the plain of the Eurotas before the Dorian invasion; on the other hand when we reach the first line of the rocky heights of Taygetus, we find ourselves in the Middle Ages—in the days of the Franks and the Byzantines. The first stage of Taygetus rises abruptly from the plain in bold cliffs broken by many gullies, from which the mountain torrents issue. Crowning with its picturesque ruins the summit of one of these heights, an hour's ride to the west of Sparta, is the fortress of *Mistra*, built by William de Villehardouin in the middle of the thirteenth century. Below the castle, on the mountain side, is spread the extensive town, once a place of much more importance, now half in ruins, with its numerous churches and monasteries falling into decay. Yet for the traveller, in spite of its decay, *Mistra* must remain in virtue of its situation one of the most enchanting spots which he can find in Greece or anywhere: and the prospect from the castle height, on the one side over the whole plain, on the other side up to the snowy peaks of Taygetus, across the fruitful levels and wooded slopes of the first step in the mountain staircase, needs only a view of the sea to be second to none. The whole neighbourhood, too, is one of indescribable beauty. The way from New Sparta by the village of *Magoula*, which lies scattered among fruit-trees of every sort, is delightful enough. It passes through a plain watered by fresh brooks, where the drooping branches of the olive-trees and fig-trees often literally bar the way, and in riding one has to take heed not to be hung by the head among the boughs. But all this is almost forgotten when we ride from *Mistra* by *Parori* and *Hagiannis* along the foot of the mountains to *Sklavochori*. On this ride all the beauties of the Eurotas valley are crowded together; for here we have wild magnificence combined with the luxuriant loveliness of a rich southern vegetation. *Parori*, which lies close to *Mistra* and was formerly a suburb of it, is at the mouth of a dark and deep gorge, from which a stream comes brawling. This gorge is pointed out to travellers as the Caeadas, the gully into which the Spartans used to throw prisoners of war and afterwards malefactors (Thucydides, i. 134); and certainly the Caeadas, as well as the Apothetae, where weakly children were exposed (Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 16), is to be sought in one of the ravines of Mount Taygetus, of which hardly any appears so stern and awful as the one at *Parori.* At the mouth of the gorge, just above the village, there is a very lovely spot. From

a Turkish fountain there pours a copious stream of water, which trickles through creeping plants of all sorts into a large basin, and before it stand some fine plane-trees.

"Further on, the way winds through wood and thicket, where fruit-trees alternate with tall oaks, elms, and plane-trees, to the village of *Hagiannis*, hidden among groves of oranges, lemons, fig-trees, and olives. Amongst the woods dark cypresses rise singly like columns; many Judas-trees (*Cercis Siliquastrum*) stood in full blossom, forming with their rosy red a pleasant contrast to the various shades of green, while the oleanders, growing as high as trees beside every rill, had not yet unfolded their buds. Wild vines climb to the very topmost boughs, and many other creepers, such as ivy, bindweed, and clematis, often weave trees and shrubs into an impenetrable thicket. In wealth of vegetation this district is unsurpassed in Greece, and no one who has set foot on Greek soil should fail to visit it. Yet it often happens that travellers, satisfied with having visited Sparta, turn back from it immediately, and then, full of the impressions left on them by the plains of *Tripolitza*, of Argolis, and of the neighbourhood of Athens, complain that there are no trees in Greece."

The present writer, though he was not further south than *Parori*, can confirm the general accuracy of this description. The view of the beautiful valley of Sparta from the steep hill of *Mistra*, crowded with monuments of the Middle Ages, and dominated by the towering mass of Mount Taygetus, which rises like a wall behind it, combines almost every element of natural beauty and historical association. Immediately below the Frankish castle which crowns the summit of the hill are the ruins of a spacious Byzantine palace, once the residence of the governor of the Morea, who ranked next after the emperor. Its great hall opened on the palace garden, from the terrace of which the wonderful view is to be had over the valley. Again, the fountain, described by Vischer, at the mouth of the tremendous gorge, is a scene not to be forgotten. The water gushes from many mouths in the face of a wall built against the rock. A stone seat encircles the trunk of the great spreading plane-tree which fronts the fountain. All this, with the gloomy gorge behind, makes up a picture such as is oftener seen in dreams than in reality. Once more, the village of *Trypi*, situated a little to the north of *Mistra*, at the entrance of the famed *Langada* pass over Mount Taygetus, is one of idyllic beauty. It is embowered among woods and orchards on the mountain side; and entering it from the south you pass the mouth of a narrow glen carpeted with ferns and overarched with trees.

20. 3. **a river Phellia.** This may be the stream that flows past *Riviotisa* (Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 130; Baedeker,[3] p. 290). Prof. Curtius thinks it is the stream further south which joins the Eurotas just above *Vaphio* (*Pelop.* 2. p. 249).

20. 3. **Pharis.** Pharis is mentioned by Homer (*Il.* ii. 582) and Strabo (viii. p. 363). It was one of the old Achaean towns (Paus. iii. 2. 6). Hence it is believed to have stood at or near *Vaphio*, where a beehive tomb containing treasures has been discovered (see above, p.

134 *sqq.*) The tomb may have been the burial place of one of the old Achaean kings of Pharis, as the beehive tombs at Mycenae were the tombs of the Achaean kings of Mycenae. *Vaphio* is on a hill on the west bank of the Eurotas, about five miles south of Sparta. Some excavations were recently made on the hill which lies a few minutes to the south of *Vaphio*. There were found some potsherds of Mycenaean style, a small stone knife, etc., but no walls of the Mycenaean age. See Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1889, p. 131. As to Pharis see Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 3 *sq.*; *id.*, *Pelop.* p. 165; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 248 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 130 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 290.

20. 3. **a precinct of Messapian Zeus.** The French surveyors found the remains of a temple near a source of water a little to the north of the village of *Katzaru*. Leake (*Pelop.* p. 165) thought that this may have been the temple of Messapian Zeus. Bursian looked for the sanctuary near the well-wooded village of *Hagios Joannes* (*Hagiannis*), at the foot of Mt. Taygetus (*Geogr.* 2. p. 131). According to Stephanus Byzantius (*s.v.* Μεσσαπέαι) the place where Messapian Zeus was worshipped was called Messapeae, and he refers for his authority to the fifty-seventh book of Theopompus's history.

20. 3. **Bryseae.** The name, derived from βρύειν, seems to indicate a district where springs of water abounded. It may have been to the west of the modern village of *Sklavochori*, near the site of the modern villages of *Katzaru* and *Sinanbei*. The district abounds in springs. See Leake, *Pelop.* p. 163 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 131. Ross and Prof. Curtius would place Bryseae further north, near the village of *H. Joannes*. The ground here is well watered, and the village stands in a grove of orange-trees. Near a copious spring in front of the village there are marble remains of buildings and sculptures. See Ross, *Wanderungen in Griechenland*, 2. p. 244 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 251.

20. 4. **Mount Taletum.** This may be Mt. *St. Elias*, the highest summit of Taygetus (7900 feet). Bursian, however, doubted this identification. See Leake, *Pelop.* p. 164; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 104 *sq.* note; Baedeker,[3] p. 288. In modern Greece almost every high hill, we are told, is dedicated to St. Elias, and it has been supposed that the saint has always succeeded to the ancient Helios (the sun). Power over rain is ascribed to him, and in time of drought people flock to his churches and monasteries to pray for rain. See J. T. Bent, *The Cyclades*, p. 87; Lucy M. J. Garnett, *The Women of Turkey; The Christian Women*, p. 124. This is an argument for identifying the Mt. *St. Elias* of Taygetus with the ancient Mt. Taletum on which the sun was worshipped (see below). On St. Elias's day in August a festival is held on Mount *St. Elias* (Baedeker,[3] p. 288).

20. 4. **sacred to the Sun** etc. For evidence of sun-worship in various parts of Greece see Index, *s.v.* 'Sun.' In the beautiful essay 'In praise of our native land' (*Patriae encomium*) Lucian speaks of the sun as the god worshipped by men of every country. Inscriptions show that at Athens there was a regular worship of the Sun, conducted by a priestess who had a special seat in the theatre of Dionysus. See *C. I. A.* iii. Nos. 202, 313; Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν, 1889, p. 19 *sq.*

There was also a priest of the Sun at Athens (Harpocration, *s.v.* Σκίρον). According to Polemo, the Athenians offered 'sober' (*i.e.* wineless) sacrifices to the Sun and Moon (Schol. on Sophocles, *Oed. Col.* 100). Cp. note on v. 15. 10. In an inscription found at the Piraeus mention is made of the sacrifice of a honeycomb to the sun (Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1885, p. 88; *C. I. A.* iii. No. 1651). Rhodes was a great seat of sun-worship. See Dittenberger, *De sacris Rhodiorum commentatio*, p. iii. *sqq.*; cp. Cauer, *Delectus Inscr. Graec.*[2] No. 181 (at beginning). The sun seems to have been worshipped at Mopsuestia in Cilicia (W. Froehner, *Les inscriptions Grecques du Louvre*, No. 17). On sun-worship in ancient Greece see Preller, *Griech. Mythologie*,[4] 1. p. 429 *sqq.*; Roscher's *Lexikon*, 1. p. 2024 *sqq.*

20. 4. **wild goats and boars may be hunted all over Mount Taygetus.** In the forests of Mount Taygetus wild hogs, wolves, jackals, and foxes still abound; deer are less common, and bears have long been extinct (L. Ross, *Wanderungen*, 2. p. 218).

20. 5. **a sanctuary of Demeter surnamed Eleusinian.** This is conjecturally placed by Prof. Curtius near the village of *Anavryti*, situated in a glen of Mt. Taygetus (*Pelop.* 2. p. 251). But this and the other places which Pausanias mentions in Mt. Taygetus (Lapithaeum, Dereum, and Harplea) have not yet been identified. On the modern villages in this part of Taygetus see L. Ross, *Wanderungen*, 2. p. 203 *sqq.*

20. 6. **Helos.** See iii. 22. 3. The name Helots, which Pausanias derives from the name of this town, is now generally supposed to come from the root *hel*, which appears in *helein*, 'to take,' 'conquer.' Thus the name Helots would mean 'captives.' See G. Gilbert, *Griech. Staatsalterthümer*,[2] 1. p. 32.

20. 6. **which Homer mentions.** See *Il.* ii. 584.

20. 6. **the whole Greek race were called Hellenes** etc. In historical times the Greeks called themselves Hellenes and their country Hellas. But they had a tradition of a time when their national name was Graikoi, which is identical with the Latin *Graeci* and the English *Greeks.* Thus Aristotle (*Meteorologica*, i. 14, p. 352) says that Deucalion's deluge took place "in ancient Greece, and ancient Greece is the district about Dodona and the Achelous. For there dwelt the Selli and the people who were then called Graikoi but are now called Hellenes." Stephanus Byzantius (*s.v.* Γραικός) mentions a certain Graecus (*Graikos*), son of Thessalus, after whom the Greeks (*Hellenes*) were named Graikoi; and he adds that the mothers of the Greeks were called Graikes by Alcman and by Sophocles in his lost play *The Shepherds.* The name Graikos occurred in Callimachus, as we learn from the writer of the *Etymologicum Magnum*, who tells us (p. 239, *s.v.* Γραικός) that the Greeks were called Graikoi either on account of their bravery or after a certain man Graikos. According to Apollodorus (i. 7. 3) the change of the national name from Graikoi to Hellenes was made by Hellen, who called the people Hellenes after himself. The Parian Chronicle assigns this change of name to the year 1521 B.C. (*Frag. Hist. Graec.* ed. Müller, 1. p. 542 *sq.*)

The remarkable coincidence between this Greek tradition and the name by which the Greeks were always known to the Romans has been variously explained by modern writers. The most obvious explanation, adopted by Prof. Curtius (*Griech. Geschichte*,[6] 1. p. 93), is that when the forefathers of the Greeks and Romans dwelt together, the Greeks were actually called Greeks (Graikoi), and that this name was preserved by the Romans after it had been abandoned by the Greeks themselves. A different view is that of Victor Hehn (*Kulturpflanzen und Hausthiere*,[4] p. 51). He supposes that the ancestors of the Greeks, after fighting their way through the mountains and forests of the wild Illyrian coast to Dodona, settled for a time in Epirus; that they had two national names, Graikoi and Hellenes; and that while the latter spread eastward, the former (Graikoi) prevailed in the west and was transmitted across the sea to the Italians. Other theories on the subject have been propounded by Busolt (*Griech. Geschichte*,[2] 1. p. 198 *sq.*) and Nissen (*Italische Landeskunde*, pp. 120, 544 note). Cp. W. Helbig, in *Hermes*, 11 (1876), p. 273 *sqq.*; B. Niese, 'Ueber den Volksstamm der Gräker,' *Hermes*, 12 (1877), pp. 409-420; M. Duncker, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, 5. p. 9 *sq.*

Hellas was originally the name of a town or district in Thessaly, and in this sense alone does it occur in Homer (Ebeling, *Lexicon Homericum*, *s.v.* Ἑλλάς). The name Hellenes occurs only once in Homer (*Il.* ii. 684), where it is applied, not to the Greeks in general, but only to the people who inhabited the Thessalian town or district of Hellas. Thucydides remarked (i. 3) that Homer never calls the Greeks Hellenes, but always Danai, Argives, or Achaeans. The name Panhellenes is found once in Homer (*Il.* ii. 530) in the sense of 'all the Greeks,' but the line was rejected by Aristarchus (Ebeling, *Lexicon Homericum*, *s.v.* Πανέλληνες). The question whether the Homeric Hellas was a town or a district was debated in antiquity (Strabo, ix. p. 431 *sq.*), and opinion is still divided on the subject. See Bursian, *Geogr.* 1. p. 77; Buchholz, *Die homerischen Realien*, 1. pp. 98, 102. The Roman geographers confined the name Hellas to the portion of Greece north of the Isthmus of Corinth. See Mela, ii. § 37, 38, 48; Pliny, *N.H.* iv. 23; Solinus, vii. 16.

20. 8. On the road from Sparta to Arcadia. Pausanias now returns from Mount Taygetus to Sparta and sets off northward by the road which led to Megalopolis in Arcadia. As far as the Arcadian frontier the track follows the valley of the Eurotas, keeping on the right (west) bank of the river and generally running close to the stream, the banks of which are fringed with oleanders, fig-trees, and planes. For the first three miles the valley is open and possesses that combination of charms which renders the vale of Sparta the most beautiful region of Greece. The river flows on the whole at the foot of the somewhat bare hills which rise on the eastern side of the valley, dipping their rocky declivities in many places in its water. But on the other side low rolling hills, covered with excellent soil and intersected by streams, stretch away to where the long range of Taygetus stands up against the western sky, its majestic snowy peaks contrasting finely

with the dark woods of its lower slopes and the luxuriant vegetation of the valley. In this open part of the valley must have lain all the places and objects mentioned by Pausanias between Sparta and the image of Modesty (§ 10); but no one has yet ventured to identify them. About three miles from Sparta the valley contracts and the scenery changes. We are no longer in a great open valley covered with luxuriant vegetation and enclosed by grand mountains. It is a narrow dale through which we are passing, hemmed in by low hills, at the foot of which the river flows between banks thickly wooded with willows, poplars, oleanders, and plane-trees. Well-tilled fields lie on the gentle lower slopes of the hills and occupy the stretches of flat land where the hills retire from the river. The bare upper declivities are dotted here and there with a few olives.

See Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 398 *sqq.*; Gell, *Journey in the Morea*, p. 318 *sqq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 12 *sqq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 253 *sqq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, pp. 372, 400; Baedeker,[3] p. 292; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 281; W. Loring, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 15 (1895), p. 41 *sq.*

20. 8. **a sanctuary of Achilles.** There was a sanctuary of Achilles also at Brasiae (iii. 24. 5); one of the harbours at Cape Taenarum was called the harbour of Achilles (iii. 25. 4); and the worship of Achilles in Laconia was referred to by Anaxagoras (Schol. on Apollonius Rhodius, iv. 815). On these and other grounds Mr. Tsountas holds that Achilles was a Laconian as well as a Thessalian hero (Μυκῆναι, p. 259 *sq.*) Cp. S. Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, p. 233 *sqq.*

20. 9. **swore the suitors —— making them stand on the pieces of the horse.** Elsewhere (iv. 15. 8 and v. 24. 9) we read of oaths taken on the pieces of a boar. So in trials before the court of the Areopagus at Athens the accuser took an oath, standing on the pieces of a boar, a ram, and a bull, which had been sacrificed by special persons on special days (Demosthenes, *Or.* xxiii. p. 642). Another way of taking an oath was to pass between the pieces of the slain animal. When Agamemnon was about to lead the Greeks to Troy, the soothsayer Calchas brought a boar into the market-place, and divided it into two parts, one on the west, and one on the east. Then each man with a drawn sword in his hand passed between the pieces of the boar, and the blade of his sword was smeared with the blood. Thus they swore enmity to Priam. See Dictys Cretensis, i. 15. So in Jeremiah xxxiv. 18 we read of "the men that have transgressed my covenant, which have not performed the words of the covenant which they had made before me, when they cut the calf in twain, and passed between the parts thereof." Cp. Genesis xv. 9 *sqq.* Among the Bechuanas of South Africa "when Sibonelo, a chief of the Barolong, made a covenant with Buys, who fled to him from Kafir-land, the paunch of a large ox was taken, with its contents, and an incision being made in each side of the stomach, the one forced his body through it, and the other followed, intimating by this ceremony that they were henceforward one people" (R. Moffat, *Missionary Labours and Scenes*

in Southern Africa, p. 278). Another form of the oath among the Bechuanas is this: "An animal is slaughtered, and some of the contents of its stomach are laid hold of by both covenanting parties, their hands meeting together and laying hold of each other, while covered over with the contents of the sacrificed animal's stomach. This would seem to be the most solemn form of public agreement known in the country" (J. Mackenzie, *Ten Years north of the Orange River*, p. 393). Among the Nagas of eastern India the most sacred oath is "for the two parties to the oath to lay hold of a dog or fowl, one by its head the other by its tail or feet, whilst the animal or bird is cut in two with a dâo, emblematic of the perjurer's fate" (*Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 11 (1882), p. 71). The explanation of such forms of oath is probably, as Robertson Smith pointed out (*Religion of the Semites*,[2] p. 480 *sq.*), that the parties to the oath are believed to be "taken within the mystical life of the victim." Hence a cleansing or purifying virtue is ascribed to ceremonies of this kind. At the temple of the Moon the Albanians of the Caucasus used to sacrifice a human being; then they all stood upon the corpse, as a purificatory ceremony (Strabo, xi. 4. 7, p. 503). In Boeotia, as a public form of purification, they cut a dog in two, and the people passed between the pieces (Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 111). Among the Basutos of South Africa, "certain tribes, after having slaughtered the victim, pierce it through and through, and cause the person who is to be purified to pass between the pieces" (Casalis, *The Basutos*, p. 256). When the Koreks of eastern Siberia were afraid of some infectious disorder, they killed a dog, wound the guts about two poles, and passed between them (Krascheninnikow, *Beschreibung des Landes Kamtschatka*, p. 277 *sq.*) When Peleus ravaged Iolcus, he slew Astydamia, wife of Acastus, cut her in pieces, and caused his army to march between the pieces into the city (Apollodorus, iii. 13. 7). The tradition is probably a reminiscence of a solemn mode of purification.

20. 9. **Cranius, surnamed Stemmatian.** Cranius was probably the Carnean Apollo. See above, p. 332. At the Carnean festival a man covered with wreaths (*stemmata*) ran praying for the welfare of the state (Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, p. 305 line 25 *sqq.*) He may have represented the god, and if so we can understand why the god was called Stemmatian ('the wreathed one'). Cp. Hesychius, *s.v.* *στεμματιαῖος*; K. O. Müller, *Dorier*,[2] 1. p. 61; S. Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, p. 78.

20. 9. **Mysian Artemis.** Prof. S. Wide suggests that Mysian Artemis is equivalent to Mouse Artemis, the epithet Mysian being perhaps derived from *mus*, 'mouse.' He points out that at Lusi in Arcadia, where there was a sanctuary of Artemis (Paus. viii. 18. 8), there was also a spring in which mice were said to be bred (Aristotle, *Mirab. Auscult.* 125 (137); Theopompus, cited by Antigonus, *Hist. Mirab.* 137). See S. Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, p. 118 *sq.*

20. 10. **The image of Modesty** etc. On the right (west) bank of the Eurotas, about four miles above Sparta, the road is hemmed in between steep cliffs and the river, which here flows in the bottom of a profound and narrow gorge. The ruts of the ancient road may be

seen in the rock. And in the moss-grown cliff above the road is a spacious cavern, now called *Phoúrnos* ('the oven'); but its mouth is almost hidden by brambles and the boughs of a wild fig-tree. The entrance to the cavern is formed by an arch in the aqueduct which once brought water from *Vivari* to Sparta, and which for a long way skirts the hills beside the path. Near the cave is a semicircular niche hewn out of the rock. Some have thought that in this niche may have stood the statue of Modesty mentioned by our author. Others (Leake, Ross, and Curtius) suppose that the niche was the tomb of Ladas (see 21. 1), but the distance of the spot from Sparta does not tally with the 50 furlongs of Pausanias. See Leake, *Morea*, 3. pp. 13, 15; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 253 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 115; Ross's map of Sellasia, in his *Reisen und Reisenrouten*; Baedeker,[3] p. 292; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 281; W. Loring, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 15 (1895), p. 43. Mr. W. Loring has conjectured that the image of Modesty stood at a place a good deal nearer Sparta than this niche in the cliff. He thus describes the place: "About three miles from Sparta is a large unfinished building, one end of which is used as a khan, the khan of *Zakharátos*. Near it the river makes a bend to the eastward, circumventing a low rocky hill; but the track to Megalopolis keeps straight on, passing left of the hill, and rejoining the river beyond it some three-quarters of a mile from the khan. Leaving the track at the khan, and keeping along the river bank, one sees almost immediately, on the opposite bank, the scanty remains of a Roman or mediaeval bridge,—probably the former,—and beside it the traces of a river-wall of large blocks of stone. Just opposite this bridge, if one climbs the rocks which overhang the path, one finds a large rock-cutting, which was probably supplemented by building so as to form altogether a level area some 30 ft. x 20 ft. in extent." This cutting, Mr. Loring suggests, may possibly have been prepared for the image of Modesty. See *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 15 (1895), p. 42. To the north of this cutting Mr. Loring observed other remains of antiquity. He says: "Still keeping to the river, one reaches in a few minutes a fine Turkish bridge,—the bridge of *Kopanos*,—which spans it by a single arch. . . . From the bridge of *Kopanos* to the point at which the river and the track to Megalopolis re-unite, the river flows in a narrow gorge between high rocks on the eastern and the low hill already mentioned on the western side. The former assume shapes so curious as to suggest artificial cutting; and on the slopes of the latter are traces (1) of an aqueduct or mill stream, (2) lower down, of a half-buried wall, built in order to terrace up the soil, possibly for a road but more probably for purposes of cultivation. On the north end of the hill, where one rejoins the track to Megalopolis, are remains of polygonal walls, and the hill itself bears a fair sprinkling of pottery, while immediately between the hill and the river, on the narrow strip of land which separates them, are the lower courses of a long wall consisting partly of Hellenic and partly of later masonry, nearly parallel with the river. It is evident, in fact, that on and about this hill there was a group of buildings, the principal one being perhaps a small fort; and I draw special attention to this site because it has scarcely yet been mentioned,

and never (so far as I know) correctly. It is disappointing that we cannot with much probability recognise in it any of the places or objects mentioned by Pausanias" (*op. cit.* p. 42 *sq.*) The remains of the fort described by Mr. Loring had been already noticed by the Swiss traveller Vischer, who says that the walls consist of large blocks, approximately squared, and that they are to be seen on a small steep rocky height close to the river (*Erinnerungen*, p. 401).

21. 1. **the tomb of Ladas.** From the *Phournos* (see preceding note) the track continues to follow the river, the banks of which are thickly wooded, though the hillsides are bare except for a few olive-trees here and there. Now and then we pass a patch of maize and a clump of mulberry-trees. About a mile from *Phournos* a stream joins the Eurotas from the west, and the valley is here more open. The valley of this tributary stream is spanned, a little higher up, by the aqueduct which has been already mentioned (p. 369): the remains of the piers that supported the aqueduct can still be seen. In the low rocks to the left of the path, near the river, are some curious rock-cuttings known to the peasants as the *Mageireia* ('kitchen'). It has been suggested that these cuttings were the tomb of Ladas mentioned by Pausanias; but Mr. Loring thinks that they were probably made for the reception of some statues, altars, or the like rather than for a tomb. See Baedeker,[3] p. 292; W. Loring, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 15 (1895), p. 43 *sq.* As to Ladas see ii. 19. 7; viii. 12. 5. There was a bronze statue of Ladas by Myron (*Anthol. Palatina, Appendix Planudea*, 54). Cp. Brunn, in *Sitzungsberichte* of the Bavarian Academy (Munich), Philosoph. philolog. Cl., 6 November. 1880, p. 474 *sqq.*

21. 2. **the Characoma ('entrenchment').** About a mile and a half further up the valley of the Eurotas from the *Mageireia* (see preceding note), there are the remains of a massive wall of ancient Greek masonry close to the path, by the side of a small stream. The wall, which goes by the name of *Helleniko*, forms an angle with the river. It is about twenty paces long and is built of ashlar masonry. Probably it formed part of a fortification intended to bar the pass. This fortification may very well have been the Characoma of Pausanias. See Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 401; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 114 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 292; W. Loring, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 15 (1895), p. 44.

21. 2. **Pellana.** About three miles north of *Helleniko* (see preceding note) the valley of the Eurotas widens out and the path to Megalopolis begins to diverge from the river to the left (westward). Here on the opposite (eastern) bank of the river rises a rugged mountain, crowned by two peaked rocks, on each of which stands a chapel: one is a chapel of St. John, the other a chapel of St. Demetrius. These peaks are the termination of a hill which projects westward from the village of *Vourlia*. Between the foot of this rugged mountain and the river is a narrow grassy meadow, some 50 to 200 yards in width, which is protected from the encroachments of the river by a wall of large and very roughly squared stones laid without mortar. This wall, which seems to

be ancient, is preserved for a length of about 200 yards and a height of three or four courses. At the back of the meadow which it protects, and just at the foot of the mountain, a remarkably fine spring rises among the rocks; its waters are dammed up so as to form a reservoir which supplies a mill-stream. The spring is called *Vivari.* Its water was formerly conveyed to Sparta by the aqueduct which has been mentioned more than once. The aqueduct is probably Roman. A little beyond this wall and spring the river is joined on the left (eastern) bank by a tributary which descends in a broad bed from the village of *Konditsa.* At the point where the streams meet, a broad stretch of fertile flat land extends along both sides of the Eurotas. In the village of *Konditsa* there is a copious spring of clear cold water; and in the plain below it another abundant spring rises, also cold and clear. Thus in the neighbourhood of *Konditsa* there are three large springs, namely one in the village itself, one in the plain immediately below it, and a third (the *Vivari*) close to the river, just behind the ancient river-wall. The existence of these springs and of the ancient wall has led topographers generally to identify this region with Pellana. The distances both from Sparta and Belemina tally well with those given by Pausanias. The site of *Konditsa* is perhaps too far back from the direct route to Megalopolis to be identified as that of Pellana. Hence the two springs in the plain at the foot of the hills may be those which Pausanias calls the Pellanian spring and Lancea. There are no ancient remains in the chapels of St. John and St. Demetrius.

See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 77; Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 13 *sq.*; Ross, *Reisen*, p. 190 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 255 *sq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 401 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 114 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 292 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 281 *sq.*; W. Loring, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 15 (1895), p. 44 *sq.*

Pellana, or Pellene as it is called by some ancient writers, was one of three frontier Laconian towns which together were called the Tripolis ('three cities') (Polybius, iv. 81; Livy, xxxv. 27). One of the two other towns was probably Belemina (see below). When the Boeotian army under Epaminondas was marching against Sparta, Agesilaus advanced to Pellana; but he was out-manoeuvred by the Theban general and had to return in great haste to the capital (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, vii. 5. 9 *sq.*) After the retreat of the Thebans, an Arcadian force made an incursion into Laconia, stormed Pellana, and put the Lacedaemonian garrison to the sword (Diodorus, xv. 67). This happened in 369 B.C. Many years afterwards the garrison of Pellana annoyed the retreat of an Achaean army under Philopoemen (Polybius, xvi. 37). Plutarch speaks of "the ravine at Pellene" (*Agis*, 8), by which he probably meant the stream which comes down from *Konditsa* (see above).

Continuing our journey northward we come, in rather more than an hour after leaving the site of Pellana, to the remains of another ancient town. They are situated at a village called the *Kalyvia of Georghitsi.* A low rocky hill, steep on all sides except the east, here rises immediately to the left of the path. It was an ancient acropolis,

for its top is surrounded by ruined walls, in which ancient Greek foundations can be discerned under late mediaeval masonry. Some of the walls extend lower down the hill, and at its foot a fine spring, shaded by tall trees, issues from among the rocks and flows down rapidly to join the Eurotas. A little beyond the acropolis, still on the left of the path, are two circular caves cut in the soft rock, with roofs of the beehive shape. They measure about 18 feet in diameter by 10 feet in height. Probably they were tombs. Mr. Loring bought many coins, most of them Roman and Byzantine, at the village. He observed little pottery about, from which he inferred that the ancient place was small, perhaps only a fort. Vischer, however, noticed vestiges of a town extending from the acropolis far down into the plain. Probably the town was the third of the three ancient towns which made up the Tripolis, the other two being Pellana and Belemina (see above). But as to the name of the ancient town of which the ruins exist at the *Kalyvia of Georghitsi*, the opinions of topographers differ. It would seem to have been either Aegys (Paus. iii. 2. 5; Strabo, x. p. 446; Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Αἴγυς) or Carystus (Strabo, *l.c.*; Athenaeus, i. p. 31 c; Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Κάρυστος). The wine of Carystus was mentioned by the poet Alcman, as we learn from the writers last cited.

See Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 18 *sq.*; *id.*, *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 350; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 76; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 257 *sq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 402; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 114; Baedeker,[3] p. 293; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 282; W. Loring, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 15 (1895), p. 45 *sq.*

21. 3. Belemina. Pursuing our way northward from the *Kalyvia of Georghitsi* (see preceding note) we come in half an hour to an abundant and beautiful spring gushing freely from beneath rocks on the left side of the path and surrounded by trees. Below the spring, in a little stretch of flat ground planted with mulberry-trees, Vischer observed some ancient walls. Beyond this place the track ascends and traverses a flat tableland of some extent, dotted with heaps of stones and stunted wild pear-trees. This tableland goes by the name of *Agrapithokambos* ('wild-pear region'). Beyond it the track descends through a bleak country and enters a beautiful pass in which the hillsides on either hand are richly clothed with arbutus. Hence the pass gets its name of *Goumarokambos* ('arbutus region'). From this pass we emerge on the head waters of the Eurotas at the khan of *Longaniko*. The time from the *Kalyvia of Georghitsi* to the khan of *Longaniko* is about two hours. Here, on the opposite (northern) side of the river, rises the fine conical mountain of *Chelmos* (2556 feet), its slopes clothed with wood and green pastures. Although streams flow round its base on both sides to form the Eurotas, the mountain seems to the eye to close the valley of the Eurotas on the north. It is a conspicuous object whether seen from the north or the south, being visible both from Megalopolis and Sparta. Its summit is encircled by extensive remains of fortification-walls, of which a considerable part is generally held to be ancient, while the rest is certainly mediaeval.

These walls follow, as far as possible, the verge of the steepest slope and keep as nearly level as the nature of the ground allows; but on the eastern side, where the ground falls away very abruptly, the wall necessarily descends with it fully 200 feet, in order to rejoin the crest of the hill (here much lower) near its north-east corner. On the west the slope is much more gradual. The fort consists of an upper and a lower enclosure, the upper enclosure forming the citadel proper. This upper enclosure was itself divided into two by a cross-wall in mediaeval and perhaps also in ancient times. The massive walls both of the upper and lower enclosure are strengthened at intervals by towers, semicircular or square. In respect of structure, the walls are built entirely of unhewn stones piled together; but the two faces are more carefully put together, and built of larger stones, than the interior. Mr. W. Loring, the only traveller who has examined and described the fortress in detail, distinguishes three styles in the construction of the walls: (1) that of the outer wall; (2) that of the western part of the cross-wall which separates the upper enclosure from the lower; (3) that of the remaining walls of the upper enclosure. The difference between styles 1 and 2 lies in the size of the stones, those of the outer wall being much larger than those of the inner. In the walls of style 3 mortar has been extensively, and tiles sparingly, employed; they are obviously mediaeval. The walls of the first two styles are probably ancient; from the large size and loose structure of the stones Dr. Dörpfeld, judging by Mr. Loring's photographs, inclined to think that, if ancient at all, they belonged to the Mycenaean age.

This fortress on Mount *Chelmos* has been sometimes identified with Belemina, as by Leake and Lolling (Baedeker). Belemina, or Belbina as it was also called (Plutarch, *Cleomenes*, 4; Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Βέλβινα), was no doubt the chief place of this district, but from Pausanias's description of it as supplied with springs and traversed by the Eurotas we should expect to find it in the valley, not on the top of the mountain. Probably Mr. W. Loring is right in identifying the fortress on Mount *Chelmos* with the place called the Athenaeum by Plutarch and Polybius. Plutarch says that the Athenaeum was near Belbina, on a pass leading into Laconia, and that it was claimed by Megalopolis in the reign of Cleomenes III., king of Sparta, who seized and fortified it (*Cleomenes*, 4). Polybius, himself a native of Megalopolis, always speaks of the Athenaeum as belonging to Megalopolis (iv. 37, 60, 81): he tells us (iv. 81) that on one occasion the Lacedaemonians, being threatened with a Macedonian invasion, dismantled and evacuated the Athenaeum. Thus it appears that the Athenaeum was on the frontiers between Laconia and Arcadia, and that its possession was claimed by both countries. The same thing was true of Belemina, as we learn from Pausanias (viii. 35. 3 *sq.*); it was sometimes held by Megalopolis (Polybius, ii. 54; Livy, xxxviii. 34). The name Belemina or Belbina seems to have covered the whole district in which the Athenaeum was situated. Indeed it may be questioned whether Belemina or Belbina was not the name of a district only, not of a town at all. Stephanus Byzantius, it is true, speaks of Belbina as a Laconian

city (*s.v.* Βέλβινα), but his authority is Pausanias, whose language in the present passage favours the view that it was a district rather than a town. And Polybius (ii. 54), Strabo (viii. p. 343), and Livy (xxxviii. 34) speak of it only as a district. No other undoubted remains of an ancient settlement, besides those on Mount *Chelmos*, appear to exist in this district. Ancient remains have indeed been reported at two other places, namely (1) on the plateau to the south-east of the village of *Petrina*, about two miles west of Mt. *Chelmos*, and (2) near the chapel (now destroyed) of Hagia Eirene at the eastern foot of *Chelmos*. But Mr. Loring failed to find ancient Greek ruins at either of these places. He suggests that at the former place the white rocks protruding from the soil, with which the plateau is studded, may have been mistaken at a distance for ruins. At the latter place it would seem that some minor antiquities, especially small bronze figures, have occasionally been found.

See Gell, *Journey in the Morea*, p. 318 *sq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 20 *sq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 75 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 256 *sq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 403; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 113; Baedeker,^{3} p. 293; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 282; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 165; W. Loring, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 15 (1895), pp. 37-41, 46, 71-74.

21. 4. **Croceae.** Pausanias has now returned from the north of Laconia to Sparta, and is journeying southward toward the sea. About 15 miles south of Sparta on the road to Gythium is the village of *Levetsova*. About 3 miles further to the south-east, in the undulating hilly region between the villages of *Alai-Bey* and *Stephania*, are the quarries which Pausanias here describes. Croceae must, therefore, have been in the neighbourhood, perhaps at *Alai-Bey*. The quarries are situated on the top of a conical hill, which is mostly covered with earth and dotted over with oaks. The stone is green porphyry (*verde antico*): the Romans called it Lacedaemonian marble (Pliny, *N. H.* xxxvi. 55). It has a rich green ground speckled with rectangular greenish-white crystals of feldspar. It is very hard, and difficult to work, but takes a fine polish. The rock, as Pausanias says, is not continuous; indeed the stratum is so disruptured that it is not easy to find a lump a foot long by a few inches thick. Green porphyry is not known to exist elsewhere in Greece: but fragments, brought from Croceae, may be seen at Sparta, Olympia, and Argos. There is at present a large piece of it at the east end of the Acropolis at Athens. But whether the Greeks made any use of the stone before Roman times is doubtful. Strabo mentions (viii. p. 367) that a large quarry of a costly stone had recently been opened in Mount Taygetus to supply the demands of Roman luxury. The reference may be to the porphyry quarries at Croceae. One of the baths at Corinth was adorned with this green porphyry (Paus. ii. 3. 5); but of course this bath, like the rest of the city, was of the Roman epoch. Above the chief quarry there are some remains of structures of Roman brick. Here perhaps stood the bronze images of the Dioscuri mentioned by Pausanias. At the neighbouring village of *Levetsova* there is a marble relief representing the Dioscuri. Ross in vain tried to buy it. The people thought the figures were the guardian spirits of the village.

See *Expéd. Scient. de Morée: Géologie*, pp. 114, 129-137; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 84 *sq.*; Fiedler, *Reise*, 1. p. 326 *sqq.*; L. Ross, *Wanderungen*, 2. p. 240 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 266 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. pp. 106, 132; Baedeker,[3] p. 291; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 260 *sq.*; Blümner, *Technologie*, 3. p. 19 *sqq.*; Neumann und Partsch, *Physikalische Geographie von Griechenland*, p. 220 *sq.*; J. H. Middleton, *The Remains of ancient Rome*, 1. p. 24; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, pp. 215, 387.

21. 5. **turning off to the right —— you will come to the town of Aegiae** etc. From Croceae, Pausanias might have followed the straight road to the sea; but instead he turns off into the hills to the right. Aegiae seems to have been close to the site of the modern *Limni*. Here, on the right bank of the *Smenos*, is a church of St. Demetrius, mostly built of ancient blocks and marbles, with some unfluted columns and bad Ionic capitals. Opposite the church, on the left bank of the stream, and on the slope of a small hill, are the inconsiderable ruins of Aegiae. The remains of a bath may be distinguished; the rest consists of foundations and single blocks. The epithet 'lovely' which Homer (*Iliad*, ii. 583) applies to Aegiae (or Augeae, as he calls it) is appropriate. The little valley is surrounded by soft green hills, mostly wooded with oak. A marshy flat, where willows grow, begins at Aegiae; in winter it is under water. At *Limni* the valley bends south and forms a lake. This may be the lake mentioned by Pausanias. The distance of the place from Gythium agrees with the 30 Greek furlongs of Pausanias (§ 6).

See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 85; Ross, *Wanderungen*, 2. p. 229 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 267 *sq.*; Leake, *Pelop.* p. 170; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 145; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 260.

21. 5. **the fish called the Fisher.** This fish was so called from the way in which he catches his prey. It is described by Aristotle (*Hist. An.* ix. 37, p. 620 b of the Berlin ed.) and Plutarch (*De sollertia Animalium*, 27. 4) as follows. From his eyes (Aristotle) or neck (Plutarch) project a number (Plutarch speaks of only one) of feelers or tentacles, resembling hairs or fishing lines, each rounded at the end, like bait. The fish stirs up the mud or sand, hides himself in the turbid water, and stretches out his long feelers. When a fish touches one of them, the 'fisher' fish gradually draws in his feeler, and with it the victim, to his mouth. Aristotle's description of the fish is copied by Antigonus (*Histor. Mirab.* 47). The fish is the *Lophius piscatorius*, found on the coasts of Europe. Its scientific name, like its popular English name 'angler' and French name *raie-pécheresse*, are derived from its mode of capturing its prey, which Aristotle has described correctly. It has a number of long filaments in a row down its belly, from below its mouth. Claus says: "The pelvic fins, which are small and placed on the throat (jugular), have their so-called carpal pieces elongated, so that they form movable arm-like supports for the body, and are in fact used for hopping and creeping." This may have suggested the other name of 'frog,' by which the fish has been known in ancient and modern times, Greek *βάτραχος* (Aristotle, *l.c.*; Aelian, *Nat. An.* xiii. 5), English *frog-fish*, *toad-fish*, German *Frosch-fisch*, *Froschteufel*. See Aubert and Wimmer's German translation of

Aristotle's *History of Animals*, vol. 1. p. 146, with their note on ix. 37; J. Barthélemy Saint Hilaire, in his French translation of the same work, vol. 3. p. 214; Claus, *Elementary Text-book of Zoology, Special Part, Mollusca to Man*, p. 173, with the woodcut No. 617 on p. 172. Cp. J. B. Meyer, *Aristotles Thierkunde*, pp. 277, 281 *sq.* On sacred fish see note on vii. 22. 4.

21. 6. **the Free Laconians, whom the Emperor Augustus released** etc. Pausanias is wrong in saying that the maritime towns, of which he gives a list in the next section, were first made independent of Sparta by Augustus. Inscriptions show that before the time of Augustus these towns were not only independent of Sparta but confederated among themselves. But whereas before his time the league had been known as 'the commonwealth of the Lacedaemonians,' from the time of Augustus onward it was known as the Free Laconians (*Eleuthero-lacones*), and the gift of freedom was probably bestowed by Augustus. See Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, 5. p. 238; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscript. Graec.* No. 255, note 3.

21. 6. **the purple dye** etc. The shellfish which the Phoenicians chiefly used for the manufacture of the purple dye seem to have been the *Murex trunculus* and the *Murex brandaris*. On the beach at Sidon enormous masses of shells of the former sort may still be seen: the heap is more than 100 yards long, and is 6 or 7 yards high. The head of each shell has been broken, as with a hammer, to extract the mollusc. In Greece heaps of the *Murex brandaris* may be seen at various places near the sea. The Phoenicians set down the discovery of the dye to the dog of Hercules (that is of Melcarth); the beast happened to fasten its teeth in one of the shellfish, and its lips were seen to be stained purple (Pollux, i. 45 *sq.*) By using shells of different sorts and manipulating them in various ways, the ancient dyers contrived to extract from the shellfish dyes of diverse hues from blue and crimson to an intense violet. See F. de Saulcy, in *Revue Archéologique*, N. S. 9 (1864), pp. 216-218; Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 3. p. 878 *sqq.*; Blümner, *Technologie*, 1. p. 224 *sqq.* In Pausanias's time more than half the population of the seaside town of Bulis in Phocis were purple-fishers (x. 37. 3).

21. 8. **Gythium.** According to Strabo (viii. p. 363) the distance of Gythium from Sparta was 240 Greek furlongs or about 27 English miles. The French surveyors found this measurement exact (Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 86). Gythium, the seaport of Sparta, stood on the slopes of some low hills and on a small plain enclosed between the hills and the sea. A torrent intersects the plain. There is no natural harbour here; accordingly the ancient harbour of Gythium was formed artificially by excavation (Strabo, *l.c.*) Of this artificial harbour no certain trace has been found. The remains of the ancient city extend over a considerable area. On the slope of the hill, some 150 yards or so from the sea, are the remains of a theatre constructed of a coarse white marble. Some of the seats are in their places; many others are lying about or are built into the terraces which support the vineyards. Excavations made by the Greek Archaeological Society in 1891 cleared seven of the

lower rows of seats. The seats in the lowest row, round the orchestra, were provided with backs. On one of the backs of the seat is carved the name 'Antigonus.' Five staircases led up through the seats, two at the wings, the rest in the middle. The wings rested on an artificial foundation of ashlar masonry, rubble, and mortar, of which portions remain. The stage-buildings, with the exception of the back part, were also cleared in the excavations of 1891. The total diameter of the theatre seems to have been about 250 feet. The hill immediately above the theatre was the acropolis; some pieces of the wall are preserved. In the plain, to the north of the torrent which intersects it, there are many ruins of Gythium, but they seem to be all of Roman date. Beside a small chapel there are some massive ancient walls standing to a height of 10 or 12 feet above the ground. A little further north, beside the public well, there is another group of walls; and still further north may be seen three or four vaulted chambers built side by side. On the south-west slope of the acropolis hill, near the church of the Trinity (*Hagia Triada*), and lower down on both sides of the torrent and of the carriage road to Sparta, there are many graves, some cut in the rock, others built. Here, too, at the point where the torrent is hemmed in most closely by the hills, a long straight wall of polygonal masonry, following the bed of the stream, was laid bare by a spate in 1891. Beside the sea, to the left of the mouth of the torrent, there are extensive and massive remains of an ancient building; they are now surmounted by a windmill and partly submerged by the sea. Some rooms with mosaic pavements and water-channels may be seen on the land; and at the bottom of the sea, on a calm day, ruins of all sorts may be distinguished extending far under water. It used to be supposed that these were the remains of ancient breakwaters which protected the harbour of Gythium. But a more careful examination of them by Mr. Skias in 1891 proved that this view is mistaken. The ruins in question are those of a great many perfectly distinct buildings, both large and small, some of them divided into several apartments. Arches, vaults, and door-posts may be seen in some places. In fact it would seem that we have here a large part of the ancient city sunk under the sea. To the north of the mouth of the torrent, still beside the sea, are the remains of a large marble building buried deep under the soil. A part of the stylobate was excavated some years ago, and there were found four large marble blocks of the epistyle, a piece of the *geison* with waterspouts in the shape of lions' heads, and a Corinthian capital. On the shore further north were discovered remains of an aqueduct or bath. Beyond it is a large subterranean tomb with a vaulted roof; a marble sarcophagus, unsculptured, still rests in one of two niches in the tomb. Further from the sea, to the south-east of the theatre and at no great distance from it, are the ruins of a very large building, from which many blocks of stone have been taken to build the modern town of Gythium (*Marathonisi*). Inscriptions have been found in it. Mr. Skias believes that this large edifice may have been the market-place. A little nearer the theatre Mr. Skias excavated the stylobate of a large marble building, which seems to have faced towards the sea. The stylobate was laid

bare for a length of 21 metres (69 feet). On it were found two bases of Ionic columns (not in their original places), a large block of the epistyle, and a curiously shaped marble monument consisting of a large egg-shaped sphere joined by a neck to a square base. Further, on the slope of the hill to the south of the theatre, many walls and scattered blocks may be seen; and above the theatre, towards the top of the hill, there is the floor of some edifice. To the north of the theatre, in the glen which here bounds the acropolis hill, there are very considerable remains of a circular vaulted building, perhaps a baptistry: they are standing to a height of about 7 feet. Besides all these remains, the church of St. George in the modern town is to a great extent built of materials taken from the ancient city.

The modern town of *Marathonisi*, officially known as Gythium, stands some 200 yards south of the ruins of the ancient city. It is picturesquely situated on the rocky slope of Mount Larysium (see Paus. iii. 22. 2), which here projects into the sea. The streets are narrow, crooked, and filthy. The climate is very hot and unhealthy: in summer the mosquitoes make life almost unbearable. Still the trade of the place is considerable. The population (3700) is notorious for its lawless violence.

See Walpole's *Memoirs relating to Turkey*, 1.[2] p. 57 *sq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 86 *sq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 244 *sq.*; Le Bas, 'Voyages et recherches,' *Revue Archéologique*, 2 (1845), p. 207 *sqq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 268 *sqq.*; L. Ross, *Wanderungen*, 2. pp. 231-237; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 144 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 269 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 261 *sq.*; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 210; Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν, 1891, p. 113; Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολ. Ἑταιρίας, 1891, pp. 27-34 (with a plan of the theatre; this is the fullest description of the ruins of Gythium); *Bulletin de Corr. Hellénique*, 15 (1891), p. 654 *sq.*; A. N. Skias, in Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1892, pp. 60-64; *ib.* pp. 185-204 (inscriptions). The best plan of Gythium is given by Le Bas (*Voyage archéologique*, Itinéraire, pl. 26).

21. 8. after contending for the possession of the tripod. See x. 13. 7 note. Prof. Curtius conjectures that in this legend of the joint foundation of Gythium by Hercules and Apollo, we have a reminiscence of the union of two hostile stocks, namely the Dorian invaders and the old Minyan inhabitants of the land, the Dorians being represented in the legend by Hercules and the Minyans by Apollo (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 2. p. 223).

21. 8. In the market-place —— there are images of Apollo etc. Though Pausanias only mentions an image of Apollo, we learn from inscriptions that there was a sanctuary of Apollo in the market-place. See *Revue Archéologique*, 2 (1845), p. 208 *sq.*; S. Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, p. 69. As to the supposed ruins of the market-place see above, p. 377.

21. 9. an Old Man who lives in the sea etc. "The Old Man of the Sea" is the title which in the passage of the *Iliad* quoted by Pausanias (*Il.* xviii. 140 *sq.*) Thetis gives to the father of the Nereids, her sisters. But the name of Nereus does not occur in the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*. In the *Odyssey* (iv. 384 *sq.*) Proteus is called 'the old man of the sea.' On a bronze relief, found at Olympia, Hercules is

represented grappling with a bearded man, the lower part of whose body is a fish's tail; an inscription at the side of this fish-tailed monster declares him to be the 'Old Man of the Sea.' See Milchhöfer, *Anfänge d. griech. Kunst*, p. 185, fig. 67; *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 4 (1883), p. 106; Friederichs-Wolters, *Gipsabgüsse*, No. 341; Roehl, *I. G. A.* No. 34; Collitz, *G. D. I.* 3. No. 3261. The title 'Old Man of the Sea' is also inscribed beside the figure of a bearded man on a vase by the Attic vase-painter Cholchus (Dressler, *Triton und die Tritonen*, Wurzen, 1892/3, 1. p. 1; Escher, *Triton und seine Bekämpfung durch Herakles*, Leipzig, 1890, p. 4). The combat of Hercules with a sea-monster, half man, half fish, is represented on the frieze of the ancient temple at Assus (Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 327; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. p. 108 *sq.*; Murray, *Hist. of Greek Sculpture*,[2] 1. p. 103; Friederichs-Wolters, *Gipsabgüsse*, Nos. 8-12; Collignon, *Hist. de la Sculpture Grecque*, 1. p. 185), and is the subject of two archaic groups of sculpture which occupied the gables of temples on the Acropolis of Athens (Collignon, *op. cit.* 1. p. 207; Overbeck, *op. cit.* 1. pp. 181-184; Escher, *op. cit.* pp. 125-131). The same combat is depicted on many black-figured vases, on some of which the sea-monster is identified as Triton by inscriptions. See Escher, *op. cit.* p. 132 *sqq.*; K. Kuruniotis, *Herakles mit Halios geron und Triton auf Werken der älteren griechischen Kunst* (München, 1893), pp. 18-33. As to the Greek 'Old Man of the Sea' see further Escher, *op. cit.* p. 1 *sqq.*; Dressler, *op. cit.* p. 1 *sqq.*; Kuruniotis, *op. cit.* p. 5 *sqq.*; S. Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, p. 223 *sqq.*

22. 1. **Just three furlongs from Gythium is an unwrought stone** etc. Near the eastern foot of the hill Larysium, a little above the sea and about 3 furlongs from the ruins of Gythium, is an inscription cut in the rock, in small and very ancient characters; and behind it, according to Leake, there was, on the side of the mountain, "a chair with a footstep, hewn in the rock, and resembling the chairs at Athens, in the rocks near the Pnyx." This Leake supposed to be the stone referred to by Pausanias. Mr. Skias, however, has recently denied that there is, or ever was, here any such cutting in the rock. The spot is now within the town of *Marathonisi* or Gythium. About 200 yards further north and further from the sea, on the northern slope of Mt. Larysium, is a remarkable stepped or terraced cutting in the rock, recalling the so-called *bema* in the Pnyx at Athens (vol. 2. p. 375 *sq.*) The purpose which it served is not known. Engraved on the rock is the inscription: ΜΟΙΡΑ ΔΙΟΣ ΤΕΡ(Α)ΣΤΙ[ΟΥ], 'the property of Zeus, god of portents.' See Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 248; R. Weil, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 1 (1876), p. 151 *sqq.*; Skias, in Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1892, pp. 55-60. See the view and plans of the latter rock-cutting in Le Bas, *Voyage archéologique*, Itinéraire, pl. 25. Prof. Curtius (*Pelop.* 2. p. 272) has confused the two rock-cuttings, as may be seen by comparing his text and plan (plate xii.) with the descriptions of Leake and Weil and the map and plans (Nos. 25, 26) of Le Bas. For the inscription in front of Orestes's seat (?), see Leake, *Morea*, 3. pl. 28; R. Weil, *op. cit.* p. 154; Roehl, *I. G. A.* No. 72; Roberts,

Greek Epigraphy, No. 260. Roehl gives six different copies of this inscription, the meaning of which is still uncertain. With the traditional association of Orestes with the stone cp. ii. 31. 4.

22. 1. **the island of Cranae.** This is the little island of *Marathonisi*, off the town of that name, the modern Gythium. Two sarcophaguses have been found in it, the one sculptured, the other plain (*Revue Archéologique*, 2 (1845), p. 213; Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 24[illegible]; Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχ. Ἑταιρ. 1891, p. 34). The passage of Homer to which Pausanias refers is *Il.* iii. 443 *sqq.* Homer's island of Cranae was by others identified with the island of Helene off the coast of Attica. See note on i. 35. 1.

22. 2. **Praxidica.** See ix. 33. 3 note.

22. 3. **Trinasus.** The ruins of Trinasus are on the shore north-east of Gythium, near the village of *Trinisa*; the place in ancient and modern times has got its name from the three rocky islets which here lie off the coast. The circuit of Trinasus was not more than 400 or 500 yards, which agrees with Pausanias's remark that the place was a fortress rather than a town. The lower parts of walls of the third order remain on every side, except toward the sea; and in the centre are the foundations of some buildings of the same style of masonry. See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 94; Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 232 *sq.*; Ross, *Wanderungen*, 2. p. 239; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 287; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 144.

22. 3. **Helos.** This is still the name of the plain on the northern shore of the Laconian Gulf, through which the Eurotas flows into the sea. The flat sandy sea-beach is skirted by low downs, behind which stretch wide marshes, partially overgrown with reeds and shrubs. Beyond this belt of marshes begins the fertile plain of Helos: its soil is light and sandy, and it is covered with corn-fields, dotted here and there with oaks and olive-trees. But the exact site of the ancient town of Helos is uncertain. The French surveyors inclined to place it at a spot near the *Kalyvia of Bizani*, at the eastern side of the plain, where they found some heaps of *débris*, potsherds, and several small chapels. Helos was a seaport in the old days (Homer, *Iliad*, ii. 584). But its harbour is now a lagoon or marsh. This alteration of the coast, and the consequent decay of Helos (like the decay of our old Cinque Ports, some of which are now some way from the sea) must have taken place by the beginning of our era, for Strabo speaks of the marsh and mentions that Helos was now only a village (viii. p. 363). See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 94 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 289; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 133; Baedeker,[3] p. 291; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 258; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 180. Helos must have been an old Achaean city, for its legendary founder Helius was said to be a son of Perseus (Strabo, *l.c.*)

22. 4. **Acriae.** The French surveyors found the ruins of Acriae at the modern port *Kokinio*, near the north-eastern corner of the Laconian Gulf. The tower of *Kokinio* stands on the site of the old acropolis. The sea has destroyed some of the walls. See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 95; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 289 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 143.

22. 4. **The oldest of all her images etc.** See v. 13. 7 note.

22. 5. Nicocles. Le Bas found on the site of Acriae (as he believed) a block of marble bearing a very mutilated inscription, which he restored thus:

Οἱ Ἀκριάται Νικοκλέα
πεντάκις Ὀλυμπιονίκην

"The people of Acriae (set up this statue of) Nicocles, who was five times victorious at Olympia." See *Revue Archéologique*, 2 (1845), p. 220. If this restoration is right, the block formed part of the monument of Nicocles mentioned by Pausanias.

22. 6. Geronthrae. This is the modern *Geraki* or *Hieraki* (the name is written both ways, the pronunciation being nearly the same in modern Greek). It lies at the north-eastern corner of a plateau which slopes down to the Eurotas on the west. The plateau is bounded on the north and south by two torrents flowing into the Eurotas. The ruined town of *Geraki* occupies the acropolis of the ancient Geronthrae; the ancient city stretched to the south in the fine plain watered by springs, which, as we learn from Pausanias, marked the site of the market-place. The ruins in the plain are of Roman date; but on the summit of the hill which formed the acropolis there is a long piece of Cyclopean wall on the north. The sanctuary of Apollo, mentioned by Pausanias (§ 7), is referred to in an inscription which contains a decree of the people of Geronthrae (*C. I. G.* No. 1334). Geronthrae must have been a market-town as late as the fourth century of our era; for an inscription containing fragments of a Greek translation of Diocletian's edict about prices was found here. Afterwards the town was the seat of a bishopric. The distance of 120 Greek furlongs (13⅓ miles) from Acriae, mentioned by Pausanias, is exact. See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 95 *sq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 6 *sqq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 302 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 136; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 181.

22. 6. a village called Palaea ('old'). Some ruins on a hill to the west of the modern *Apidia* were pointed out to Boblaye as those of Palaea (*Recherches*, p. 95 *sq.*) *Apidia* lies about midway between Acriae and Geronthrae.

22. 8. Marius. This was probably at or near the site of the modern village which still bears the name of *Mari*. The village lies in the rugged highlands to the east of Geronthrae, from which, however, it is distant 75 to 80 Greek furlongs, not 100, as Pausanias says. There are ruins in the plain near the village. The old citadel is about a mile and a quarter south of the village. Copious springs flow on all sides, agreeably to Pausanias's description. The place is an oasis in this mountain wilderness. See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 96; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 303; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 135 *sq.*

22. 8. Glyppia. This is doubtless the place called Glympeis by Polybius (iv. 36, v. 20). In 218 B.C. the Messenians, marching from Argolis to join Philip to the southward of Sparta, were attacked and defeated by the Spartan tyrant Lycurgus at Glympeis or Glyppia (Polybius, v. 20). Glyppia is generally identified with the ruins called *Lympiada* (*Lymbiadha*) at the upper (western) end of the gully which

runs down to the eastern sea at *Leonidi*. The modern name may be a corruption of the ancient one, which in its turn may have been a local form of the name Olympia. The surrounding district is still called *Olympo-choria*. See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 96 *sq.*; Leake, *Pelop.* p. 362 *sqq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 303 *sq.* Bursian, however, thought that Glyppia probably lay a good deal further south, nearer Marius, perhaps at the modern *Kosmas* or still further south at *Kremasti*. He holds that though Polybius (v. 20) states that Glympeis was on the frontier between Argolis and Laconia, this is no argument in favour of the more northerly *Lympiada*, since at the time of which Polybius is writing the east coast as far south as Zarax belonged to Argolis. See Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 135.

22. 8. **Selinus.** As Pausanias only mentions the distance of this place from Geronthrae, without mentioning the direction, it cannot be identified. Leake (*Pelop.* p. 364) conjectured that it may have been at the modern *Kosmas*, where there are some ancient tombs; the villagers sell to strangers a quantity of bronze statuettes, and affirm that there are ruins at the foot of the neighbouring Mt. *Mazaraki*. See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 97.

22. 9. **Asopus.** This town must have been close to the high rocky peninsula of *Xyli*, which runs southward into the sea about 8 miles to the south of Acriae. The peninsula is, in fact, a limestone mountain about 1000 ft. high. On its eastern side the peninsula forms, with the mainland opposite, a deep bay and good harbour. At the head of the bay there are considerable ancient remains. Leake observed several quadrangular foundations cut in the rock and extending into the water as far as he could see; also the remains of a public building, of which three or four courses of regular masonry were standing, together with some large hewn blocks of white marble lying on the beach; a great quantity of pottery; two pieces of Doric columns of common stone, etc. In the shallow bay the ruins of buildings constructed of bricks and mortar may be seen extending under water for a distance of nearly 100 yards from the shore; one of the buildings reaches up to the surface of the water and is divided into several square compartments. To the west of these buildings a massive wall runs out under water; it may be the remains of an ancient breakwater. The modern name of these ruins is *Blitra* or *Plitra*. Leake, Ross, and Bursian identified them with Asopus. The summit of the *Xyli* peninsula was probably the acropolis, where stood the temple of Athena Cyparissia. About three-quarters of an hour to the north-west of the ruins of *Blitra*, on the coast at the northern foot of the *Xyli* promontory, there are the remains of another ancient town, the ruins of a large church, and some foundations which extend under the water. The place is called *Boza*. Ross and Bursian suppose that the ruins at *Boza* are the ruins of the city of the Paracypressian Achaeans, which Pausanias speaks of. Boblaye and Curtius, on the other hand, invert the hypothesis, placing Asopus at *Boza*, and the city of the Paracypressian Achaeans at *Blitra*. Strabo (viii. p. 364) mentions, as lying on the coast between Acriae and Boeae, "the city of Cyparissia, built on a peninsula and possessing a harbour."

The peninsula of which he speaks is doubtless *Xyli*, and the harbour is the bay enclosed by *Xyli*. But the exact relation of Cyparissia to the two towns mentioned by Pausanias cannot be exactly determined.

See Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 225 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Pelop.* p. 169; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 97; Le Bas, in *Revue Archéologique*, 2 (1845), p. 218; Ross, *Wanderungen*, 2. p. 247 *sqq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 290 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 142 *sq.*; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 179 *sq.*

22. 9. **Athena, surnamed Cyparissia ('she of the cypress').** On a coin of Asopus, of the reign of Septimius Severus, Athena is represented standing with a cypress branch in her left hand and a spear in her raised right hand. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 63, with pl. O x. Compare Paus. iv. 36. 7.

22. 10. **Hyperteleatum.** The French surveyors placed this at a point on the coast opposite the southern extremity of Cape *Xyli*, below the village of *Demonia*. They found here, beside the sea, some remains of an enclosure of a temple on a rock artificially cut; also many tombs hewn in the rock. In these tombs have been found many gems engraved with the figure of a stag. Some five hundred paces in the direction of *Demonia* there rises one of the finest springs of water in all Peloponnese. See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 98; Leake, *Pelop.* p. 168 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 294; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 142. When Le Bas visited the site in 1843 or 1844 he could find no trace of the temple (*Revue Archéologique*, 2 (1845), p. 219). From the head of the bay of *Xyli* a plain called Leuke in antiquity (Strabo, viii. p. 363) stretches inland and northward. It is about five miles wide and is surrounded by hills. Fields of corn and maize now cover its whole extent, but the modern villages are built on the surrounding heights, or at the foot of the hills. On the south-east side of the plain, at the foot of the hills, is the village of *Phiniki*. In a field near this village a number of inscriptions have been found which show that a temple of Hyperteleatian Apollo of some importance must have existed somewhere hereabout. Seventy-one bronze plates have been found here, mostly inscribed with the names of priests and fire-bearers (*πυρφόροι*) of Hyperteleatian Apollo. Inscriptions on stone have also come to light here, containing decrees of 'proxeny' in favour of individuals, with directions that the inscribed tablets shall be set up "in the sanctuary of Hyperteleatian Apollo." One of these decrees was passed by the people of Cotyrta, a Laconian town mentioned by Thucydides (iv. 56), but not by Pausanias. Excavations were made on the spot where these inscriptions were found, in the hope of discovering remains of the temple, but without success. Still it is probable that the temple was somewhere in the neighbourhood; and unless Hyperteleatum was the name of the whole district, we should have to suppose that the sanctuary of Aesculapius, here mentioned by Pausanias, was near *Phiniki* and not on the coast, as the French surveyors thought. See Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1884, pp. 79-89, 197-218; Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχ. Ἑταιρ. 1885, p. 31 *sq.* As to the name Hyperteleatian cp. Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1885, pp. 58-61.

22. 10. a cape —— **Onugnathus.** This is now the island of *Elaphonisi*, the low narrow isthmus which once joined it to the mainland being now submerged. But at low water it is still possible to wade out to the island; the channel is only about half a mile wide. On a spit of land at the northern end of the island lies the hamlet of *Elaphonisi*, inhabited by a few shepherds. Behind the village stretches a plain of shifting sand, which, blown by the north-wind, is gradually encroaching on the inland pastures. Beyond this sandy plain you reach an elevated terrace on which, near a few huts, some ancient wells, sunk in the rock, may be seen. There seem to be no other remains of antiquity in the island. Cp. Strabo, viii. p. 363. See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 98; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 295; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 140; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 176 *sq.*

22. 11. **the Bay of Boeae —— the city of Boeae.** The bay of Boeae is now the bay of *Vatika*, the name being the old adjectival form (*Boiatikos*) slightly altered. The town of Boeae stood on its eastern shore, to the south-west of the village of *Pharaklo*. The ruins occupy two small plateaus separated by a torrent; they are of Roman date. There are no large blocks of stone in the buildings, not even in the fortification-walls. The wide plain which surrounds the spacious bay on the north and north-east is arid and barren, the soil consisting of red sand through which the rain-water rapidly percolates. Here and there a patch of corn or a few scattered olives maintain a struggling existence. Elsewhere the expanse of the plain is overgrown with brushwood. However towards its southern extremity, where the mountains approach the coast, there are some fertile little hollows where vines are cultivated and water is obtained by means of draw-wells. Here, beside the sea, is the modern village of *Neápolis*, founded about the middle of the nineteenth century and now the capital of the district. It is a place of call for the coasting steamers, dozens of which may be seen riding in its secure roadstead in stormy weather, waiting for the wind to fall in order to round Cape Malea. An inscription of the second or third century A.D. has been found at Neapolis. It is engraved on a slab of white marble, and contains an epitaph, in elegiac verses, on a certain girl or woman by name Arescusa (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 8 (1887), p. 214 *sq.*) See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 98 *sq.*; Ross, *Wanderungen*, 2. p. 246; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 295 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 139; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 174.

22. 11. **Etis, Aphrodisias, and Side.** The sites of the two former are unknown, though Prof. Curtius, as usual, has conjectures ready. Scylax (*Periplus*, 46) speaks of Side as a city and harbour between Cape Malea and Epidaurus (Limera). Boblaye accordingly conjectured that Side was at *St. George* (*Hagios Georgios*), where there is a port and an abundant spring. See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 99; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 297.

22. 12. **a hare —— a myrtle tree** etc. For other legends connecting the foundation of cities with sacred trees see Bötticher, *Baumkultus*, p. 241 *sqq.* Prof. Wide points out that the myrtle and

the hare are attributes of Aphrodite rather than of Artemis, and that out of the three cities from which the inhabitants were taken to found Boeae, two at least seem to have been associated with Aphrodite, the town of Aphrodisias being connected with her through its name, and the town of Etis through the legend of its foundation by Aeneas, son of Aphrodite. Hence he suspects that the goddess of Boeae may have been Aphrodite rather than Artemis (*Lakonische Kulte*, p. 121 *sq.*)

23. 1. **Cape Platanistus** etc. Cape Platanistus is now Cape *Spathi*. The strait which separates it from the mainland is 4½ miles broad (*Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 5 (1880), p. 224), so that Pausanias's estimate of its width is nearly correct.

23. 1. **Scandea —— Cythera.** The chief bay of Cythera (the modern *Cerigo*) is the Bay of *Avlemona* on the eastern side of the island. On this bay, at a place called *Kastri*, there are considerable ruins of an ancient town. As they are the only remains of antiquity on the coast of the island, and are situated on that part of the coast which is nearest to the ancient capital, it may be taken as certain that they are the ruins of Scandea, the port of Cythera (cp. Thucydides, iv. 54). These remains at *Kastri* include potsherds, ancient blocks of sandstone (often built into the walls of fields), sandstone drums of Doric columns, ancient walls built of small stones bonded with mortar, etc. The walls may be traced down to the small headland which here runs into the sea. South of *Kastri* there are ancient foundation-walls, which may have formed part of the old harbour. Curiously enough at *Port St. Nicholas*, the best natural harbour of the island, there seem to be no ancient remains.

Cythera, the capital of the island, occupied a mountain about two miles (10 furlongs, according to Pausanias) inland from *Kastri*, and nearly due west of it. The place is now called, like so many ancient Greek sites, *Palaeo-Kastro*. The mountain is of striking form and is a conspicuous landmark even from the sea. It is covered with ancient remains. The city-walls are preserved on the eastern side to a height varying from two to nine courses. The outer side of the stones is left quite rough; horizontal and vertical joinings are as far as possible avoided. Inside the walls, on the slope of the hill, are many remains of ancient house-walls. Higher up stands, on a platform, a chapel of H. Kosmas, built of materials taken from the ancient temple of Aphrodite, which occupied this site. From researches made by Dr. Schliemann in 1887 it appears that the temple was built of tufa (Schliemann calls it *poros*), with two rows of Doric columns, four on each side, of extremely archaic style. The columns are all preserved in the church, with their capitals and ornaments; but only two of them, with the base of a third, are now in their original places. The columns are also of tufa. The situation is fine, and the view extensive, ranging over the hills of Cythera in the foreground to the coasts and mountains of Peloponnese. The temple of Aphrodite was founded by the Phoenicians (Herodotus, i. 105; Pausanias, i. 15. 7; Movers, *Die Phoenizier*, ii. 2. p. 270 *sqq.*) Probably they were attracted to the island by the shell-fish, which yielded so fine a purple dye that the island is said to have

been known in earlier times as the Purple Island (Aristotle, referred to by Stephanus Byzant. *s.v.* Κύθηρα; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* iv. 56). In Phoenix, the name of a roadstead in Cythera (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, iv. 8. 7), we have another trace of a Phoenician settlement. The situation of this roadstead is unknown; possibly it may have been the port of *St. Nicholas*, on the eastern side of the island.

In 424 B.C. the Athenians under Nicias invaded Cythera. One force landed at Scandea; another, disembarking on the north-eastern coast of the island, marched to attack the capital. The latter force was met by the Cytherians; a battle took place, and the Cytherians fled to their capital ('the upper city,' as Thucydides calls it). They then came to terms with the Athenians, surrendering to them Scandea, the town on the harbour (as Thucydides describes it), and allowing the Athenians to garrison the capital. See Thucydides, iv. 54 (where instead of ἐπὶ τὴν ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ πόλιν τῶν Κυθηρίων we must either read ἐπὶ τὴν ἐπὶ θαλάσσης πόλιν τῶν Κυθηρίων, with Stahl and Classen, or omit the words ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ altogether, with Bursian). Thus corrected, the passage of Thucydides becomes clear and consistent both with the existing remains of antiquity and with the description of Pausanias.

The only accurate description of the topography of the island is by Mr. R. Weil, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 5 (1880), pp. 224-243 (with a map). Compare also Leake, 'Some remarks on the island Cerigo, anciently Cythera,' *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, Second Series, 4 (1853), pp. 255-260. In this article, as well as in his *Travels in Northern Greece*, 1. p. 72 *sqq.*, Leake has been misled by the false reading in Thucydides (*l.c.*) into hazarding some untenable hypotheses. Prof. Curtius (*Pelop.* 2. p. 298 *sqq.*) and Bursian (*Geogr.* 2. p. 141 *sq.*) have no clear idea of the topography: the former, indeed, confesses as much. On the researches of Dr. Schliemann in the island see *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesell. für Anthropologie*, 20th December, 1887, pp. 20-22 (published with the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*); *American Journal of Archaeology*, 4 (1888), p. 96 *sq.*; *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift*, 10th March, 1888, p. 291; *Revue Archéologique*, 3rd series, 11 (1888), p. 76.

23. 1. **a wooden image armed.** This type of Aphrodite is supposed to be of Phoenician origin. See note on iii. 15. 10.

23. 2. **a harbour named Nymphaeum.** This may be the port of *Santa* (*Hagia*) *Marina*, an inlet in the high and barren coast about four miles west of Cape Malea. Two little valleys open on the creek, and at the head of it a feeble spring trickles from a grotto under the chapel of the saint. This spring may be the one mentioned by Pausanias. From the creek a difficult footpath leads along the face of the sea-cliffs to Cape Malea. See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 99; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 297; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 175.

23. 2. **Cape Malea.** The sides of Cape Malea, the south-eastern extremity of the Greek mainland and of Europe, are formed by dizzy crags, about 1000 feet high, of dark, bare rocks, seamed and scarred in places by cracks and fissures. At the extreme end of the cape there is a great natural recess in the cliff; and here in the face of the bluff, about 250 feet above the sea, there is a tiny terrace sloping to the perpendicular edge of the precipice. Two chapels are built on the terrace, and close by, partly hewn in the rock, is the cell of a half-naked and nearly

savage hermit. From the terrace you may clamber down, at the risk of your neck, to a cave opening on the foam of the great rollers which break here eternally. In the inmost corner of the cave is a heap of human bones. The sense of utter solitude and isolation from the world which the spot is fitted to evoke in the mind is broken by the sight of passing vessels. In fair weather steamers of all nations pass continually; and small Greek sailing-boats, with their reddish-brown or white lateen sails, skim along close under the cliffs. But the cape has a bad name for storms and heavy surf; at times even large steamers are unable to weather it for a week together. There was an ancient proverb, "When you have rounded Malea, forget your home" (Strabo, viii. p. 378). See Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 175 *sq.*

23. 3. **Epidelium.** This is supposed to have been at the fantastically shaped headland of Cape *Kamilo* (so called from its supposed resemblance to the back of a camel), where there are said to be some ruins. The cape "affords some shelter from the winds, and is the only place on that part of the coast which is likely to have been chosen for a settlement" (Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 215 *sq.*) Cp. Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 100; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 298; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 139; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 176.

23. 3. **Menophanes, general of Mithridates** etc. The sack of Delos seems to have happened in or about 87 B.C. Cp. *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1 (1880), p. 34.

23. 6. **Epidaurus Limera.** The ruins of this place are now called *Palaea* ('old') *Monemvasia*, and are situated on a bay rather more than three miles to the north of the modern *Monemvasia*. They occupy the cliffs immediately above the beach. The acropolis approaches to within 200 or 300 yards of the sea. The town rose like a Greek theatre on the southern side of the acropolis. The whole circumference of the place is less than three quarters of a mile. The walls, both of the acropolis and the town, are traceable all round; in some places, especially towards the sea, they remain to more than half their original height. The walls of the citadel are built of polygonal blocks arranged roughly in courses which follow the slope of the ground—a very unusual style of masonry. The towers are small, measuring 10 feet in front and 12 feet on the flanks. In the acropolis there is a level space, which has been excavated for the foundations of a wall. This platform may have been the site of the temple of Athena mentioned by Pausanias (§ 10). The lower town was divided in two by a wall, thus making, with the acropolis, three interior divisions. In the lower town, towards the sea front, there are two terrace-walls, one of them being a fine specimen of the second order of Greek masonry. These terraces may have supported the sanctuaries of Aphrodite and Aesculapius (below, § 10). See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 100; Leake, *Morea*, 1. pp. 210-212; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 292; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 138; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 259.

23. 6. **to consult Aesculapius at Cos.** The island of Cos was a great seat of the worship of Aesculapius (Strabo, xiv. p. 657). Some remains of one of the three sanctuaries of the god were accidentally discovered a few years ago on the island. They consist of an altar, a

marble snake, and the horn of Amalthea. See *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift*, 10 December, 1887, p. 1544. From inscriptions we learn that athletic games were celebrated in Cos in honour of Aesculapius. See *Revue Archéologique*, N. S. 24 (1872), p. 110; Paton and Hicks, *The Inscriptions of Cos*, Nos. 14, 104. The scene of the fourth of the dramatic sketches of Herodas (Herondas) is perhaps laid in the sanctuary of Aesculapius at Cos.

23. 8. **the water of Ino.** This is perhaps the small pool situated about 2 furlongs to the north-east of the acropolis of Epidaurus Limera. It is only about 10 feet across. But its position, within 100 yards of the sea; the water, scarcely brackish, which fills it to the brim; and its great depth (the French surveyors sounded it with a line over 100 feet long without finding the bottom) make it very remarkable. See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 100; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 293; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 138. Leake, however, identified the water of Ino with a deep reed-fringed pool of fresh water, about 100 yards long and 30 broad, which borders the sea-beach about a third of a mile to the south of the ruins of Epidaurus Limera (*Morea*, 1. p. 217).

23. 8. **If the water takes and keeps the loaves, it is a good augury** etc. So at Aphaca in Syria there was a lake into which people threw offerings of gold, silver, and fine raiment: if the offerings were accepted, they sank; if they were rejected, they floated on the surface (Zosimus, i. 58). The same interpretation was put upon the sinking or floating of votive offerings thrown into a pool at the foot of a high waterfall in the Arabian desert (Damascius, *Vita Isidori*, 199). Again, the same idea is at the root of the old ordeal for witchcraft, which has been practised in Arabia as well as in England. "In Hadramaut, according to Macrizi, when a man was injured by enchantment, he brought all the witches suspect to the sea or a deep pool, tied stones to their backs and threw them into the water. She who did not sink was the guilty person, the meaning evidently being that the sacred element rejects the criminal" (W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*,[2] p. 179). This test for witches has been practised in Burma, as well as in England and Arabia (C. J. F. S. Forbes, *British Burma*, p. 231). In Burma and Assam, as a judicial ordeal, the parties to a suit (or their attorneys) duck their heads under water; and the person who keeps down longest wins the suit, "the party emerging first being supposed to be convicted and rejected by the *aquae deo*." See Robinson, *Descriptive Account of Assam*, p. 411; Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 57; Sangermano, *Description of the Burmese Empire*, p. 72; Shway Yoe [J. G. Scott], *The Burman*, 2. p. 254.

23. 9. **The craters at Etna give like indications** etc. Pausanias perhaps confounded the Lago di Naftia ('the lake of naphtha') with the crater of Etna. This lake or rather pool (it is only 480 feet in circumference) is situated in the interior of Sicily, 15 miles west of Leontini. Two jets of volcanic gas rise under the water, causing a violent ebullition, and sometimes throwing up the water to a considerable height. The water is strongly impregnated with naphtha and sulphur. In antiquity there seem to have been two of these pools, for they were called the

caldrons or craters of the Palici, a name which perhaps misled Pausanias. The pseudo-Aristotle relates (*Mirab. Auscult.* 57) that when a man wished to take a solemn oath he wrote upon a tablet and flung it into the water; if he swore truly, the tablet floated; but if he foreswore himself, it sank. Cp. Stephanus Byzant. *s.v.* Παλική. The ordeal is differently described by Polemo (quoted by Macrobius, *Sat.* v. 19. 26 *sqq.*) and by Diodorus Siculus (xi. 89). Cp. Strabo, vi. p. 275; Bunbury in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, *s.v.* 'Palicorum lacus'; Freeman, *History of Sicily*, 1. p. 517 *sqq.* Pausanias's mistake, if it is one, was pointed out by Schubart (*Zeitschrift für Alterthumswissenschaft*, 9 (1851), p. 295 *sq.*) Yet it may be doubted whether Pausanias was not right after all. His account of the offerings thrown into the volcano differs from those of all the writers who describe the ordeals at the Lago di Naftia, and on the other hand it agrees with a wide-spread custom of throwing offerings into volcanoes to appease the dangerous spirits who are supposed to dwell in the mountain. On Etna itself people in antiquity used to throw incense into the crater as an offering to the gods of the volcano (Smith's *Dict. of Geography*, 1. p. 62). In Hawaii (the Sandwich Islands) vast numbers of hogs used to be thrown into the craters of the great volcano Kirauea during an eruption or when an eruption was threatening; hogs, too, were cast into the rolling tide of lava to appease the gods and stay its progress (Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, 4. p. 250; cp. pp. 236, 350). In Java the volcano Bromok is worshipped annually, offerings of cocoa-nuts, plantains, rice, chickens, cloth, money, etc., being thrown into the crater (W. B. d'Almeida, *Life in Java*, 1. pp. 166-173). In Masai-land (Eastern Africa) there is an active volcano called Dounyé Bourou, from the fissures of which jets of burning gas are spouted out at rapid intervals. Into these fissures the Masai fling tufts of grass to propitiate the spirits of the earth. See Reclus, *Nouvelle Géographie Universelle*, 13. p. 767.

23. 11. **a cape called Minoa.** This is now *Monemvasia*, an island about half a mile long, close to the shore, with which it is connected by a long old stone bridge. The island is a lofty precipitous rock, resembling Gibraltar, or the Bass Rock and Dumbarton Rock in Scotland. The summit, crowned by the ruins of a mediaeval fortress and a mass of tumble-down, roofless churches and houses overgrown with weeds, is now only a sheep-walk. From the summit the rock falls away in sheer and lofty precipices, especially on the north. The modern town is huddled up at the foot of the cliffs on the southern side. Strong walls encircle it, which are connected with the ruined fortress on the top of the rock. Within the walls everything is fast falling to decay. Fine churches, high archways, great private houses, all deserted and in ruins, testify to the former prosperity and the present decline of the town. Trade has quite deserted it; the coasting steamers call only at rare intervals. From the town a zigzag path leads up the face of the rock to the old citadel on the summit.

Pausanias speaks of the place as a headland. An author of the twelfth century describes it by the very same word (ἄκρα). Both authors may have thought the name applicable to an island so close to the

shore. But it is also possible that the sea may have recently gained on the shore, covering the neck which once joined the island to the mainland. Or the isthmus may have been cut through for purposes of defence. In the Middle Ages *Monemvasia* was one of the chief places of the Levantine trade and one of the strongest fortresses in the Morea. It gave its name to Malmsey wine, which was grown in the Cyclades, especially Tenos, but was called after the port whence it was shipped to the west.

See Pouqueville, *Voyage de la Grèce*,[2] 5. p. 577 *sqq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 100 *sq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 203 *sqq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 131; Wyse, *Peloponnesus*, 1. p. 3 *sqq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 269; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 259 *sq.*; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 173 *sq.*

23. 11. **pebbles of finer shape and of every hue.** "The beach, in fact, consists of pebbles, and among them I find many colours: though I question whether as varied a selection might not be made in many other parts of the Laconic coast" (Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 212 *sq.*)

24. 1. **Zarax.** About eight miles north of *Monemvasia* an arm of the sea penetrates deeply into the land. A narrow winding channel, like a Norwegian fjord, with high sheer cliffs on either side, leads into a circular, completely land-locked bay surrounded by bare arid mountains on which only goats can find sustenance. The shores of the bay are marshy: a narrow strip of level ground, where corn is grown, divides them from the foot of the hills. This is the port of *Hieraka*, the ancient Zarax. The ruins of the old town occupy the summit of the cliffs on the north side of the narrow entrance to the bay. The walls of the acropolis are built in a style which resembles that of Mycenae. A gate on the side of the sea gives access to a vaulted corridor, which runs at first parallel and then at right angles to the circuit-wall. Within the walls and on the tableland to the west there are chapels and other ruins of the Middle Ages.

See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 101; Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 219 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 291 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 137; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 247; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 173.

24. 1. **Cleomenes, son of Agesipolis.** Cleomenes was the son of Cleombrotus. Agesipolis was the name of Cleomenes's brother, and also of his paternal uncle. See chapters 5 and 6. We need not attribute the mistake to the copyists. Pausanias may very well have made a slip in the dreary genealogies of the Spartan kings.

24. 2. **Cyphanta.** About 13 miles north of Zarax the sheltered bay of *Kyparissi* runs into the land between high limestone cliffs. At the head of the bay is a little plain planted with olives and corn and surrounded in a semicircle by immense crags of dark limestone, which rise sheer to a height of 2500 feet. A little glen, its bottom strewn with boulders, opens on the northern shore of the bay. Higher up, the glen contracts into a steep and narrow ravine shut in by huge precipices, up the face of which a toilsome and dizzy path leads to the tableland above. On this bay of *Kyparissi* Cyphanta is commonly supposed to have been situated. A fine spring which gushes from the rocks about a mile from

the shore may be the spring mentioned by Pausanias. Leake, however, who at first placed Cyphanta at *Kyparissi*, afterwards identified it with the ruins which are situated on the coast much further north, at the port of *Leonidion*. Here a rocky mountain approaches the shore, and on its exceedingly rugged sides may be seen the remains of an ancient city. Many terraces may be traced, and the wall which faces towards *Leonidion* is preserved to a height of four courses in some places. On a peak there is a square tower of rude Cyclopean masonry; one of the stones measures 7 feet 10 inches by 3 feet. High above the tower, on the hill, there are considerable remains of a fortress called *St. Athanasius*, with ruins of churches and houses within the walls. The fortress is probably mediaeval, but some foundations seem to show that there was here an ancient tower or temple. But the distance of these ruins from Zarax (more than 25 miles) far exceeds the 100 Greek furlongs mentioned by Pausanias as the distance between Zarax and Cyphanta (cp. Critical Note on this passage, vol. 1. p. 577). Moreover Cyphanta is called a harbour by Pliny (*N. H.* iv. 17); but there is no harbour at *St. Athanasius*. At one time Cyphanta belonged to Argolis (Polybius, iv. 36). The aspect of the small maritime plain on the southern side of which the ruins lie is gloomy and forbidding. High cliffs shut it in on three sides, their dark colour adding to the sombre character of the landscape. The modern town of *Leonidion*, however, which stands at the foot of the precipices on the north side of the plain, has a quiet, well-to-do appearance; many of the houses are large and trimly kept. For the inhabitants are thrifty and enterprising; most of them in their youth go abroad as traders, especially to Constantinople, and then return with their earnings to spend the rest of their days among their wild native glens.

See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 101 *sq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 500 *sq.*; *id.*, *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 298 *sqq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 306 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 237; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 169.

24. 2. **struck the rock with her spear** etc. Cp. iv. 36. 7.

24. 3. **Brasiae.** By all other ancient writers this place is called Prasiae or Prasia. See Thucydides, ii. 56, vi. 105, vii. 18; Aristophanes, *Peace*, 242; Polybius, iv. 36; Scylax, *Periplus*, 46; Strabo, viii. p. 368; Ptolemy, iii. 14. 32; Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Πρασίαι. It was sometimes reckoned to Argolis instead of to Laconia (Polybius and Strabo, *ll.cc.*) Its situation has not been determined. Boblaye, Ross, and Prof. Curtius identify it with the ruins called by the common name of *Palaeo-Kastro*, on the cape to the south of the bay of *Tyru*. The remains are those of an ancient town and include a circuit-wall built of irregular courses. The bay of *Tyru* is a natural harbour, which would tally with the description which Scylax (*l.c.*) gives of the place as "a town and a harbour." Leake identified Brasiae with the ruins of *St. Andrew*, situated at the southern end of the Thyrean plain (see above, p. 307 *sq.*) But against this view it is to be said that there is no harbour at *St. Andrew*. Leake thought that the ruins at *Tyru* must, from the similarity of the name, be those of Tyrus, a place

mentioned by Stephanus Byzantius (*s.v.* Τύρος). Lastly, Bursian identified Brasiae with the ruins called *St. Athanasius*, near the port of *Leonidion* (see note on § 2 above).

See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 102; Leake, *Morea*, 2. pp. 484, 495 *sq.*; *id.*, *Pelop.* p. 295; Ross, *Reisen*, p. 165 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. pp. 306, 332; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 134.

24. 6. **Las.** This seems to have been a very ancient town, for it is mentioned in Homer (*Iliad*, ii. 585); and the Dioscuri were said to have captured it and to have taken in consequence the title of Lapersai, 'destroyers of Las' (Strabo, viii. p. 364; Stephanus Byz. *s.v.* Λᾶς). The town derived its name from the rocky hill (*lās* = 'rock,' 'stone'), on which it stood (Stephanus Byz. *l.c.*) Pausanias tells us that the ruins of the ancient town were on the top of a hill, while the town of his day was built near the fountain Galaco. The ruins to which he refers are on the hill of *Passava*, distant about 40 furlongs south-west of Gythium, and 10 furlongs inland from the sea, agreeably to the distances mentioned by him. The hill, composed of red marble, rises steeply on the south side of a narrow valley, which is watered by a limpid river, the ancient Smenus, now called the river of *Passava*. The hill of *Passava* resembles *Mistra*, but is smaller. The summit is occupied by a ruined mediaeval fortress, consisting of a battlemented wall, flanked with one or two towers, but without any moat. Within the walls are the remains of houses and gardens. In the eastern wall, toward the southern end, there is a piece of ancient Greek wall, about 50 paces long, and two-thirds of the height of the mediaeval wall. It is built of large blocks, some of them 4 feet long and 3 broad, not accurately hewn, nor yet quite rude, but requiring here and there a small stone in the interstices. The town possessed a seaport, doubtless on the sheltered bay of *Vathy*, into which the Smenus flows, to the south-east of the town (Strabo, viii. p. 364; Thucydides, viii. 91; Livy, xxxviii. 30; Scylax, *Periplus*, 46).

See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 87 *sq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 255 *sq.*; *id.*, *Pelop.* p. 174; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 273 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 147; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 263.

The great central peninsula of Southern Greece, which Pausanias is now describing, has been known since the Middle Ages by the name of *Maina* or *Mani*. The backbone of the peninsula is the great range of Taygetus, which runs south till it terminates in Taenarum, the modern Cape *Matapan*, the southern extremity of Greece. The scenery of the peninsula is wild and savage; the villages cling like eagles' eyries to the faces of apparently inaccessible cliffs, and are reached by stony and exceedingly toilsome footpaths—the only semblance of roads in these secluded highlands. Almost everywhere the surface is nothing but the naked rock. Wood there is none, but a few bushes and here and there some tufts of grass have rooted themselves in the crevices of the rocks, and furnish a scanty pasture to the sheep and goats. The miserable stony soil, wherever it exists, is carefully husbanded by means of terraces, and

under the soft southern sky of Laconia yields a tolerable return. The inhabitants, the Mainotes, Mainiotes, or Maniates, are a hardy and warlike race of mountaineers, who claim to be descended from the ancient Spartans. In the fastnesses of their rugged mountains they are said to have retained their primitive heathenism till the latter half of the ninth century; and the Turks never succeeded in subjugating them. As pirates they were greatly dreaded. They are still notorious for the relentless ferocity of their blood-feuds, which are so common that every family of importance has a tower in which to take refuge from the avengers of blood. In these towers persons implicated in a blood-feud have been known to live for many years without ever coming out. To this day many heads of families dare not quit their tower except under a strong guard of armed retainers. A village will contain twenty to thirty such towers of refuge.

See Pouqueville, *Voyage en Morée*, 1. pp. 193-221; *id.*, *Voyage de la Grèce*,[2] 5, pp. 584-616; Gell, *Journey in the Morea*, p. 251 *sqq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 237 *sqq.*, 260 *sqq.*, 318 *sq.*; L. Ross, *Wanderungen*, 2. p. 223 *sqq.*; Tozer, in *Journ. of Hell. Stud.* 3 (1882), p. 354 *sqq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 270; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 262 *sq.*; Philippson, *Pelop.* pp. 225, 250-252.

24. 6. **Philip invaded Laconia.** On this campaign see Lieut. General A. Jochmus, in *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, 27 (1857), p. 10 *sqq.* (with map). Polybius has recorded (v. 19) that Philip, ravaging the south of Laconia as far as Taenarum, attempted to carry the town of Asine by assault but was repulsed. Some have supposed that this repulse was identical with the defeat of the Macedonians at Las which Pausanias here mentions; and consequently they have inferred that Asine and Las were two different names for the same place. But this seems improbable. Both Strabo (viii. pp. 363, 364) and Stephanus Byzantius (*s.vv.* Ἀσίνη and Λά) speak of Asine and Las as if they were different places. Moreover the military operations described by Pausanias and Polybius appear to be different. Polybius narrates an attack superintended by Philip in person; Pausanias records the defeat of a body of marauders who had straggled from the main body. However, the fact mentioned by Pausanias that the old town of Las stood on Mount Asia lends some colour to the identification of it with Asine. The identification is upheld by Boblaye (*Recherches*, p. 87) and Prof. Curtius (*Pelop.* 2. p. 274).

24. 7. **Galaco.** Leake says that the river of *Passava* (which he calls the *Turkovrysi*) has its source in a pool midway between the fort of *Passava* and the village of *Karvela*, which lies a mile and a half to the west of *Passava*. This pool, Leake thought, may have been the Galaco spring described by Pausanias (*Morea*, 1. pp. 255, 276; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 274). The identification may be right, but Leake is wrong in supposing that the river of *Passava* has its source in the pool in question. See note on 24. 9.

24. 8. **Hypsa.** The site of this place is unknown. Leake, indeed, placed it with confidence at the south-west side of the hill of *Vathy*, where there are some ancient remains (see next note). The distance of the ruins from Las agrees with that mentioned by Pausanias (30

furlongs). See Leake, *Morea*, 1. pp. 267, 276-279. But *Vathy* is on the sea, and Pausanias plainly implies that Hypsa was inland.

24. 9. **a temple of Artemis Dictynna.** The bay of *Vathy* is bounded on the south by the hill of *Vathy* or *Ageranos*, which juts out into the sea. On the south-west side of this hill, a quarter of an hour from the village, there are some ancient remains of a large building, constructed of stones and Roman tiles; "a semicircular extremity, with five windows in it, is still standing entire: the diameter is upwards of twenty yards." Leake, Curtius, and Bursian suppose that the temple of Artemis Dictynna was about here. Boblaye placed it, as Leake did formerly, at Cape *Petali*, the promontory which bounds the bay of *Vathy* on the north. See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 88; Leake, *Morea*, 1. pp. 267, 276 *sq.*; *id.*, *Pelop.* p. 173; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 275; Bursian, *Geogr.* 1. p. 147.

24. 9. **the river Smenus.** This is probably the *Turkovrysi* or river of *Passava*, which flows past the hill of *Passava* and falls into the bay of *Vathy*. Its water is pure and pellucid all the year round. The river rises in Mt. Taygetus near the village of *Polyzaravo*. Leake and Ross seem wrong in identifying the Smenus with the *Bardounia* river (Leake calls it the river of *Passava*), which rising in the recesses of Mt. Taygetus near the village of *Arna*, falls into the sea between Gythium and Cape *Petali*.

See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 87 *sq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 1. pp. 255, 266, 277; *id.*, *Pelop.* p. 173; Ross, *Wanderungen*, 2. p. 216; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 274 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 147.

24. 10. **Arainum.** This name seems preserved in the modern *Ageranos*, as to which see note on § 9; Arainum may have been in this neighbourhood (Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 88; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 275; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 147).

24. 11. **at the beginning of his poem Homer says** etc. See *Iliad*, i. 158.

24. 11. **Homer represents Antilochus as saying** etc. See *Iliad*, xxiii. 790.

24. 11. **he represents Ulysses as telling Alcinous** etc. See *Odyssey*, xi. 630 *sq.*

25. 1. **a river, called the Scyras.** According to Boblaye, Leake, and Curtius this is the river of *Dhikova* (*Tsichova*) or *Karyopolis*, which falls into the bay immediately to the south of the promontory of *Vathy* or *Ageranos*. Near the right side of its mouth are some vestiges of antiquity, which Leake thought may have belonged to the sanctuary and altar of Zeus mentioned by Pausanias. See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 88; Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 277; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 275. Bursian, on the other hand, identified the Scyras with the stream, further south, which flows into the deep sheltered bay of *Skutari* (*Geogr.* 2. p. 148).

25. 1. **Pyrrhichus.** The ruins of this town are near the village of *Kavalos*, in the transverse valley which here runs across the peninsula of Taenarum from *Dyro* on the west to *Kotronas* on the east. The village is about the centre of the valley and hence of the peninsula.

Baths and various Roman remains are to be seen here. The well a little below the village is probably the one mentioned by Pausanias (§ 3). See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 88; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 276; Leake, *Pelop.* p. 174; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 276; *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 1 (1876), p. 158.

25. 4. **Teuthrone.** On the north side of the bay of *Kolokyntha* is the village of *Kotrones.* A small peninsula called *Skopa* here runs out into the bay. The citadel of Teuthrone seems to have occupied this peninsula, which is still surrounded by walls built of ancient materials. On the mainland there are some drums of columns, the ruins of a rotunda built of bricks, and many mediaeval remains. Pausanias's estimate of the distance from here to Cape Taenarum is nearly correct. See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 89; Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 277; *id.*, *Pelop.* p. 172; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 276; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 148.

25. 4. **One hundred and fifty furlongs from Teuthrone Cape Taenarum** etc. As Pausanias mentions no place on this long stretch of coast, it is probable that he sailed from Teuthrone to Taenarum. The road along the coast may have been bad and difficult, as it is at the present day. There are traces of ancient hamlets, however, at many points of the coast. The most considerable remains of antiquity are to be seen a few minutes south of the monastery of *Kurnos*, between the villages *Nymphi* and *Pagianika*, somewhat less than half-way between Teuthrone and Taenarum. Here, on a small rocky plateau, are the foundation-walls and ruins of two small Doric temples of greyish marble, close beside each other. The style of the architecture is late Greek. A little to the south-west of the temples are some rock-cut tombs. The modern name of the ruins is *Kionia.* The ancient name is unknown. See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 89; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 277; Bursian, 'Ueber das Vorgebirge Taenaron,' in *Abhandlungen* of the Bavarian Academy (Munich), Philos. Class, 7 (1855), p. 792 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Geogr.* 2. p. 149. Drawings, plans, and restorations of the temples are given by Le Bas (*Voyage archéologique*, Architecture, ii. 1-11).

The formation of this long line of coast is very uniform. The mountains descend into the sea in cliffs about 300 feet high, with very few creeks and inlets at their base. At the top of the cliffs there is a terrace or platform of varying breadth, from which again the mass of the mountain-range rises in a long uniform slope. The platform is everywhere rocky and slopes towards the brow of the cliffs, but it is terraced with laborious care so as to retain the scanty soil formed by the weathering of the marble rocks. Thin and stony as is the soil, every available patch is planted with corn, olives, and especially lupines, the seed of which forms the chief food of the Maniates. Apart from these scattered patches of cultivation the country is an absolute desert; here and there a little brushwood may be seen, and that is all. The small villages, each composed of a few high towers, are generally perched among the crags high above the terrace, hedged in by impenetrable thickets of cactus. Each tower is surrounded by a few low huts, which serve as workshops and as the lodgings of the subordinate members of the household. Frequently tower and huts together are enclosed within

a fortification-wall strengthened with turrets and loopholed. Bitter feuds often rage between the towers of the same village. There are no springs or brooks; water is obtained only from cisterns, which are kept closed by their owners, and leave to draw from them has to be paid for. The 'roads' are narrow paths shut in between walls about as high as a man; and as the inhabitants have a custom of dumping down on these 'roads' the piles of stones which they gather from their barren fields, the consequence is that the paths are sometimes raised above the level of the surrounding fields. To walk for any distance on these loose stones, every one of which gives way under the tread and has been polished by the feet of mules, is one of the most agonising experiences which a traveller can endure. On account of the stony nature of the country unshod mules are the only animals used as beasts of burden or for riding. Besides, there is no proper fodder for horses. See Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 224.

25. 4. **the harbour of Achilles and the harbour of Psamathus.** The promontory of Taenarum is a mountainous peninsula of roughly circular form about 7 miles in circumference, and joined to the end of the great Taygetic promontory by an isthmus which is about half a mile across. The isthmus is formed by the intrusion into the land of two deep bays, one on the east coast, and one on the west. The modern name of the eastern bay is Porto *Quaglio* ('quail harbour'), the name of the western is Port *Marinari*. The former is the ancient Psamathus, the latter is the ancient harbour of Achilles. This is proved by Scylax, who says (*Periplus*, 46): "The harbour of Achilles, and back to back with it the harbour of Psamathus. Between these two the sanctuary of Poseidon juts into the sea, namely Taenarus." As Scylax is describing the coast of Laconia from west to east, the harbour of Achilles must be the one on the western side of the promontory, and Psamathus the one on the eastern side. This is confirmed by the fact that there was a town at Psamathus (Stephanus Byz. *s.v.* Ψαμαθοῦς; Strabo, viii. p. 363, where the MSS. read Ἀμαθοῦς, but even if this reading is correct, the place referred to must be the same). Now at Port *Marinari* on the western side of the isthmus there is no room for a town, and there is not the smallest trace of an ancient settlement there. On the other hand there are ancient remains at Porto *Quaglio*. A tower beside the sea contains some ancient blocks; and at a spring near the solitary monastery which stands on a rocky height on the north side of the harbour there is an ancient marble slab. That Psamathus (or Amathus) was on the eastern side of Taenarum is also proved by Strabo, who says (*l.c.*): "After Taenarum, sailing in the direction of Cape Onugnathus and Malea, we come to the town of Psamathus." The name Psamathus means 'the sandy' harbour, and the name is still applicable to Porto *Quaglio*, which is a beautiful circular harbour surrounded by high mountains with a narrow entrance, a fine sandy bottom, and depth of water for large vessels. Besides these two harbours there are two other inlets on the eastern side of Taenarum, between Porto *Quaglio* and the extreme southern cape. The more northern of these, Port *Vathy* (*i.e.* 'the deep bay'), is a narrow winding

channel extending like a Norwegian fjord between steep barren hills. The southern inlet is Port *Kisternes*, so called from the number of ancient cisterns near it; the harbour is very small and ill-sheltered. Port *Vathy* was wrongly identified by Leake with the harbour of Achilles; while the French surveyors were doubly wrong in identifying Port *Kisternes* with Psamathus, and Porto *Quaglio* with the harbour of Achilles. The latter appellation has unfortunately been accepted by the Greek Government as the official name of Porto *Quaglio*. Boblaye, however, one of the French surveyors, suggested the true identification of the ancient harbours. The actual cape of Taenarum, the southern extremity of the peninsula and of Greece, is a long, rather flat spit of land terminated by a lighthouse.

On the geography of Taenarum and its harbours see especially the work of Bursian, 'Ueber das Vorgebirge Taenaron,' *Abhandlungen* of the Bavarian Academy (Munich), Philos. Cl. 7 (1855), pp. 773-795. See also *id.*, *Geogr. v. Griech.* 2. p. 148 *sq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 89 *sq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 294 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Pelop.* p. 175 *sqq.*; Fiedler, *Reise*, 1. p. 340 *sqq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 277 *sqq.*; *Bullettino dell' Instituto di Corrisp. Archeol.* 1857, p. 154 *sqq.*; R. Weil, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen* (1876), p. 158 *sqq.*; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 225 *sq.*

25. 4. **a temple like a cave.** On the north side of the bay of *Kisternes*, close to the flat beach, and about forty paces east of the church of the Asomatos, are the remains of the sanctuary of Poseidon. The foundations are 19.60 metres long by 16 metres broad. The walls are partly formed of the rock, which has been cut and smoothed; above these rock-walls are courses of regularly hewn stones. The entrance is in the north wall, and is 2.60 metres wide; from the west side of the entrance a wall runs through the whole length of the building from north to south. A parallel wall seems to have extended through the building starting from the east side of the entrance. Within this building there were found, in 1856, seventy bronze statuettes, representing bulls and horses. These were evidently votive offerings, and make it certain that the building was the temple of Poseidon. But the plan of the edifice is peculiar. Bursian conjectured that the building as a whole was the sanctuary which served as an asylum to criminals (Thucydides, i. 128); and that the long narrow space enclosed by the parallel walls was an 'oracle of the dead.' There was such an oracle at Taenarum (Plutarch, *De sera numinis vindicta*, 17). The ruins are at the entrance to a gully which is partly overgrown with bushes and grass—perhaps a relic of the sacred grove in which, as we know from Strabo (viii. p. 363), the sanctuary stood. Close to the west side of the building is a shallow grotto in the rock. It may have been through this grotto that Hercules was supposed to have brought up Cerberus. Pausanias does not indeed clearly distinguish between the cave and the temple; but Strabo (*l.c.*) says plainly that the cave was near the sanctuary. The neighbouring church of the Asomatos is composed wholly of ancient blocks; Leake thought that some of the walls of the church were ancient, but this is positively denied by Bursian, who says that all the jointing of the stones is modern. About the bay are numerous cisterns and foundations of

houses cut in the rock, showing that a small town must have existed here in antiquity. It was probably the ancient Taenarum. The convenient situation of the place as a port from which to sail to Crete, Africa, Sicily, and Italy, perhaps explains why in Macedonian times large numbers of mercenaries on the look-out for employment took up their quarters at Taenarum (Diodorus, xvii. 108, xviii. 9). See Bursian, 'Ueber das Vorgebirge Taenaron,' and the other authorities cited at the end of the preceding note. For inscriptions found at the sanctuary recording the dedication of slaves by their masters to the service of Poseidon, see Roehl, *I. G. A.* Nos. 83, 84, 86, 88; Cauer, *Delectus Inscr. Gr.*- Nos. 19, 21, 22, 23; Roberts, *Greek Epigraphy*, No. 265 a b c d.

25. 5. **here Hercules dragged up the hound of hell.** See the preceding note. The inhabitants of this neighbourhood point to a grotto on the western side of Taenarum, close to the sea, which they regard as the entrance to hell (*Bullettino dell' Instituto*, 1857, p. 155 note (2); B. Schmidt, *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen*, p. 248).

25. 7. **Arion on a dolphin.** See Herodotus, i. 24. The bronze group mentioned by Pausanias was small, and was said to have been dedicated by Arion himself (Aelian, *Nat. An.* xii. 45; Dio Chrysostom, *Orat.* xxxvii. vol. 2. p. 297, ed. Dindorf). A small bronze group representing Arion on the dolphin has actually been found among the votive offerings at Taenarum (Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 151 note 1). In a modern Greek tale a dolphin saves a shipwrecked king and his daughter by carrying them on his back to land (B. Schmidt, *Griechische Märchen, Sagen und Volkslieder*, p. 91).

25. 7. **the dolphin at Poroselene.** Aelian tells us (*Nat. An.* ii. 6) that this dolphin was bred up by an old man and woman with their young son, and that they made money by exhibiting it. The whole thing may have been an imposture. For a similar story told by Apion about a dolphin at Dicaearchia see Aulus Gellius, vi. (vii.) 8. 4 *sqq.* Deceptions of this sort are sometimes practised among savages to enforce superstitious beliefs. At Fort Simpson, Queen Charlotte Islands, the Indians "have even got up such things as an artificial whale, in some way formed on a canoe. This appeared suddenly on the bay, seemingly swimming along, with a little child on its back" (*Geological Survey of Canada, Report of the Queen Charlotte Islands*, 1878, by G. M. Dawson, p. 125 B). For South Sea stories of sharks, like the Greek stories of dolphins, see Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, 1. p. 329 (ed. 1831): Gill, *Myths and Songs of the South Pacific*, p. 91.

25. 8. **a spring at Taenarum.** Above the isthmus, on the way from Porto *Quaglio* to the village of *Lagia*, there is a copious spring, the water of which is collected, a few paces lower down the hill, in a small natural basin. The place is called *Akris* by the natives. Both harbours (*Quaglio* and *Marinari*) are visible from this point; so we may suppose that it was in this basin that the harbours and ships were said to have been formerly reflected, as Pausanias relates. At the monastery on the north side of Porto *Quaglio* there is a fine spring which has been sometimes identified with the one Pausanias speaks of; but from it the harbour of *Marinari* is not visible. See Bursian, 'Ueber

das Vorgebirge Taenaron,' p. 774 *sq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 89; Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 305; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 278. The Samoans tell of a wonderful pool on which a sorceress imprinted the images of many scenes (Turner, *Samoa*, p. 101).

25. 9. **Caenepolis.** Inscriptions show that Caenepolis occupied the site of the modern village of *Kyparissa* situated on the coast two hours to the north-west of *Marinari.* The official title of the place was 'the city of the Taenarians.' Caenepolis ('new town') was probably the popular name. All the antiquities found here belong to the Imperial age. The church of the *Koimēsis tēs Panagias*, situated on a height near the sea, contains numerous architectural fragments of the Ionic style; and near the church have been found four large columns of reddish-grey Egyptian granite. Bursian thought these the remains of the hall of Demeter, the site of which he would place among the present vineyards to the north of the church, where two of the columns in question are lying. Mr. Weil, on the other hand, thinks that these are the remains of the temple of Aphrodite, and he agrees with Leake in placing the shrine of Demeter on a hill near the church of the Saviour (Soter). Bursian placed the temple of Aphrodite on a bay further to the north, at the ruined church of H. Paraskeve, where there are ancient remains.

See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 90 *sq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 290 *sqq.*; Bursian, 'Ueber das Vorgebirge Taenaron,' p. 785 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Geogr.* 2. p. 151 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 280 *sq.*; R. Weil, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 1 (1876), p. 160 *sq.*; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 227.

25. 9. **Thyrides, a promontory.** Now called *Kavo Grosso*, a peninsula about six miles in circumference; its coast is an unbroken line of immense cliffs rising sheer from the sea. The sea-caves with which the cliffs are riddled and in which the surf breaks with a booming sound, gave to the promontory the ancient name of Thyrides, *i.e.* 'windows.'

See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 91; Leake, *Morea*, 1. pp. 288, 302 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 281 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 152; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 227 *sq.*

25. 9. **Hippola.** The summit of the peninsula *Kavo Grosso* (see preceding note) descends in a series of terraces from west to east. On these terraces there are some villages standing among olive-groves, stony cornfields, and thickets of cactus. One of them, by name *Kipula*, may have inherited both the site and the name of Hippola. See Leake, *Pelop.* p. 175; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 282; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 152 note 2; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 228.

25. 9. **the town of Messa and a harbour.** The harbour is the modern Port *Mezapo*, an excellent haven, sheltered on the west by the narrow peninsula of *Tigani.* Homer (*Iliad*, ii. 582) calls Messa the town 'of many pigeons.' The description still holds good, for the cliffs of the neighbouring Cape *Grosso* abound with wild pigeons. See Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 286; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 91 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 282; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 152.

25. 10. **Oetylum.** Ptolemy (iii. 14. 43) calls this place Bityla; Strabo (viii. p. 360) says it was sometimes called Baetylus. It is now

Vitylo, a town situated on the brow of a steep hill which rises at the north-eastern end of the deep narrow creek of *Limeni* or *Vitylo*, which winds inland from the sea and is the harbour of the town. The bay is about five hours north of Port *Mezapo*. A mountain torrent flows into it through a deep and gloomy glen barely wide enough to let the water pass. On the opposite side of the glen, to the south, is another village. From the plateau on which the town of *Vitylo* stands the ground falls away abruptly 700 feet to the valley at the head of the bay, the descent being broken here and there by terraces resting on very steep walls. Many of the houses stand on the brink of the precipice. Behind, at a distance of about a mile, a screen of lofty mountains shelters the town on the north-east. The warmth of the climate is proved by the presence of the prickly pear which flourishes here. Mr. Morritt of Rokeby (the friend of Sir Walter Scott) visited *Vitylo* in 1795. In the church he saw a fine Ionic column of white marble and several Ionic capitals, and outside the church the foundations of a temple. This was probably the temple of Serapis seen by Pausanias.

See Morritt, in Walpole's *Memoirs relating to Turkey*, 1.[2] p. 54 sq.; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 92; Leake, *Morea*, 1. pp. 313, 330; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 283; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 152 *sq.*; Tozer, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 3 (1882), p. 356.

26. 1. **Thalamae.** The site of this place has not been identified. To determine it we have only its distances from Oetylus and Pephnus to go upon. Leake placed it at *Platza*; Boblaye, Curtius, and Bursian place it further north, in the valley of the *Milia*. The ancient name of the *Milia* seems to have been Pamisus; but this Pamisus must not be confounded with the larger river of the same name which flows through the great plain of Messenia (Strabo, viii. p. 316). See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 92 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 284; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 153; Leake, *Pelop.* p. 178 *sq.* Mr. Morritt, journeying from *Platza* to *Vitylo*, thus describes the scenery: "The whole of this tract is as barren as possible. The mountain of Taygetus is a continuance of naked crags; the cultivation disappeared as we proceeded, and the coast which lay before us towards Cape Grosso seemed more bare and savage than any we had passed. The villages seemed poorer, and the people less attentive to comforts and cleanliness from the extreme poverty of the country. Still in the scanty spots where vegetation could be produced at all, their industry was conspicuous. Not a tree or shrub is seen. We found many specimens of variegated marble in the mountains, and passed by some ancient quarries" (Walpole's *Memoirs relating to Turkey*, 1.[2] p. 54).

26. 1. **a sanctuary of Ino and an oracle.** Plutarch says (*Agis*, 9) that the sanctuary and oracle were those of Pasiphae, who, according to some, was a daughter of Atlas and was the mother of Ammon by Zeus; according to others, she was Cassandra, daughter of Priam, who had died here; Phylarchus identified her with Daphne. The Spartan magistrates used to sleep in the sanctuary for the purpose of receiving revelations in dreams (Plutarch, *Cleomenes*, 7; Cicero, *De divinatione*,

i. 43. 96). Pausanias seems aware that the oracle was sometimes attributed to Pasiphae; but he implicitly rejects this view, remarking that Pasiphae is not a distinct divinity peculiar to Thalamae, but only an epithet of the moon. It has been suggested that the oracle originally belonged to Pasiphae and was afterwards transferred to Ino (E. Rohde, *Psyche*, p. 176 note 5); or that Pasiphae and Ino were both forms of Aphrodite (S. Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, p. 247 *sqq.*)

26. 2. **an islet also called Pephnus.** This is a small island, or rather rock, off the mouth of the river *Milia*. There are said to be two tombs on it, which the Greeks call the tombs of the Dioscuri. See Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 238; Morritt, in Walpole's *Memoirs relating to Turkey*, 1.^{2} p. 51; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 92; Leake, *Morea*, 1. pp. 320, 330 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 284; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 153 *sq.*

26. 2. **the people of Thalamae say that the Dioscuri were born on it.** Cp. iii. 1. 4. Other writers mention that Thalamae was sacred to the Dioscuri (Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* Θαλάμαι; Eustathius, on Homer, *Il.* xii. 310, p. 906 line 49 *sq.*) In the Homeric hymns (xvii. 3, xxxiii. 4 *sqq.*) the Dioscuri are said to have been born under Mount Taygetus.

26. 4. **Leuctra.** Now *Leftro*, a village an hour to the north of the river *Milia*; there are said to be many ancient remains here (Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 93; Leake, *Morea*, 1. pp. 320, 330 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 284 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 154). Morritt found "few and inconsiderable traces of antiquity" at Leuctra (Walpole's *Memoirs relating to Turkey*, 1.^{2} p. 51). The place is called Leuctrum by Strabo (viii. pp. 360, 361), Plutarch (*Pelopidas*, 20), and Ptolemy (iii. 14. 32).

26. 4. **believing him to be the son of Arsinoe.** See ii. 26. 7; iv. 2. 2.

26. 5. **a temple of Cassandra.** Cp. iii. 19. 6 note.

26. 6. **The Messenians say —— that Leuctra belonged to Messenia.** The dispute was submitted to Philip of Macedonia as arbitrator (Strabo, viii. p. 361, cp. Polybius, ix. 33).

26. 7. **Cardamyle.** Strabo (viii. p. 360) says that Cardamyle was situated on a strong rock; and from Stephanus Byz. (*s.v.* Καρδαμύλη) we learn that the place was sometimes called Scardamyle or, in Doric, Scardamyla. The place is still called *Kardamyli* or *Scardamyla*. The village stands on a rocky height about 20 minutes from the coast. On a plateau to the north-east of the village, about 5000 feet above the sea, there are extensive ruins. See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 93; Leake, *Morea*, 1. pp. 321, 331; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 285; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 154. Cp. Morritt, in Walpole's *Memoirs relating to Turkey*, 1.^{2} p. 49 *sqq.*

26. 7. **mentioned by Homer.** See *Iliad*, ix. 149 *sqq.*

26. 8. **The city which in Homer is named Enope.** See *Iliad*, ix. 150. According to Strabo (ix. p. 360) the Homeric Enope was identified by some with Pellana (see iii. 21. 2), by others with a place near Cardamyle, and by others with Gerenia.

26. 8. **Gerenia.** This seems to have been at or near the modern *Kitries*, a village situated on the coast, a mile and a half east of Cape *Kourtissa*, which forms the northern extremity of the rocky promontory known as Cape *Kephali*. The French surveyors, however, followed by

Prof. Curtius, place Gerenia at *Zarnata*, three miles inland from *Kitries* (see note on Alagonia, § 11). See Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 321 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Pelop.* p. 180; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 154 *sq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 93 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 285. With regard to the distances on this coast, Leake says: "By land the distance from *Kitries* to *Vitylo* is reckoned ten hours,—three hours and a half to *Skardhamula*, from thence to *Leftro* one hour and a half, and five more to *Vitylo*. The distance by the road is not more than thirty miles, but so rugged in some parts that it cannot easily be done in less than twelve hours, except by a Maniote on foot" (*Morea*, 1. p. 321 *sq.*) Some of the distances mentioned by Pausanias in describing this coast are too great; and Boblaye suggested (*Recherches*, p. 93) that Pausanias, judging of the distances by the time he took to traverse them, may have over-estimated them in places where the ground was difficult and where, consequently, travelling was slow. This view is confirmed by the observation that in describing the eastern coast of the Malean peninsula, which presents similar difficulties to the traveller by land, Pausanias again over-estimates the distances; but that while his absolute distances in furlongs are wrong, the relative distances between the places are right. This is just what we should expect if he estimated the distances by time. See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 100, and cp. Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 213 *sq.* A sketch of the picturesque bay of *Kitries* is given by Gell, *Journey in the Morea*, facing p. 260. In the neighbourhood of *Kitries* "the country is barren and stony beyond conception, and yet the earth, which is washed by the rains and torrents from the higher parts, is supported on a thousand platforms and terraces, by the indefatigable industry of the inhabitants, and these were covered with corn, maize, olives, and mulberry-trees, which seemed to grow out of the rock itself" (Morritt, in Walpole's *Memoirs relating to Turkey*, 1.² p. 45).

26. 9. **Machaon, son of Aesculapius** etc. Strabo says (ix. p. 360) that at Gerenia there was a sanctuary of the Triccaean Aesculapius, which had been founded from the sanctuary of Aesculapius at Tricca in Thessaly. The Thessalian sanctuary seems to have been near the spring now called *Gurna* at *Trikkala* (Tricca). See J. Ziehen, in *Mittheil. d. deutsch. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 17 (1892), pp. 195-197. An inscription recently found in the great Epidaurian sanctuary of Machaon seems to show that Machaon was worshipped there (Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1894, p. 22, Inscr. No. 16).

26. 9. **the Little Iliad.** See x. 26. 2 note.

26. 10. **the sanctuary of Aesculapius at Pergamus.** The site of this sanctuary has been determined with some probability. It is about half a mile to the west of Pergamus, with which the sanctuary was connected by a colonnaded and covered street. There are some ruins on the spot and a luke-warm spring, probably the sacred spring of Aesculapius, which forms the subject of one of Aristides's orations (*Or.* xviii. vol. 1. pp. 408-414, ed. Dindorf). See *Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen zu Pergamon* (Berlin, 1880), pp. 12, 118; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1226 *sq.* On the worship of Aesculapius at Pergamus as illustrated by the coins of the city, see Mr. W. Wroth, 'Asklepios

and the coins of Pergamon,' *Numismatic Chronicle*, 3rd series, 2 (1882), pp. 1-51.

26. 10. **Telephus.** As to the worship of Telephus at Pergamus see v. 13. 3. On representations of the story of Telephus in ancient art see O. Jahn, *Archäologische Aufsätze*, pp. 160-180. Cp. note on i. 4. 6, vol. 2. p. 75 *sq.*

26. 10. **Podalirius** etc. Stephanus Byzantius (*s.v.* Σύρνα) relates how Podalirius (one of the sons of Aesculapius) was wrecked on the coast of Caria and saved by a goat-herd, who took him to the king of Caria. The king's daughter had fallen from the roof: Podalirius healed her by bleeding her in both arms; and the king in gratitude gave him the princess to wife. So Podalirius founded two cities, one of which he called Syrna (*sic*) after his wife. According to another story Podalirius went to Delphi and inquired of the oracle where he should dwell. The oracle told him to take up his abode in that city in which, if the sky fell, he would suffer no harm. So he settled in a place in the Carian Chersonese which was surrounded by mountains that might be expected to prop up the sky in case it were to fall. See Apollodorus, ed. R. Wagner, p. 221 *sq.*; *Epitoma Vaticana ex Apollodori bibliotheca*, ed. R. Wagner, p. 74; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 1047. Another story, followed by Lycophron, was that Podalirius went to Apulia in Italy, where he died and was buried; and that his spirit gave oracles in dreams to such as slept on sheepskins laid on his tomb (Lycophron, *Cassandra*, 1047 *sqq.*, with the scholia of Tzetzes; Strabo, vi. p. 284). Cp. v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *Isyllos von Epidauros*, p. 50; Rhode, *Psyche*, p. 173.

26. 11. **a cavern.** "At the head of a little valley behind the beach of *Kitries*, immediately under a rocky gorge in the mountain, I find a very large cavern answering to that described by Pausanias at Gerenia, except that the entrance is not narrow, as he says; it may, perhaps, have been widened in order to be made more convenient as a μάνδρα, or sheepfold, for which it now serves" (Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 322 *sq.*) The mountain in which the cavern exists is doubtless the ancient Mt. Calathium (Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 155).

26. 11. **Alagonia.** As this place lay 30 furlongs inland from Gerenia, it was probable at or near *Zarnata*, a village situated in a fertile little plain about three miles inland from *Kitries*. There is here a Frankish castle on a height. See Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 323 *sq.*; *id.*, *Pelop.* p. 180; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 155; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 221.

BOOK FOURTH

MESSENIA

THE early history of Messenia is sketched by Diodorus (xv. 66); but the account of it given by Pausanias in this book is by far the fullest that we possess. On the ancient authorities for the early history of Messenia see Phil. Kohlmann, *Quaestiones Messeniacae* (Bohn, 1866); B. Niese, 'Die ältere Geschichte Messeniens,' in *Hermes*, 26 (1891), pp. 1-32; H. L. Ebeling, *A Study of the Sources of the Messeniaca of Pausanias* (Baltimore, 1892) (as to this last work see note on iv. 6. 1). Prof. Niese's view is that the connected history of Messenia was manufactured out of very scanty materials after the restoration of the Messenians in 370 B.C. The old Messenian traditions, he holds, and the old Messenian religion had been forgotten during the long domination of Sparta; hence after the restoration it became necessary to furnish the country with a history and a religion. The history was concocted and the religion was instituted, in Prof. Niese's view, on the model of the Spartan traditions and the Spartan history; for he thinks that of the population settled by the Thebans in Messenia in 370 B.C. a large proportion were Spartan subjects (περίοικοι), who had joined the Thebans on their invasion of Laconia. (In proof of this latter position he refers to Xenophon, *Hellenica*, vi. 5. 25 and 32. Some of the Helots also appear to have been settled in Messenia by the Thebans. See Isocrates, *Archidamus*, 28.) Prof. Niese admits the value of the poems of Tyrtaeus, so far as they go, as evidence of the early Messenian wars.

1. 1. **The boundary between Messenia —— the glen called Choerius ('Sow-dale').** The glen which in the time of Pausanias formed the boundary between Messenia and Laconia in this quarter is the ravine of the *Sandava* river. See note on 30. 1. But the words of Pausanias imply that the territory to the south of the *Sandava* or, as he puts it, in the direction of Gerenia, had formerly belonged to Messenia, from which it had been severed and handed over to Laconia by the emperor (Augustus). Now Pausanias has already told us that Cardamyle had been transferred by Augustus from Messenia to the Spartans (iii. 26. 7); further that, though Gerenia belonged to the Free Laconians, the population was Messenian (iii. 26. 8); and that

the Messenians claimed to have formerly owned Pephnus and Leuctra (iii. 26. 3 and 6), of which places the latter certainly, and the former probably, belonged in Pausanias's time to the Free Laconians (iii. 21. 7). We may, perhaps, conclude that by "that portion of its territory which was severed from it [Messenia] by the emperor and assigned to Laconia," Pausanias here means the whole stretch of coastland from the Choerius glen (the *Sandava* river) to the island of Pephnus at the mouth of what is now the *Milia* river. We know that in the civil war between Augustus and Mark Antony the Messenians sided with the latter, and that the victorious Augustus punished them by depriving them of various parts of their territory which he transferred to Laconia, because Laconia had been on his side in the war (Paus. iv. 31. 1 *sq.*) We have also to remember that in the time of Augustus Laconia was divided into two separate states, namely Sparta with its dependencies, and the confederacy of the Free Laconians. Both these states were rewarded by Augustus with pieces of Messenian territory. To Sparta he gave Cardamyle, Pharae and Thuria (iii. 26. 7; iv. 30. 2; iv. 31. 1 *sq.*); to the Free Laconians he seems to have assigned Leuctra (with Pephnus) and Gerenia. The coastland in question, from the *Sandava* river to the *Milia* river, appears to have been originally detached from Laconia and bestowed on Messenia by Philip of Macedon after the battle of Chaeronea (338 B.C.) We know, at least, that Philip transferred the Denthelian district from Laconia to Messenia (Tacitus, *Annals*, iv. 43); and that a dispute as to the possession of Leuctra was referred to him as arbitrator (Strabo, viii. p. 360; cp. Polybius, ix. 33). We may fairly suppose that Philip gave the decision against his foes the Lacedaemonians. Thus Leuctra, and probably with it the adjoining districts of Cardamyle and Gerenia, were detached from Laconia, and continued to be Messenian territory from the time of Philip to the time of Augustus, who restored the territory to Laconia, assigning Cardamyle to Sparta, and Leuctra and Gerenia to the Free Laconians.

1. 3. **while enumerating Pylus, Arene** etc. See Homer, *Iliad*, ii. 591 *sqq.*

1. 3. **the following passage in the Odyssey.** See *Odyss.* xxi. 18.

1. 3. **in speaking of the bow of Iphitus** etc. See *Odyss.* xxi. 15 *sq.*

1. 4. **this he himself explains** etc. See *Odyss.* iii. 488 *sq.*

1. 5. **Caucon —— brought the orgies of the Great Goddesses from Eleusis.** A long and very interesting inscription, detailing the rules which regulated the celebration of these Messenian orgies or mysteries, was discovered in 1858 near the village of *Konstantinoi*, in the district of Andania, in northern Messenia. It was published with a commentary by H. Sauppe (*Die Mysterieninschrift von Andania*, Göttingen, 1860). See also Dittenberger's *Sylloge Inscript. Graec.* No. 388; Cauer, *Delectus Inscr. Graec.*[2] No. 47.

As to Caucon, the legendary founder of the Andanian mysteries, the story that he was of Attic birth and came from Eleusis seems to have been the invention of Methapus, as to whom see note on § 7. Caucon

appears, on the contrary, to have been a native Peloponnesian hero. According to Apollodorus (iii. 8. 1) and Tzetzes (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 481) his father was Lycaon, the son of Pelasgus. According to Aelian (*Var. Hist.* i. 24) Caucon was a son of Poseidon and Astydamia. The Messenians sacrificed to Caucon (iv. 27. 6); but the chief seat of his worship seems to have been Lepreus in Elis. See v. 5. 5 note. Cp. J. Töpffer, *Attische Genealogie*, p. 215 *sqq.*

1. 7. **Methapus also made some changes in the mode of celebrating the mysteries.** With the restoration of Messenian freedom after the battle of Leuctra the ancient mysteries, which during the Spartan domination seem to have fallen into abeyance, were revived. See iv. 26. 6 *sqq.* It is a probable conjecture that the changes in the ritual, referred to by Pausanias, were introduced by Methapus at this time. As "a deviser of mysteries and all sorts of orgies" he may well have been fetched from Attica to assist in renewing the half-forgotten ceremonies. All that Pausanias knew about Methapus he seems to have got from the inscription which he quotes. This inscription was carved on a statue of Methapus which stood in a chapel of the Lycomids. The Lycomids were a noble family of Attica, and they had a chapel for the celebration of mystic rites at Phlya in Attica, which seems to have been the family seat (see note on i. 31. 4 'Phlya'). The "chapel of the Lycomids" to which Pausanias here refers was no doubt the one at Phlya in Attica; Lobeck (*Aglaophamus*, 2. p. 982 *sq.*) is wrong in supposing that it was at Andania in Messenia. Since the statue of Methapus stood in the chapel of the Lycomids, we may conclude that Methapus was a Lycomid himself. Hence he may have invented the story which traced the lineage of Caucon, the founder of the Messenian rites, to Phlyus, the eponymous hero of Phlya. Perhaps the etymological connexion between the name of the Lycomids and the name of Lycaon, the legendary ancestor of Caucon, may have seemed to Methapus a ground of relationship between the Messenian hero and the Attic family. With regard to the changes introduced by Methapus into the ancient ritual, Sauppe thought that we can get some light from the great inscription mentioned above. The date of that inscription seems to be 93 B.C., so that it is posterior to the innovations made by Methapus, if we are right in supposing Methapus to have lived about the time of the battle of Leuctra. Now from the inscription it appears that the gods in whose honour the mysteries were celebrated were Demeter, Hermes, the Great Gods, Carnean Apollo, and Hagna (Proserpine). Pausanias seems to have known all these deities as the deities of the mysteries except the Great Gods (see the verses of Methapus which he quotes, also iv. 33. 4 *sq.*) It is true that he mentions the Great Goddesses repeatedly in connexion with the mysteries (see iv. 3. 10; iv. 14. 1; iv. 33. 5), but he never mentions the Great Gods. Who were these Great Gods? Sauppe thought they were the Cabiri of Samothrace, who were regularly styled the Great Gods (Dionysius Halicarn. *Antiq. Rom.* i. 69; Diodorus, iv. 49, etc.) He further conjectured that the introduction of the worship of the Cabiri into the Messenian mysteries may have been due to Methapus, since Pausanias tells us that Methapus instituted the

rites of the Cabiri at Thebes. Mr. Töpffer, on the other hand, thinks that the Great Gods mentioned in the inscription were more probably the Dioscuri, who were native deities of Messenia, not strangers and foreigners like the Cabiri. See Paus. iii. 26. 3 ; iv. 31. 9 ; and for the title of Great Gods applied to the Dioscuri see i. 31. 1. On the subjects of this note see Sauppe, *Die Mysterieninschrift von Andania*, pp. 3 *sqq.*, 41 *sqq.*, 52 *sq.* ; J. Töpffer, *Attische Genealogie*, pp. 208-225.

1. 8. **Caucon, illustrious scion of Phlyus.** The Greek is here corrupt. Cp. Critical Note, vol. i. p. 579. I have translated according to the probable sense.

2. 2. **Oechalia.** In Homer Oechalia is the town of Eurytus, the bowman who challenged Apollo himself to a shooting match, and was slain by the god. Ulysses received the bow of Eurytus from Iphitus, and with it he shot the suitors dead. See *Iliad*, ii. 596, 730 ; *Odyssey*, viii. 224 *sqq.*, xxi. 11 *sqq.* From the last passage (*Od.* xxi. 11 *sqq.*) we should infer that Oechalia was in Messenia ; but various towns, as we learn from Pausanias, claimed to be the Homeric Oechalia. See Müller, *Dorier*,[2] 1. p. 460, note 1 ; Preller, *Griech. Mythologie*,[4] 2. p. 224 *sq.* ; Roscher's *Lexikon*, *s.v.* 'Eurytos.' As to the bones of Eurytus, to which Pausanias refers as a proof that Oechalia was in Messenia, see iv. 33. 5. Sacrifices were said to have been annually offered to Eurytus before the celebration of the Andanian mysteries. See iv. 3. 10 ; cp. 27. 6.

2. 3. **Creophylus in his poem Heraclea.** Creophylus of Samos is said to have been a friend of Homer's, and to have composed the epic called *The capture of Oechalia*, which described how Hercules captured Oechalia, because he had been refused the hand of Iole, daughter of Eurytus, king of Oechalia. The *Heraclea* here mentioned by Pausanias was probably identical with the epic commonly called *The capture of Oechalia*. See Strabo, ix. p. 438, xiv. p. 638 ; Diodorus, iv. 37. 5 ; *Epicorum Graecorum fragmenta*, ed. Kinkel, p. 60 *sqq.* ; F. G. Welcker, *Der epische Cyclus*, 1. p. 219 *sqq.*

2. 4. **Her story has already been twice touched on by me.** See ii. 21. 7 ; iii. 1. 4.

2. 7. **Protesilaus —— had to wife Polydora.** Homer (*Il.* ii. 700) mentions the wife of Protesilaus, but without naming her. She is more generally called Laodamia, a name made familiar to classical readers by Ovid (*Heroides*, xiii.) and to English readers by Wordsworth's poem *Laodameia.*

3. 2. **the verses of Homer** etc. See *Iliad*, xi. 597 *sqq.*

3. 2. **the tomb of Machaon at Gerenia** etc. See iii. 26. 9 ; iv. 30. 3.

3. 3. **This I have already mentioned.** See ii. 18. 7 *sq.*

3. 5. **Temenus took a pitcher with water** etc. Cp. Apollodorus, ii. 8. 4.

3. 6. **Merope.** See Hyginus, *Fab.* 184 : and on representations of her legend in ancient art, etc., see O. Jahn, 'Merope,' in *Archäologische Zeitung*, 6 (1854), pp. 225-238.

3. 7. **the men of property revolted and murdered him.** According to Nicolaus Damascenus, King Cresphontes divided Messenia into five

parts, and gave the conquered Messenians equal shares with the conquering Dorians. This excited the disgust of the Dorians; and Cresphontes, perceiving the unpopularity of his measures, attempted to undo them. This did not appease the Dorians, who murmured at him for having come to terms with the conquered Messenians without consulting his Dorian subjects; and the Messenians were alarmed at the prospect of being deprived of their lands. Hence a conspiracy was formed and Cresphontes was assassinated. See Nicolaus Damascenus, frag. 39 (*Frag. Histor. Graec.* ed. Müller, 3. p. 376 *sq.*) Nicolaus Damascenus's authority for this account appears to have been Ephorus; for Strabo (viii. p. 361) states on the authority of Ephorus that Cresphontes established five cities in Messenia, and divided the territory between them; Stenyclerus was his capital and residence, and he sent four petty kings to rule in the other four cities; he also gave the Messenians equal rights with the Dorians; but seeing that the Dorians were discontented, he changed his mind, made Stenyclerus the only city, and collected all the Dorians into it. Though Strabo does not mention it, the story of the assassination of Cresphontes was doubtless told by Ephorus, for the authorities used by Nicolaus Damascenus and Strabo seem certainly to have been the same. Isocrates (*Archidamus*, 22) says: "The Messenians were so impious that they plotted against and slew Cresphontes" etc. The assassination of Cresphontes is mentioned also by Apollodorus (ii. 8. 5) and Hyginus (*Fab.* 137). Euripides wrote a drama called *Cresphontes*, which Prof. Niese believes to have been the source from which later writers took their ideas of this part of Messenian history. See B. Niese, in *Hermes*, 26 (1891), p. 9 *sqq.*

3. 8. **Aepytus** etc. Cp. Nicolaus Damascenus, frag. 39 (*Frag. Hist. Graec.*, ed. Müller, 3. p. 377); Apollodorus, ii. 8. 5. According to Hyginus (*Fab.* 184) the surviving son of Cresphontes and Merope bore his father's name Cresphontes, and he was brought up in Aetolia, not Arcadia. Isocrates says (*Archidamus*, 23) that the sons of Cresphontes escaped and were afterwards restored to Messenia by the Spartans.

3. 9. **sacrificed to Machaon —— at Gerenia.** See iii. 26. 9.

3. 10. **the sanctuary of Gorgasus and Nicomachus at Pharae.** See iv. 30. 3.

3. 10. **sacrifice every year to the river Pamisus.** On sacrifices to rivers see P. Stengel, 'Die Opfer für Flussgötter,' in *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 31 (1891), pp. 449-453.

4. 1. **Eumelus.** See note on ii. 1. 1.

4. 2. **The Lacedaemonians say** etc. Ephorus, reported by Strabo (vi. p. 279), said that the first Messenian war broke out in consequence of the Messenians having murdered the Lacedaemonian king Teleclus, who had gone to sacrifice at Messene. But Strabo was acquainted with the other part of the Lacedaemonian story also; for elsewhere he says that the war originated in the refusal of the Messenians to give satisfaction for the violation of some Spartan maidens at Limnae; the maidens had come to offer sacrifice at the sanctuary of Artemis, the Messenians violated them and slew the men who tried to defend the

damsels. See Strabo, vi. p. 257, viii. p. 362. Justin also (iii. 4) traces the outbreak of the war to the lawless conduct of some Messenians who violated certain Lacedaemonian maidens at a solemn sacrifice in Messenia.

4. 5. **There was a man of Messenia called Polychares** etc. The story which follows is told also by Diodorus (fr. viii. 5). Cp. Ebeling, *Sources of the Messeniaca of Pausanias*, p. 20 *sqq.*

5. 1. **the fraud of Cresphontes touching the lots.** See iv. 3. 4 *sq.*

5. 2. **the Argives, in an assembly of the league.** The word translated 'league' is *amphictyonia*, by which we must here understand a league of cities with Argos at its head. Such an Argive confederacy is only mentioned by one other ancient writer, to wit Plutarch (*Parallela*, 3). K. O. Müller (*Dorier*,[2] 1. p. 154) inferred from Herodotus, vi. 92, that the confederacy must have subsisted as late as the 66th Olympiad (516-513 B.C.) Cp. Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.*[2] 1. p. 222. The existence of such an Argive confederacy is doubted by K. W. Müller (in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopädie*, i. 1. p. 890 *sq.*), and denied by P. Kohlmann (*Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. 29 (1874), p. 472).

5. 4. **Apollodorus, the tyrant of Cassandria.** Cassandria occupied the site of the older and better known Potidaea, in Macedonia. See v. 23. 3. As to Apollodorus see Diodorus, xxii. 5; Polyaenus, vi. 7, iv. 6. 18. He was put down by Antigonus. Polyaenus calls him the bloodiest tyrant that ever ruled in Greece or elsewhere.

5. 9. **Amphea.** This has been identified with the ruins called the *Palaeokastro* of *Kokla*, situated on one of the western spurs of Taygetus, at the north-eastern corner of Messenia. The place lies about an hour and a half to the south of the *Makriplagi* pass, which is the chief line of communication between Arcadia and Messenia. The ruins occupy the westernmost extremity of a narrow ridge, bounded on both sides by two deep glens, through which flow streams that unite at the western end of the ridge. From these glens the ridge rises, now in steep slopes, now in sheer crags. Of the terraces into which it is divided the most westerly supports the ruins of a mediaeval castle, which is built on ancient foundations of massive polygonal walls. On a higher and broader terrace to the east the rock has been artificially smoothed, and here there are many remains of houses and some ruinous churches. In the perpendicular cliff on the south side there is a stalactite grotto in an inaccessible position. The peasants have a tradition that *Kokla* was once the scene of a massacre such that the blood ran down to the plain of *Sakona*. But it may be doubted whether this tradition does not refer to a victory of Villehardouin over the Greeks or to a massacre perpetrated by the Turks under Mahommed II., rather than to the slaughter which marked the beginning of the first Messenian war.

See especially Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 419 *sq.*; also Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 75; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 100 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. pp. 134 *sq.*, 189; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 164 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 298; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 284.

5. 10. **in the second year of the ninth Olympiad.** 743 B.C. The

first Messenian war, according to Pausanias, lasted from 743 B.C. to 724 B.C. See iv. 13. 7. These dates are accepted by Kohlmann, and approximately by Töpffer. Duncker, on the other hand, would date the war 735-716 B.C. See Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, 1. pp. 162, 168; Kohlmann, *Quaestiones Messeniacae*, p. 56 *sqq.*; Gilbert, *Studien zur altspartanischen Geschichte*, p. 174 *sqq.*; Duncker, *Gesch. des Alterthums*, 5.[3] p. 421 *sq.*; Busolt, *Griech. Geschichte*,[2] 1. p. 589 *sq.*; Holm, *Griech. Gesch.* 1. p. 240; J. Töpffer, 'Die messenische Kriege,' *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. 49 (1894), p. 225 *sqq.* Cp. note on iv. 15. 1.

5. 10. **the people only stript the descendants of Melanthus, the Medontids, as they were called, of most of their power** etc. See i. 3. 3, ii. 18. 8, with the notes on both passages. The common tradition, apparently followed by Pausanias in this passage, though not in i. 3. 3, was that at Athens the archonship for life, in place of the kingship, was instituted after the death of Codrus son of Melanthus, and that Medon son of Codrus and grandson of Melanthus was the first archon for life (Eusebius, *Chronic.* vol. 1. p. 185, ed. Schöne; *id.*, vol. 2. p. 60). The decennial archonship, according to the common tradition, was instituted in 752 B.C. and Charops was the first decennial archon (Eusebius, *Chronic.* vol. 1. p. 189, and vol. 2. p. 80, ed. Schöne; Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, 1. p. 156). Mr. Töpffer has called attention to the fact that the reputed descendants of Melanthus, the Medontids, were not called after him but after Medon, his supposed grandson. In this fact Mr. Töpffer sees evidence that Melanthus and Codrus were interpolated in the genealogy of the Medontids with whom they had in reality (according to him) no connexion. See Töpffer, *Attische Genealogie*, p. 228 *sqq.*

6. 1. **Rhianus of Bene —— Myron of Priene.** These two writers, with the poems of Tyrtaeus (see 15. 6), seem to have been the authorities whom Pausanias chiefly followed in narrating the history of the first two Messenian wars. Myron's date is unknown. He is conjecturally referred to the third or second century B.C. Two extracts from the second book of his Messenian history are quoted by Athenaeus (vi. p. 271 f, xiv. p. 657 c d). There was a rhetorician or orator named Myron, who is supposed to have been the same as the historian. Pausanias himself (§ 4 of this chapter) signifies the untrustworthy character of Myron's work. Yet he would appear to have followed Myron's history closely, if we may judge from the rhetorical style and colour of his account of the first Messenian war, a style totally foreign to his usual dry jejune manner. See *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* ed. Müller, 4. p. 460 *sq.*; Busolt, *Griech. Geschichte*,[2] 1. p. 579 *sq.*; and especially Kohlmann, *Quaestiones Messeniacae*, p. 4 *sqq.* As to Rhianus, we learn from Suidas (*s.v.* Ῥιανός) that he was a Cretan, his native town Bene being in that island; that he was a contemporary of Eratosthenes, had been originally a slave and overseer of a wrestling-school, but being educated he became a grammarian, and wrote a poem called *Heraclias* in four books. He seems to have composed also three ethnographical poems on Achaia, Thessaly, and Elis. He also edited Homer; his name is often mentioned in the scholia on Homer. His poem on Messenia is repeatedly referred to by Stephanus Byzantius, from whom (*s.v.* Ἀτάβυρον) we gather that it was in six

books at least. It began with the battle of the Great Trench in the second Messenian war, and perhaps brought the history down to the return of the Messenians to Peloponnese after the battle of Leuctra. It seems probable that Rhianus collected the materials of his poem on Messenia from the mouths of the people, for some of the narratives of the second Messenian war, especially those which describe the adventures of Aristomenes, bear the stamp of genuine popular legends, like the stories told of Wallace and Bruce in Scotland. See Kohlmann, *Quaestiones Messeniacae*, p. 11 *sqq.*; Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.*[2] i. p. 581. On the authorities used by Pausanias in his history of the Messenian wars see also O. Pfundter, in *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 15 (1869), pp. 447-452; Busolt, *ib.* 29 (1883), p. 814 *sqq.*; B. Niese, 'Die ältere Geschichte Messeniens,' *Hermes*, 26 (1891), p. 1 *sqq.* In his dissertation *A Study of the Sources of the Messeniaca of Pausanias* (Baltimore, 1892) Prof. Ebeling has attempted to show that Myron's history extended not only to the end of the first Messenian war, but even down to 370 B.C., and that Pausanias himself used it for the whole of that period. But there is no reason for doubting Pausanias's statement that Myron's history stopped before the end of the first Messenian war.

6. 3. **In view of this wide discrepancy between my authorities etc.** Pausanias argues that the interval between the first and second Messenian wars (39 years, according to him, see 15. 1) was too great to allow us to suppose that Aristomenes figured in both of them, and that therefore we must choose between the authority of Myron who represents Aristomenes as figuring in the first war, and the authority of Rhianus who represents him as the hero of the second. Pausanias prefers to follow Rhianus.

7. 5. **When the armies advanced to the encounter.** Prof. Busolt thinks that the description of the battle which follows was copied, with verbal echoes, from Thucydides's account (v. 66-73) of the battle of Mantinea (*Griech. Gesch.* i.[2] p. 580 note 6). I do not see this. That the description of the battle in Pausanias is the work of a rhetorician (probably Myron), who drew upon his imagination for the details, is probably true. But it does not seem to me that he copied specially from the passage of Thucydides referred to, though the remark of Pausanias as to the slowness of the Lacedaemonian pursuit (8. 11) certainly agrees with the statement of Thucydides (v. 73).

8. 2. **impiety towards the gods.** The Greek is θεῶν ἀσεβεῖς, a peculiar construction. Compare, however, ix. 27. 7 θεῶν ἀσεβεῖς, and ix. 5. 4 ἀσεβὴς Διονύσου.

8. 3. **the Dryopians of Asine etc.** See ii. 36. 5; iii. 7. 4; iv. 14. 3.

9. 2. **mentioned by Homer.** See *Il.* ii. 729.

9. 2. **Ithome is as high as any mountain in Peloponnese.** A strangely inaccurate estimate of the height of the mountain. Ithome is only 2630 ft. high; whereas Mt. *Elias* in the Taygetus range, which is in full view from Ithome, is 7900 ft. high. Mt. Cyllene in Arcadia is 7790 ft.; and Mt. *Chelmos* (the ancient Aroania), also in Arcadia, is 7725 ft. Moreover Ithome is not an imposing mountain, and hardly looks its height. The ascent is perfectly easy.

11. 5. the Messenian light troops came on etc. Prof. Busolt (*Griech. Gesch.*[2] 1. p. 580 note 6) thinks that the following description of the tactics of the Messenian light troops is modelled on the account given by Xenophon (*Hellenica*, iv. 5. 11 *sqq.*) of the defeat of the Spartan division by the light troops of Iphicrates.

12. 2. the Trojan trick of Ulysses. In the *Little Iliad* it was told how Ulysses made his way into Troy in the guise of a deserter, but was recognised by Helen (*Epicorum Graecorum fragmenta*, ed. Kinkel, p. 37). The story is alluded to by Homer (*Od.* iv. 249 *sqq.*) and Euripides (*Hecuba*, 239 *sqq.*; *Rhesus*, 503 *sqq.*)

12. 4. When the two shall have started up together etc. The reference is to the two eyes of the blind soothsayer Ophioneus recovering their sight (§ 10 below). The last line of the oracle ("Before destiny overtake the things which changed their nature") foreshadows the relapse of the soothsayer's eyes into their original state of blindness (see iv. 13. 3). But the Greek text of the oracle is uncertain. See Critical Note on the passage (vol. 2. p. 580).

12. 6. if the child of a priestess or priest died —— the priesthood should pass to another. The reason for this rule was perhaps, as Schoemann suggested (*Griech. Alter.*[3] 2. p. 430), that the priest was supposed to be defiled by the death of so near a relation.

13. 1. signs and wonders. Plutarch mentions among the portents which dismayed Aristodemus, that the dogs howled like wolves and that a kind of grass called *agrostis* grew about his hearth (*De superstitione*, 11).

13. 3. clothe them in white raiment. In the island of Ceos it was enacted by law that a corpse should be buried in white garments, not exceeding three in number. See the inscription in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 1 (1876), p. 140; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 468; Roehl, *I. G. A.* No. 395; Cauer, *Delectus Inscr. Graec.*[2] No. 530. Indeed it appears to have been a general Greek custom to bury the dead in white raiment, for Artemidorus (*Oniricr.* ii. 3) says that for a sick man to dream of wearing white garments was an omen of death, because the dead were carried to the grave in white garments. The custom of crowning the dead seems also to have been common. See K. F. Hermann, *Griech. Privatalterthümer*,[3] ed. Blümner, p. 363.

13. 7. the first year of the fourteenth Olympiad etc. 724 B.C. As to the Medontids and the decennial archonship see notes on i. 3. 3, iv. 5. 10; cp. ii. 18. 8 note. Hippomanes was the fourth of the decennial archons, his three predecessors being Charops, Aesimides, and Clidicus. See Eusebius, *Chronic.* ed. Schöne, vol. 1. p. 189 *sq.*

14. 2. dedicated bronze tripods etc. See iii. 18. 7 note.

14. 3. the district called Hyamia. Strabo (viii. p. 361) says that the Dorian conqueror Cresphontes (as to whom see above, ch. 3) divided Messenia into five districts, each with its capital, namely Stenyclerus, Pylus, Rhium, Mesola, and Hyamitis (= Hyamia). He fixed his own residence at Stenyclerus and sent four kings to bear rule in the four other towns. He also placed the conquered Messenians on

an equality with the conquering Dorians. This excited the discontent of the Dorians; and Cresphontes was therefore obliged to make Stenyclerus the only city and to collect all the Dorians into it. The situation of Hyamia is not known; perhaps it was on the western or north-western coast. Cp. Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 457 *sqq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. pp. 126, 164; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 160 note; Stephanus Byz. *s.v.* Ὑάμεια. As to Androcles see above, iv. 5. 6 *sq.*

14. 4. **at the funerals of the Spartan kings —— women should come** etc. On the funerals of the Spartan kings see Herodotus, vi. 58. Women regularly attended funerals in ancient Greece. See Demosthenes, *Or.* xliii. p. 1071, and the inscription referred to in note on iv. 13. 3.

14. 7. **A like tale is told —— about Olympias —— and about Aristodama.** For the story about Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great, see Plutarch, *Alexander*, 2; Lucian, *Alexander*, 7; Justin, xi. 11. 3; xii. 16. 2. As to Aristodama see Paus. ii. 10. 3.

15. 1. **the Messenians revolted in the thirty-eighth year** etc. According to Pausanias the second Messenian war lasted from Ol. 23. 4 (685 B.C.) to Ol. 28. 1 (668 B.C.) See 23. 4; 27. 9 note. The chronology of the war is, however, uncertain. By modern scholars it has been variously dated 679-662 B.C. (Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, 1. p. 253); 645-631 B.C. (Duncker, *Gesch. des Alterthums*, 5.[3] p. 422 note); 645-628 B.C. (Kohlmann, *Quaest. Messen.* p. 65; Curtius *Griech. Gesch.* 1.[6] p. 657). See also Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.*[2] 1. p. 590 note; Holm, *Griech. Gesch.* 1. p. 240. Pausanias is not consistent. According to the dates which he assigns for the beginning and end of the war, it lasted 17 years. But his narrative embraces only 14 years. See 15. 4; 15. 7; 17. 2; 17. 10; 20. 1. Cp. Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, 1. p. 255; Kohlmann, *Quaest. Messen.* p. 51.

Prof. B. Niese thinks that the date of the conquest of Messenia is determined by the statement of Plutarch (*Apophthegmata, Epam.* 23) that Messene was built by the Thebans under Epaminondas 230 years after the conquest of the country by the Spartans: hence, as Messene was built in 370 B.C., the conquest of Messenia would fall in 600 B.C. For the determination of the date of the first Messenian war the only trustworthy evidence, according to Prof. Niese, is the register of the Olympic victors. In that register Messenian victors occur in the Ol. 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, but then cease; from which Prof. Niese infers that the first Messenian war broke out some time after Ol. 11 (736 B.C.) Now we know from Tyrtaeus (our only trustworthy authority on the subject, in Prof. Niese's opinion) that the first Messenian war lasted twenty years and took place two generations before the second war. If we reckon two generations at sixty years we shall get eighty years as the interval between the outbreak of the first and second Messenian wars. We do not know how long the second war lasted, but from Tyrtaeus it would seem that the struggle was long and the fortune of war varied. If we suppose that it lasted thirty years, then (as it ended in 600 B.C.) it would begin in 630 B.C., and the first war would begin in 710 B.C. Thus Prof. Niese dates the first Messenian war approxi-

mately 710-690 B.C., and the second war 630-600 B.C. See B. Niese, 'Die ältere Geschichte Messeniens,' *Hermes*, 26 (1891), p. 30 *sqq.*

15. 6. **Tyrtaeus.** Cp. Kohlmann, *Quaestiones Messeniacae*, p. 31 *sqq.* In Prof. Niese's opinion, the first writer who represented Tyrtaeus as an Athenian sent to the aid of the Spartans in obedience to an oracle, was the historian Callisthenes, a contemporary of Alexander the Great. Prof. Niese thinks that Xenophon can have known nothing of such a story, else he would have introduced it into his *Hellenica*, vi. 5. 33, where the Lacedaemonian ambassadors remind the Athenians of the mutual services which Athens and Sparta had rendered to each other in days of old. See B. Niese, in *Hermes*, 26 (1891), p. 26.

15. 7. **With the Messenians were the Eleans and Arcadians** etc. Strabo (viii. p. 362) says that the allies of the Messenians in the second war were the Argives, Arcadians, and the people of Pisa (in Elis); he does not mention the Eleans. Hence Kohlmann (*Quaest. Messen.* p. 63 *sqq.*) is of opinion that Pausanias has mentioned the Eleans where he ought to have spoken of the people of Pisa.

15. 7. **the hereditary celebrants of the orgies** etc. See iv. 14. 1.

15. 7. **the descendants of Androcles.** See iv. 5. 6 *sq.*; iv. 14. 3.

15. 8. **exchanged oaths —— over the pieces of a boar.** See v. 24. 9 *sqq.*; also iii. 20. 9 note.

16. 5. **the Dioscuri were sitting on the tree.** Prof. Wide suggests that in this story we have a trace of tree-worship (*Lakonische Kulte*, p. 316 *sq.*) On coins of Gythium the Dioscuri are represented standing with a tree between them (Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 62). Pindar speaks of Castor as seated on an oak-tree (*Nem.* x. 115).

16. 6. **the women threw ribbons and fresh flowers on him.** On this custom see Hermann, *Gottesdienstliche Alterthümer*,[2] § 50. 24; Stephani in *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg), 1874, p. 133 *sqq.*; cp. vi. 20. 19 note.

16. 7. **took the shield to Lebadea** etc. See iv. 32. 5 *sq.*; ix. 39. 14. As to the device on the shield (an eagle) cp. 18. 5.

16. 9. **maidens —— dancing at Caryae.** See iii. 10. 7 note.

17. 1. **burned through the cords** etc. Polyaenus (ii. 31. 3) and Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xi. 185) relate that, while his guards slept, Aristomenes rolled himself up to the fire and thus succeeded in burning his bonds and making his escape.

17. 2. **corrupted by a bribe Aristocrates.** The treachery of Aristocrates at the battle of the Great Trench is mentioned also by Polybius (iv. 33) and Plutarch (*De sera numinis vindicta*, 2).

17. 10. **Mount Ira.** This is now generally identified with the hill of *St. Athanasius*, which rises to the south of the village of *Kakaletri*, on the upper waters of the river Neda. The hill is a rocky spur of Mt. *Tetrazi* (4550 feet), from which it descends in a north-westerly direction. It is bounded on the north and south by two deep gullies, which unite at the western end of the hill. The northern gully is the

bed of the Neda. The sides of the hill are steep, in some places almost perpendicular. Beyond the gullies rise wild mountains on every side. The summit of the hill, which is of considerable extent, is surrounded by fortification-walls, which appear to have been hastily thrown up, the stones being unhewn and the masonry irregular. Two or three courses are still standing; there were towers at the corners. Inside the walls there are many ancient foundations, also of unhewn stones. The highest point of the hill is enclosed by cross walls, as if to form an acropolis. The hill takes its modern name from a ruined chapel of St. Athanasius. Mt. *Athanasius* is connected to the west with a lower eminence called *Hagia Paraskeve*; the saddle which joins them is about 300 paces long. On this lower eminence are the remains of another fortified town, about five or six furlongs in circumference; W. G. Clark estimated the site at 300 yards long by 150 broad. The walls are of hewn stone and are well preserved; there are seventeen or eighteen towers. The style of the masonry is good, recalling that of Messene. L. Ross conjectured that this may have been a new Ira, built by the Messenians after they had been restored to their country by Epaminondas. See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 110 *sq.*; L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 95 *sqq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 152 *sq.*; W. G. Clark, *Pelop.* p. 248 *sqq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 452 *sqq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 162 *sq.*; Baedeker, p. 324; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 308 *sq.* Prof. Niese thinks that the Ira (Εἶρα) of Pausanias is the same as the Iré (Ἰρή) of Homer (*Il…* ix. 150, 292), the position of which was debated by the ancients themselves: some, like Pausanias, identified it with a mountain on the border of the territory of Megalopolis; others identified it with Mesola on the Messenian gulf, near the foot of Mt. Taygetus (Strabo, viii. p. 360). Prof. Niese holds that the whole story of the siege of Mt. Ira is a mere invention of later writers. See *Hermes*, 26 (1891), p. 26 *sq.*

18. 4. **to be thrown into the abyss.** The name of this abyss was Ceadas (Κεάδας) according to Pausanias; Thucydides (i. 134) calls it Caeadas. Cp. Suidas, *s.v.* Καιάδας. It may have been the profound and romantically beautiful ravine in Mt. Taygetus, a little to the south of *Mistra* (see above, p. 362). Casting from a height appears to have been a common mode of execution in early ages; it was perhaps adopted to save the executioners from actually spilling the blood of their victims. Cp. W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*,[2] p. 417 *sqq.* This mode of execution was practised at Athens, where criminals were thrown into the *barathron* (Herodotus, vii. 133; Schol. on Aristophanes, *…lutus*, 431), and at Rome, where they were hurled from the Tarpeian rock. Near Olympia there was a mountain from which women were cast down who were detected witnessing the Olympic games (Paus. v. 6. 7).

18. 6. **he perceived a fox** etc. The escape of Aristomenes by the help of the fox is told also by Polyaenus (ii. 31. 2) and Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* xi. 185). From Apollodorus (ii. 8. 5) it would seem that the fox was the badge or symbol of Messenia, the serpent the badge of Lacedaemon, and the toad the badge of Argos. In the *Corpus Inscript. Graec.* (vol. i. No. 58) there is figured a shield with the inscription *Ανακσιδαμος Δευκσιδαμο το Ανακσανδρο το Ευρικρατεο βαγος*, *i.e.* "King Anaxidamus,

son of Zeuxidamus, son of Alexander, son of Eurycrates." On the shield a serpent rampant between two falling foxes symbolises the conquest of Messenia by Sparta. But the inscription is a forgery, according to Boeckh. The genealogy of King Anaxidamus which it contains is different from the one given by Pausanias (iii. 7. 6; iv. 15. 3).

19. 3. **the sacrifice called Hecatomphonia.** This Messenian sacrifice is mentioned also by Polyaenus (ii. 31. 2) and Plutarch (*Romulus*, 25; *Quaest. Conviv.* iv. 1. 1), and it seems to be referred to in a confused or corrupt passage of Fulgentius (*Expos. serm. antiquor. s.v.* 'Nefrendes sues' (*Mythographi Latini*, ed. Staveren, p. 770); *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* ed. Müller, 4. p. 501). Cp. K. O. Müller, *Die Dorier*,[2] 1. p. 142; Kohlmann, *Quaest. Messen.* p. 28 *sqq.*

20. 4. **The Messenians had a certain secret thing** etc. As to talismans on which the safety of states was believed to depend see note on viii. 47. 5.

20. 8. **Apteraean archers.** Aptera was a town in Crete. See x. 5. 10 note.

21. 5. **Gyges.** The story of the ring of Gyges which rendered its wearer invisible is told in the second part of the Indian work *Sikandarnámah* by Nizámí, who must have translated it from Plato, *Republic*, ii. p. 359 c *sqq.* See Prof. E. B. Cowell, 'Gyges' ring in Plato and Nizámí,' *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 30 (1861), pp. 151-157.

21. 7. **as the lightning was on their right —— the sign was auspicious.** So in Homer lightning seen on the right is regarded as a favourable omen granted by Zeus (*Il.* ii. 353, ix. 236 *sq.*); and Pindar similarly interpreted a peal of thunder on the right (*Pyth.* iv. 40). But on the whole the Greeks appear to have paid but little attention to omens drawn from thunder and lightning; it was the Etruscans who developed an elaborate system of interpreting such omens. See Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la Divination dans l'Antiquité*, 1. p. 198 *sqq.*, 2. p. 32 *sqq.*

22. 7. **stoned Aristocrates to death.** Cp. viii. 5. 12 *sq.* For other Greek traditions of stoning as a mode of execution see viii. 23. 7; x. 1. 23; *Epitoma Vaticana ex Apollodori Bibliotheca*, ed. R. Wagner, pp. 62, 65, 71; Dinias, quoted by a scholiast on Euripides, *Orestes*, 872. Those who entered the sanctuary of Lycaean Zeus on Mt. Lycaeus without leave were stoned to death by the Arcadians (Plutarch, *Quaest. Graec.* 39). The Messenian prisoners were stoned to death on the tomb of Philopoemen at Megalopolis (Plutarch, *Philopoemen*, 21). According to Pausanias (ix. 7. 2) Olympias was stoned to death. Lais was stoned to death by the Thessalian women, according to Plutarch (*Amatorius*, xxi. 13), but according to another account she was beaten to death by them with 'wooden tortoises' (Athenaeus, xiii. p. 589 a b; Schol. on Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 179). Plutarch tells a story of some murderers who were stoned to death (*Amator. Narrat.* iv. 9).

22. 7. **set up a tablet** etc. The inscription on this tablet is recorded also by Polybius (iv. 33), who says that the tablet was set up beside the altar of Lycaean Zeus.

23. 4. **the first year of the twenty-eighth Olympiad.** *I.e.* 668 B.C.

23. 6. **Anaxilas sent to the Messenians, inviting them to Italy** etc. Bentley showed that Pausanias has entirely mistaken the date of Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegium, who was a contemporary of Darius and Xerxes. The capture of Zancle by Anaxilas, which Pausanias assigns to the 29th Olympiad (664-661 B.C.), took place soon after the capture of Miletus by the Persians in 494 B.C. The Messenian exiles did not go, as Pausanias says, to Zancle, but to Rhegium. Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegium, was of Messenian descent; hence when he captured Zancle he called it Messene after the land of his forefathers. See Herodotus, vi. 22 *sq.*; Thucydides, vi. 4; Strabo, vi. p. 257; Bentley, *Dissertations on the Epistles of Phalaris*, p. 190 *sqq.*, edited by W. Wagner; Kohlmann, *Quaest. Messen.* p. 53 *sq.*; Gardner, *Samos and Samian Coins*, p. 36 *sq.*

24. 3. **the Diagorids.** See vi. 7. 1-7.

24. 5. **the Messenians —— revolted —— in the seventy-ninth Olympiad.** *I.e.* in 464 B.C. On this third Messenian war (464-455 B.C.) see Thucydides, i. 101-103. The name of the archon at Athens seems to have been Archidemides (Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, 2. p. 44). In the present passage the name Archimedes may be due to a copyist's mistake.

24. 7. **the Athenians gave them Naupactus.** See Thucydides, i. 103.

25. 1. **But after they got Naupactus** etc. The events recorded in this chapter are known from Pausanias alone.

26. 1. **Messenian slingers from Naupactus** etc. Cp. v. 26. 1. Thucydides (iv. 32) mentions that the Athenians were assisted by Messenian troops at Sphacteria.

26. 2. **the Lacedaemonians —— expelled the Messenians from Naupactus** etc. See Diodorus, xiv. 34. The Euesperites were the inhabitants of Euesperides, a town in Cyrenaica, situated at the eastern extremity of the Greater Syrtis. The Ptolemies changed the name to Berenice (Pliny, *N. H.* v. 31), which has since been corrupted into Benghazi. "It has been supposed that the famous gardens of the Hesperides were at this place; but Pacho has observed (p. 173) that this is unlikely, as the whole country about Benghazi is bare of trees. He places the gardens considerably further to the east, near Cape Phycus (the modern *Ras Sem*) and not far from Cyrene" (Rawlinson on Herodotus, i. 198). Herodotus (*l.c.*) remarks on the great fertility of the soil at Euesperides, and Rawlinson says, "Benghazi is still famous for its cereal crops, great quantities of which are carried to Augila, and there offered for sale, year after year (Hornemann, p. 39)." See also Herodotus, iv. 171; Strabo, xvii. pp. 836, 837.

26. 3. **the priest of Hercules dreamed** etc. On Hercules as a god of sleep and dreams see Stephani in *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg), 1874, p. 15 *sqq.*

26. 3. **dreamed that he lay with his dead mother.** From this dream and its interpretation McLennan (*Studies in Ancient History* (London, 1886), p. 237 *sq.*) inferred that the Messenians must have

called their country not their fatherland (πατρίς) but their motherland (μητρίς), as the Cretans did (Plutarch, *An seni sit gerenda respublica*, 17; cp. Aelian, *Nat. An.* xvii. 35; Plato, *Repub.* ix. p. 575 d). McLennan drew the further inference that the Messenians must have had female kinship, *i.e.* must have traced kinship through the mother rather than the father, as the Lycians did, and many primitive peoples all over the world have done. Cp. Bachofen, *Das Mutterrecht*, p. 28 *sq.*; and for supposed traces of female kinship in the legendary history of Messenia see *id.* p. 300 *sqq.*

26. 7. **a yew-tree.** The Greek word is *smilax*, which in the form *smilakia* or *smilaé* is still the modern Greek word for the yew. The tree is now rare in Greece, being hardly found except as a bush on the highest mountains, such as Parnassus, Parnon, Cyllene, and Aroania (*Chelmos*). In Euboea, however, it is said to attain a height of 30 or 40 feet, with a thickness of 1 to 2 feet. See Fiedler, *Reise*, 1. p. 516; Neumann und Partsch, *Physikalische Geographie von Griechenland*, p. 370; Legrande, *Dictionnaire Grec Moderne Française.* However the equivalent of *smilax* is somewhat uncertain; for according to Theophrastus (*Hist. Plant.* iii. 16. 2) *smilax* was the name of a tree resembling the evergreen or holly-oak, except that the leaves of the *smilax* had no prickles, and were softer and of more varied shapes. Theophrastus's name for the yew is *milos* (*Hist. Plant.* iii. 10. 2).

26. 8. **Caucon.** See iv. 1. 5 note.

27. 1. **it originated in the following way.** The story which follows is told of Aristomenes and a friend by Polyaenus (ii. 31. 4), who represents the festival as being celebrated, not in the camp, but just outside the walls of Sparta.

27. 5. **he prepared to found the city.** Messene was founded by Epaminondas in 369 B.C. See Diodorus, xv. 66, who says (xv. 67) that Messene was built in eighty-five days. This is hardly credible, considering the extent, solidity, and splendid masonry of the walls.

27. 6. **sacrificed to Dionysus and Ismenian Apollo.** On the relation of Apollo to Dionysus see E. Gerhard, 'Bacchischer Apoll,' *Archäologische Zeitung*, 1865, pp. 97-110; Stephani, in *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg), 1861, p. 53 *sqq.*

27. 7. **the melodies of Sacadas and Pronomus.** As to Sacadas see ii. 22. 8 *sq.*, and Index. As to Pronomus see ix. 12. 5 *sq.*

27. 9. **two hundred and ninety-seven years after the capture of Ira** etc. According to Pausanias, Ira was taken Ol. 28. 1 (668 B.C.) (see 23. 4), and the Messenians were restored Ol. 102. 3 (370 B.C.) The interval, excluding both extremes, is 297 years. See Critical Note on the passage, vol. 1. p. 581. In § 11 of this chapter Pausanias speaks of the exile of the Messenians in round numbers as having lasted 300 years. According to Isocrates (*Archidamus*, 27) 400 years elapsed between the conquest of Messenia by the Spartans and the foundation of Messene by Epaminondas. According to Lycurgus (*In Leocrat.* 62) the interval was 500 years. According to Plutarch (*Reg. et imper. Apophthegmata*, *Epamin.* 23) the interval was only 230 years. This last number is accepted by Prof. Niese, who accordingly places the con-

quest of Messenia by the Spartans in or about 600 B.C. See *Hermes*, 26 (1891), p. 30 *sqq.*; and above, note on iv. 15. 1.

27. 9. **the Plateans were exiled** etc. For the exile of the Plataeans see ix. 1; for the exile of the Delians see Thucydides, v. 1, viii. 108; and for the exile of the Minyans see Paus. ix. 15. 3 and Diodorus, xv. 79.

27. 9. **Adramyttium.** The name is Semitic. See Olshausen in *Monatsberichte* of the Prussian Academy (Berlin), 1879, p. 571 *sqq.*

27. 10. **The Minyans of Orchomenus, again, were banished** etc. Cp. ix. 37. 8.

28. 1. **the Phocian or Sacred War.** See iii. 10. 3 *sq.*

28. 3. **as I showed in my description of Attica.** See i. 25. 4.

28. 4. **the Eleans were the most law-abiding people in Peloponnese.** Polybius (iv. 73 *sqq.*) draws a pleasing picture of the peaceful, prosperous, and happy life of the Eleans. They were so much attached to a country life that many well-to-do families remained on their estates or farms for two or three generations together without ever going to the sea-coast. He attributes the rural prosperity of Elis to the fact that it had for ages been exempt from the ravages of war, the land being held sacred and inviolable on account of the Olympic festival. Armies marching through it gave up their arms when they entered the land, and received them back when they quitted it. See Strabo, viii. p. 358.

28. 5. **with Laconian scutcheons on their shields.** The Lacedaemonians bore a Λ (L) on their shields, that being the first letter of their name. For a like reason the Messenians painted an M on their shields. See Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* Λάμβδα; Eustathius, on Homer, p. 293. 39 *sqq.* The Sicyonians bore on their shields the letter Σ (S): see Xenophon, *Hellenica*, iv. 4. 10. The Mantineans painted Poseidon's trident on their shields, because Poseidon was one of their great deities: see schol. on Pindar, *Olymp.* xi. (x.) 83. The shields depicted on Greek vases display a great variety of blazons, including animals and birds. It might be worth while making a collection of these blazons. In the *Seven against Thebes* (*v.* 374 *sqq.*) Aeschylus describes the scutcheons on the shields of the champions. Cp. Paus. v. 25. 9, where the blazon of a cock on the shield of Idomeneus is said to have been adopted to signify his descent from the Sun. On the subject of ancient heraldry see E. Curtius, *Ueber Wappengebrauch und Wappenstil im griechischen Alterthum* (Berlin, 1874) (reprinted in the writer's *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 2. pp. 77-115).

28. 7. **Homer represents Patroclus** etc. See *Iliad*, xvi. 278 *sqq.*

28. 7. **he makes the Greeks send two scouts** etc. See *Iliad*, x. 222 *sqq.*

28. 8. **he represents the Trojans who were too young** etc. See *Iliad*, viii. 517 *sqq.*

29. 1. **In the section on Sicyon I have already mentioned** etc. See ii. 9. 4 *sq.*

29. 2. **the wall —— between the city and the summit of Ithome.** This is probably the portion of the city-wall of Messene which may still be seen, with a gate, on the saddle between Mt. Ithome

and Mt. Eva, above the monastery of *Vourkano*. It would be at this point that Demetrius, coming from the east, would naturally approach Messene.

29. 7. **Cleomenes —— captured —— Megalopolis.** See viii. 27. 15 *sq.* with the note; also viii. 49. 4.

29. 9. **the Achaean army —— conquered Sparta.** See ii. 9. 2.

29. 10. **Machanidas.** See viii. 50. 2.

29. 10. **He seized Messene.** Cp. viii. 50. 5.

29. 11. **the Arcadian army under Lycortas** etc. With what follows compare viii. 51. 5-8.

30. 1. **Abia.** This is the modern *Palaea Mantinea* (*Mandinia*) or *Old Mantinea* (also called *Palaeo-chora*), situated on the coast about seven miles south of the modern *Kalamata*. The site has been identified by inscriptions found here or in the neighbourhood (*C. I. G.* Nos. 1307, 1457, 1463). "Here is nothing but a church with some remains of Hellenic buildings on the side of a hill, in which there is an opening leading through the cliffs to the shore" (Leake). Boblaye speaks of traces of polygonal masonry, and of great walls under the sea. A mile to the east of *Old Mantinea* are the two villages of *Great* and *Little Mantinea* (*Mandinia*). How the name Mantinea came to be attached to these sites is not known. The distance of 70 Greek furlongs between Abia and Pharae (§ 2) agrees fairly with the seven miles between *Palaea Mantinea* and *Kalamata* (Pharae).

See Gell, *Journey in the Morea*, p. 259; Bòblaye, *Recherches*, p. 104; Leake, *Morea*, 1. pp. 324 *sq.*, 331 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. pp. 159 *sq.*, 193 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 170 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 358; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 265.

30. 1. **They say that of old it was called Ire** etc. See Homer, *Il.* ix. 148 *sq.*

30. 1. **the Choerius glen.** This is the deep gully of the *Sandava* river; the water dries up in summer; in the rainy season it is a torrent. The distance of this gully from *Palaea Mantinea* (Abia) is roughly 20 Greek furlongs, as stated by Pausanias. See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 104; Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 332; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 160; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 154. Cp. iv. 1. 1.

30. 1. **Glenus, son of Hercules.** This Glenus is mentioned by Apollodorus (ii. 7. 8), a scholiast on Sophocles (*Trachiniae*, 54) and Pherecydes (referred to by a scholiast on Pindar, *Isthmians*, iv. 104). Diodorus (iv. 37) calls him Gleneus.

30. 2. **there is a salt spring by the way.** Half an hour to the north of *Palaea Mantinea* (Abia) a stream strongly impregnated with salt gushes copiously out of a cavern at the back of a mill, and after turning the mill flows in a large body into the sea. The place is called *Armyro* from this salt river, which is doubtless the salt spring mentioned by Pausanias. See Morritt, in Walpole's *Memoirs relating to Turkey*, 1.[2] p. 39; Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 325; Gell, *Journey in the Morea*, p. 256; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 104; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 159; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 171.

30. 2. **Pharae.** Pharae, otherwise called Pherae or Phere, prob-

ably occupied the site of the modern *Kalamata*, an industrial town of 10,700 inhabitants, situated on the left bank of the broad stony bed of the Nedon, a mile from the sea. According to Strabo (viii. 4. 5. p. 361) Pharae was 5 furlongs from the sea; according to Pausanias (31. 1) it was 6. The greater distance of *Kalamata* from the sea may be explained by the earth deposited at the mouth of the wide and rapid torrent in the course of ages. Telemachus, in search of his father, lodged for the night at Pharae (Pherae) on his way from Pylus to Sparta, and again on his return; and from Homer we gather that Pharae was midway between Pylus and Sparta, being distant a whole day's journey from each (*Od.* iii. 483 *sqq.*, xv. 182 *sqq.*) This agrees exactly with the position of *Kalamata* relatively to *Old Navarino* (Pylus) and Sparta. It is a long day's ride from Sparta to *Kalamata*, by the magnificent *Langada* pass over Mt. Taygetus; and it is a 10 hours' ride (exclusive of stops) from *Kalamata* to *Navarino*. Again, *Kalamata* is identified as Pharae by its distance from Abia. See note on 30. 1 'Abia.' Pausanias does not mention the name of the river on which Pharae stood, but from Strabo (viii. p. 360) we learn that it was the Nedon. It is a torrent which issues from a rocky gorge in Mt. Taygetus, about a mile to the north-east of a steep hill which rises at the back of the town. This hill is crowned with a mediaeval castle, built or occupied successively by Franks, Venetians, and Turks. The presence of ancient hewn stones in the walls, as well as the whole arrangement of the fortress, seem to show that a castle stood here in antiquity also. There are no other relics of antiquity in *Kalamata*. The town, with its narrow winding streets and lively bazaar, lies in the great Messenian plain, near its south-eastern extremity. This plain, open to the south and sheltered from the north by mountains, is the warmest part of Greece. Groves of oranges, lemons, fig-trees, olives, and vine-yards, succeed each other, all fenced by gigantic hedges of prickly and fantastically shaped cactuses and the sword-like aloes, which, with the hot air, remind a traveller from northern Europe that he is in a sub-tropical climate.

See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 104 *sq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 342 *sqq.*; Ross, *Wanderungen*, 1. p. 208 *sqq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. pp. 158 *sq.*, 193; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. p. 231 *sq.*; W. G. Clark, *Pelop.* p. 200 *sqq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 427 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 170; Baedeker,[3] p. 355 *sq.*; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 204; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 270 *sq.* In a passage of the *Iliad* (v. 543) the town is called Phere; elsewhere (*Od.* iii. 487, xv. 186; *Il.* ix. 151) Homer calls it Pherae, and so does Strabo (viii. p. 360), who mentions that there was a well-known sanctuary of Nedusian Athena (*i.e.* Athena of the Nedon) at the town.

Mr. E. Pernice has recently proposed to place Pharae, not at *Kalamata*, but at the village of *Janitza*, situated three miles east of *Kalamata*. Here a narrow ridge extends in a direction from north-east to south-west, its sides falling away into a glen on either side. The glen on the south side (that of the *Stachitsa* stream) is deep and its sides are nearly perpendicular. The streams which flow down these glens meet in the plain to the westward. On a steep hill which rises abruptly

from the ridge are the ancient remains which Mr. Pernice takes to be those of Pharae. Half-way up its side may be traced at intervals the ruins of a strong wall, which seems to have encircled the hill. The best preserved piece of the wall (about 80 feet long and rising to 18 feet in height, with some blocks 6 feet long) is on the north side of the hill. On the summit, which commands a fine view over the Messenian plain, are considerable remains of an ancient building, as well as two ruined chapels. Mr. Pernice thinks that we have here the ruins of a fortress of the Mycenaean period, which in respect of situation he compares to Mycenae itself. He supposes that the lower city may have stood where the village of *Janitza* now stands, at the eastern foot of the hill, where the slope is gentler, and the ridge is connected with the mountains. But the place would seem to have been too small to be of much importance. The level summit of the hill measures only about 160 yards by 90, and therefore cannot compare in size with the immense acropolis of Mycenae.

If, leaving *Janitza*, we go eastward and make a circuit round the *Sovalaka* glen which bounds the ridge of *Janitza* on the north, we come to a chapel of St. Basil (*Hagios Vasilios*) on the opposite side of the glen. The chapel is constructed in part of ancient materials, and into the modern terrace walls immediately below it are built two ancient inscriptions. Just above the chapel a fine perennial spring issues from a small grotto. So strong is its flow that it turns a mill and converts the whole valley from this point onwards into one vast orchard and flower-garden. This spring, Mr. Pernice thinks, may be the one which Pausanias mentions as being a little way from Pharae (iv. 31. 1), and in this smiling valley may have bloomed the grove of Carnean Apollo (*ib.*)

To the south-east of *Janitza*, separated from it by some hills, is the great broad gully of *St George*, which leads eastward into a fertile plain surrounded by mountains. In the gully, shortly before it opens into the plain, some traces of an ancient road may be observed a little below the modern road. Ancient ruts for chariot-wheels, cut artificially in the rock, are to be seen for a distance of about 50 yards. Beyond the plain the ruts reappear on a rocky tableland now called *Tikli*. Mr. Pernice believes that these are the vestiges of an ancient road which led from Messenia over Mount Taygetus to Sparta, and he thinks that this was the road by which Homer makes Telemachus drive from Pylus, by way of Pharae, to Sparta. See E. Pernice, in *Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 13 (1893), p. 1373 *sq.*; *id.*, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 19 (1894), pp. 355-367.

To this identification of the ruins at *Janitza* as those of Pharae it must be objected that the ruins in question are about 3 miles from the sea, whereas Pharae, according to Pausanias (iv. 31. 1), was distant only 6 furlongs from it. The difference seems too great to be explained, as Mr. Pernice suggests, by supposing that most of the land between *Janitza* and the sea has been formed by alluvial deposits since the time of Pausanias. Mr. R. Weil would identify the ruins at *Janitza* as those of the ancient Calamae. See note on iv. 31. 3.

30. 2. **The Emperor Augustus separated Pharae from Messenia etc.** See iv. 1. 1 note; iv. 31. 1 note.

30. 2. **traced further down by Homer.** See *Iliad*, v. 542 *sqq.*

30. 4. **Homer was the first, so far as I know, to mention Fortune.** See the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter*, *v.* 417 *sqq.* The word τύχη (fortune, chance) occurs also, as a common noun, in the short Homeric *Hymn to Athena* (*v.* 5). Macrobius (*Sat.* v. 16. 8) observes that the word τύχη does not occur in Homer, *i.e.* in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. The same observation is made by Joannes Lydus (*De mensibus*, iii. 18).

30. 5. **he represents Athena and Enyo as paramount in war.** See *Iliad*, v. 332 *sq.*

30. 5. **Artemis as dreaded by women in childbed.** See *Iliad*, xxi. 483 *sq.*

30. 5. **Aphrodite as busied with marriages.** See *Iliad*, v. 429.

30. 6. **Bupalus.** Bupalus and his brother Athenis were natives of Chios and contemporaries of the poet Hipponax, who flourished Ol. 60 (540-537 B.C.) They are said to have caricatured the poet, who retaliated by satirising them so stingingly that they hung themselves. See Pliny, *N. H.* xxxvi. 11; Suidas, *s.v.* Ἱππῶναξ; Horace, *Epod.* vi. 14. Cp. ix. 35. 6; Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, §§ 314-319; C. Robert, *Archäologische Märchen*, pp. 115-120; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, No. 497.

30. 6. **an image of Fortune for the Smyrnaeans.** This was probably an image, not of the goddess Fortune in general, but of the special Fortune of Smyrna. In late Greek art Fortune is often represented as the embodiment or personification of particular cities. The image here referred to is the earliest known example of a specialised Fortune of this sort. On representations of the Fortune of cities see Prof. P. Gardner, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 9 (1888), pp. 73-81; cp. note on vi. 2. 7.

30. 6. **to represent her with a firmament (polos) on her head etc.** Cp. K. O. Müller, *Archäologie der Kunst*, § 398. 2; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1920 *sq.*

30. 6. **the horn of Amalthea.** It was said to be a bull's horn which could produce as much food and drink as its owner might desire (Apollodorus, ii. 7. 5). We may compare the magic quern which ground meat and drink in the Norse tale "Why the sea is salt" (Dasent's *Popular Tales from the Norse*, p. 10 *sqq.*); and the magic table which, at its owner's command, covered itself with meat and wine in the German fairy tale (Grimm, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, No. 36). Cp. Sir George W. Cox, *Mythology of the Aryan Nations*, p. 356 *sqq.* (ed. 1882).

30. 6. **Pindar —— called her Pherepolis.** This is mentioned also by Plutarch (*De fortuna Romanorum*, 10).

31. 1. **Thuria.** The remains of the older Thuria (see § 2 of this chapter) are situated about 6 miles north-west of *Kalamata* (Pharae). They occupy a rocky plateau above the village of *Veis Aga*. At the northern extremity of the ancient site is the hamlet of *Palaeokastro*.

The plateau runs from south-west to north-east for a distance of 1000 paces. It forms one of the western spurs of Taygetus, from the higher terraces of which it is separated by a deep ravine and torrent. The situation is fine; the view embraces the Messenian plain with Mt. Ithome rising on the further (western) side of it, and the broad Messenian gulf stretching away to the south. The walls may be traced nearly all round the edge of the plateau. The style of masonry is on the whole regular. Towards the south-western end of the plateau is a large cistern 10 or 12 feet deep, hewn out of the rock at one end, and on the other sides constructed with the same regular masonry as the other remains. The cistern is 85 feet long by 50 feet broad; and is divided into three parts by cross-walls. East of it, on the highest part of the plateau, are numerous foundation-walls, including the scanty remains of a theatre, which faced towards the plain. South-east of the theatre are the ruins of a small Doric temple. Towards the north end of the plateau are the foundations of a larger Doric temple, which seems to have been peripteral and hexastyle. The intercolumniation is 4 ft.; the diameter of the columns 4 ft. 4 inches.

A narrow and winding path leads from the plateau to the plain below. Here the extensive and well preserved remains of a Roman building, standing in the midst of fig and mulberry groves, mark the site of the later Thuria. The building seems to have been a Roman villa. There are three rows of halls and chambers extending side by side; some of the rooms have an apse or semicircular end. The walls are 17 ft. high, formed of equal courses of Roman tiles and mortar. Parts of the roofs remain and consist of rubble mixed with cement. The ruins are called *Palea Lutra.* The neighbouring stream, an eastern tributary of the Pamisus, is the ancient Aris. It is now called the *Pidima*, and issues from some copious sources at a small village of the same name half an hour away at the foot of the hills. Its water is remarkably clear.

See Morritt, in Walpole's *Memoirs relating to Turkey*, 1.[2] p. 38 *sq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 105; Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 354 *sqq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 161 *sq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 424 *sqq.*; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. p. 227 *sqq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 168 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 271 *sq.* A plan of upper Thuria is given by Le Bas, *Voyage archéologique*, 'Itinéraire,' pl. 29; and after him by Curtius, *op. cit.* 2. Taf. vii. Two views of Thuria are given by Le Bas, 'Itinéraire,' pl. 27, 28.

31. 1. **the town named Anthea in Homer.** See *Iliad*, ix. 293.

31. 1. **Augustus gave Thuria to the Lacedaemonians of Sparta.** In the reign of Tiberius, 25 A.D., Messenian envoys appeared before the Roman Senate and laid claim to what was called the Denthelian district (*ager Dentheliates*), which had been taken away from Messenia by Julius Caesar and Mark Antony and assigned by them to Lacedaemon. The district included Limnae with the sanctuary of Artemis of the Lake, as to which see § 3. The claim was disputed by the Lacedaemonian envoys, who maintained that the district had belonged of old to their ancestors, that it had been unjustly wrested from them by Philip of Macedon, and rightfully restored to them by Caesar and Antony. After

hearing both sides Tiberius and the Senate decided that the district in question properly belonged to the Messenians, to whom it was accordingly transferred. See Tacitus, *Annals*, iv. 43. Since the Denthelian district included the sanctuary of Artemis of the Lake, it lay to the east of Thuria (see note on § 3). It took its name from a town Denthalii or Delthanii (Stephanus Byz., *s.v.* Δελθάνιοι). In the present passage Pausanias tells us that Augustus transferred Thuria from Messenia to Sparta. Mr. Kalkmann (*Pausanias der Perieget*, p. 164 *sq.*) assumes that the decision of Augustus was reversed by the award of Tiberius, and that therefore in Pausanias's time Thuria belonged to Messenia. But as Pausanias makes no mention of Tiberius's award and evidently regarded Thuria as still belonging to Lacedaemon, Mr. Kalkmann argues that Pausanias was ignorant of the actual state of matters existing in the district in his day, and that consequently he could not have visited the places which he is now describing. But all this rests upon the assumption that along with the Denthelian district Tiberius also transferred the district of Thuria to Messenia. There is nothing whatever to show that he did so. If the important district of Thuria had also been transferred to Messenia, Tacitus, who records the transference of the obscure Denthelian district, would certainly have mentioned it. It is very unlikely that the Denthelian district included Thuria; if it had done so, the district would almost certainly have taken its name from Thuria, the chief place in the district, which actually gave its name to the distant Messenian gulf, rather than from an obscure town Denthelii, of which nothing is known but the name. We must therefore regard the Thurian and Denthelian districts as quite distinct (as Mr. Kalkmann seems himself to hold, for he speaks of *Der von den Städten Thuria und Pharai begrenzte ager Dentheliates*): and as soon as we recognise this, the fancied opposition between the decisions of Augustus and Tiberius disappears. Augustus transferred Thuria to Laconia; and it continued to belong to Laconia in Pausanias's time. Tiberius transferred the Denthelian district to Messenia; and it continued to belong to Messenia in Pausanias's time, for since he treats of Limnae (§ 3) under Messenia without saying that it belonged to Laconia, we must of course assume that it belonged to Messenia. Mr. R. Weil has shown from the evidence of coins of Septimius Severus that Thuria belonged to Lacedaemon in the reign of that emperor (*Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 7 (1882), p. 217 *sq.*) He, like Mr. Kalkmann, assumes that the award of Thuria to Messenia by Augustus was overthrown by the decision of Tiberius; and he is accordingly driven to assume that between the time of Tiberius and that of Septimius, or rather of Pausanias (whose evidence as to the possession of Thuria by the Lacedemonians Mr. Weil accepts), Thuria was retransferred from Messenia to Lacedaemon. There is no record of such an assumed retransference; and the necessity to assume it vanishes, when we recognise that the decision of Tiberius concerned only the Denthelian district and left the Thurian district in possession of Lacedaemon, in whose possession it remained in the time of Pausanias and as late as the time of Septimius Severus. L. Ross (*Reisen*, p. 11 *sqq.*) also, like Mr. Kalk-

mann and Mr. Weil, fell into the error of assuming that Augustus's decision was reversed by Tiberius; and as one error begets another, he had to assume a contradiction between the statement of Tacitus that the disputed district was awarded to the Lacedaemonians by *Julius Caesar and Antony*, and the statement of Pausanias that the district was awarded to the Lacedaemonians by *Augustus*. But this apparent discrepancy also vanishes when we observe that Tacitus and Pausanias are referring to different districts and to different decisions. Caesar and Antony gave the *Denthelian* district, Augustus gave *Thuria* to the Lacedaemonians.

31. 3. a village Calamae. This village is mentioned also by Polybius (v. 92). From the similarity of the names, Leake, followed by Ross and Curtius, thought that Calamae might be the modern *Kalami*, a village in the Messenian plain, three quarters of an hour to the north-west of *Kalamata* (Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 362; Ross, *Reisen*, p. 2 note 3; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 158). Bursian, on the other hand, would identify Calamae with some ruins which crown a hill half an hour north-east of *Kalamata*. Here there are remains of two ancient walls girdling the hill at different levels; and in the plain there are the foundations of houses cut out of the rock (Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 171). Calamae is mentioned in an inscription found, according to Mr. Foucart, at *Kalamata* (*Bulletin de Corr. Hellénique*, 1 (1877), p. 31). Mr. R. Weil, however, states that the inscription was found at the village of *Janitza*, two hours east of *Kalamata*, and on the strength of this he identifies *Janitza* with the ancient Calamae (*Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 7 (1882), p. 216; as to the ruins at *Janitza* see note on iv. 30. 2 'Pharae'). The Greek Government has given the name of Calamae to the modern *Kalamata*, which probably occupies, as we have seen, the site of the ancient Pharae.

31. 3. a place Limnae ('lakes'), in which there is a sanctuary of Artemis of the Lake. This place was on the borders between Messenia and Laconia. The events which gave rise to the first Messenian war took place at the sanctuary. See iii. 2. 6, iv. 4. 2 *sq.* The site of the sanctuary of Artemis of the Lake was discovered by L. Ross in 1840. It is occupied by a ruined chapel of the Panagia of *Volimnos*, standing at a place called *Volimnos* in a narrow glen at the southern foot of Mount *Gomovouno*. A brook runs southward through the dale in a deep bed to join the Nedon. The mountains which shut in the glen on the south, east, and north are very precipitous; but the bottom is occupied by fields which rise in terraces one above the other. The chapel of the Panagia stands on one of these terraces, about 300 feet above the bottom of the glen. It is built upon a considerable heap of ancient ruins, and is constructed of ancient remains. Into the walls of the chapel are built two inscribed marble slabs; the inscriptions, which are of the Imperial age, refer to Artemis of the Lake, thus proving that here was the sanctuary of the goddess. See L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 1 *sqq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 157 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 170. The identification was, however, disputed by Leake (*Pelop.* p. 181 *sqq.*)

The district in which the sanctuary stood was called the Denthelian

district (see note on § 1), and for many ages its possession was a subject of dispute between the Messenians and Lacedaemonians. It was successively assigned to the Messenians by Philip, Antigonus, Mummius, the Milesians (who arbitrated in the dispute), and Atidius Geminus, the praetor of Achaia. But Julius Caesar and Mark Antony awarded it to the Lacedaemonians. Lastly the dispute was brought before the Roman senate in 25 A.D. and decided in favour of the Messenians. See Tacitus, *Annals*, iv. 43. This decision seems to have been final; the district belonged to Messenia in Pausanias's time: and the discovery some fifty years ago of two boundary-stones on the water-shed of Mt. Taygetus (to the east and north-east of the village of *Sitsova*) seems to prove that the district never changed hands again. The inscription on these boundary-stones is *ὅρος Λακεδαίμονι πρὸς Μεσσήνην* ('boundary of Lacedaemon and Messene'). One of these boundary-stones was recently re-discovered by Mr. E. Pernice. It stands on the summit of a peak which rises due south of Mt. *Malevo* and about half-way between the villages of *Sitsova* and *Kastania*. The view from this summit embraces a great part of Peloponnese, including the whole of the Messenian plain. The boundary-stone is now broken in two, and the inscription is much mutilated.

See L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 3 *sq.*; E. Pernice, in *Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 21 October, 1893, p. 1373; *id.*, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 19 (1894), pp. 351-355.

31. 4. the springs of the Pamisus. The Pamisus was the chief river of Messenia, flowing through the lower Messenian plain which, from its wonderful fertility, was called Makaria or 'the happy land' (Strabo, viii. p. 361). Its natural wealth and delightful climate were described in glowing language by Euripides in a lost play, of which some lines are quoted by Strabo (viii. p. 366). The Pamisus is now the *Pirnatza* or *Dipotamo*. What Pausanias calls the springs of the Pamisus are the copious springs of lukewarm and rather insipid water which issue at the foot of the ridge of *Skala*, at the north-east corner of the lower Messenian plain, close to the little hamlet of *Hagios Floros*. Some fine plane-trees stand just at the spot where the waters gush from the mountain, and the neighbourhood of the springs displays all the richness of a southern vegetation. The cottages of the tiny hamlet on either side of the highroad are buried amid tall plane-trees, fig-trees, mulberry-trees and olives. A little way from the springs there are some ponds, and at no great distance the waters form a large marsh in the plain. The river thus formed (the Pamisus) flows south-south-west, and joins the *Mavrozoumenos* two miles below, in the middle of the plain. Strabo (viii. p. 361) says that the Pamisus had the greatest volume of water of any river in Peloponnese, though its length was not more than 100 furlongs. This 100 furlongs is the exact distance between the springs at *Hagios Floros* and the sea. The distance mentioned by Pausanias (100 furlongs from the sources of the Pamisus to Messene) is also exact, the distance being measured to the nearest gate of Messene, namely the one which may still be seen in the saddle between Mt. Ithome and Mount Eva. See Boblaye,

Recherches, p. 106 *sq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 1. pp. 389 *sq.*, 477 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 154 *sq.*; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 202.

31. 4. **the city of the Messenians under Mount Ithome.** From *Kalamata*, the probable site of the ancient Pharae, the road to Messene runs north-west across the fertile Messenian plain between hedges of huge fantastically shaped cactuses and groves of fig-trees, olives, and vines. In front of us loom nearer and nearer the twin peaks of Ithome and Eva rising boldly and abruptly from a single base on the western side of the plain, and forming the natural citadel, as it were, of the whole country. As we near their base we quit the dusty highroad and strike westward up the mountain side by devious and rocky paths. This brings us in time to the monastery of *Vourkano*, where visitors to Messene generally spend the night. It is beautifully situated on the eastern slope of the mountain, about a quarter of an hour's walk below the saddle which unites the twin peaks. The buildings, arranged in the form of a quadrangle round a little church, stand on a fine open terrace among cypresses, oaks, and wild olives, commanding an unimpeded view over the Messenian plain southward to the shining waters of the gulf and northward to where the plain ends at the foot of the hills. Ithome and its sister peak rise from the plain about midway between these northern hills and the gulf. Mount Eva, the lower of the two peaks, lies to the south or south-east of Ithome, with which it is connected by a ridge or saddle about half-way up the two mountains. The eastern wall of Messene stood and still stands in ruins on this saddle. The city itself lay on the western side, in the cup formed by the converging slopes of the two mountains. The site may be compared to an immense theatre, of which the back is formed by the saddle in question and the wings by Mt. Ithome and Mt. Eva. The wretched hamlet of *Mavromati* lies nearly in the middle of this theatre-like hollow; there are many remains of antiquity in its neighbourhood. But the site of the ancient city is now chiefly occupied by cornfields, vineyards, and olive-groves. Mt. Eva, now known as *St. Basil* (*Hagios Vasilios*), from the chapel of the saint which crowns it, was not included within the fortifications of Messene.

See Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 136 *sqq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 443 *sqq.*; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 345 *sq.*

31. 5. **Messene is surrounded by a wall** etc. The circuit of the walls of Messene is about five and a half miles. Large portions of them remain and are the finest specimens of Greek fortification in existence. The best preserved parts are the northern and north-western; the worst preserved parts are on the southern side on the slope of Mt. Eva, where the wall has in some places disappeared. The finest piece of all is the celebrated Arcadian gate with its adjoining towers in the northern wall, directly under Mt. Ithome, which rises steeply above it on the east. It is a double gate; in other words, an outer gate in the line of the city-wall opens into a spacious circular court with high walls, at the opposite end of which there is an inner gate. At the inner gate may still be seen the enormous stone which formed the lintel of the gate;

it is 5.73 metres long, 1.16 metres broad, and 1.12 metres high. The stone is broken in two pieces, one of which is lying on the ground, the other piece leans against the door-post. The circular court between the outer and inner gate measures about 62 feet in diameter, and is built in the most magnificent style of masonry. The lowest course is a row of stones, each about 5½ ft. long, and half as much high; upon this is placed another course of stones of equal length and of half the height, the joints of which are exactly over the centre of each stone in the lower course. The other courses are not quite so regular, but the stones are joined and finished with the same wonderful accuracy. As usual in Greek masonry of the best age, mortar is wholly absent. The walls of this circular court are preserved to a height of 20 to 23 feet; the number of courses is nine or ten. The outer gate is flanked, on the outside, by two square towers, about 33 feet apart. The gateway is 16 ft. 10 inches wide. On each side of this gateway, on the inner side, is a semicircular niche. These niches doubtless contained statues. Over the left-hand niche is an inscription (*C. I. G.* No. 1460) declaring that it was repaired by one Quintus Plotius Euphemion. The statue of Hermes, mentioned by Pausanias (33. 3), may have occupied one of these niches. From the inner gate a paved road leads inwards for a distance of 40 paces. It is marked lengthwise with the ruts of chariot-wheels and cross-wise with cuts which afforded foothold for the horses ascending the hill.

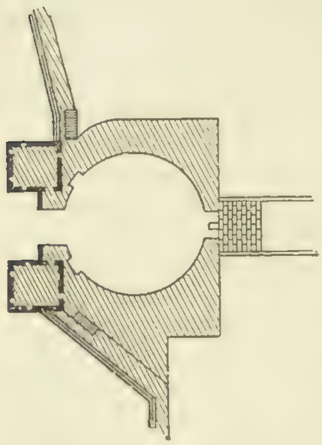
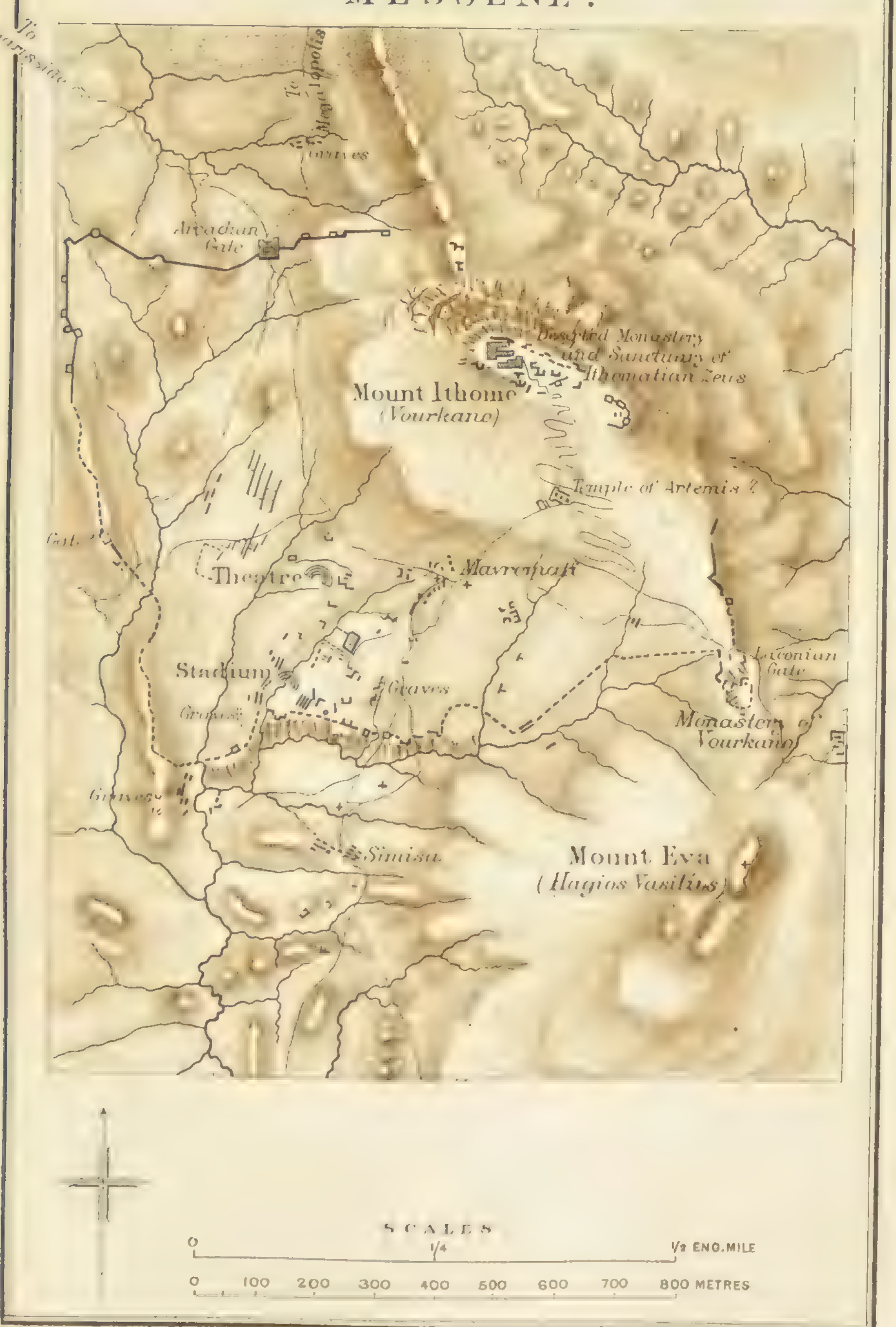


FIG. 53.—GROUND PLAN OF THE ARCADIAN GATE AT MESSENE.

Of the towers which flank the walls the best preserved are the two immediately to the east of the Arcadian gate, where the wall begins to ascend the rocky slope of Mt. Ithome. They are square, each side measuring about 21 feet; and they project 13 feet from the curtain or line of wall. Their height is about 31 feet. The towers are in two stories; the lower story is entered from the top of the curtain by doors on each side of the tower. In the lower story are four loopholes for arrows, two to the front and one on each side. In the upper story there are six small square windows, two on each of the sides except the back. In the walls are visible the holes for the rafters which supported the floor of the upper story, and the walls are rebated or set back thus ㄣ to leave room for the ends of the floor-planks to rest on. The curtain between the tower is 9 feet thick. Both curtains and towers in this part of the walls are built entirely of large squared blocks, admirably cut and jointed without rubble or cement. In general the towers are square, but at all the salient angles they are nearly round, each tower forming about two-thirds of a circle. These round towers have generally sally-ports. The intervals between the towers vary according to the nature of the ground. The general style of masonry is not like that of the towers at the

MESSENE.



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Arcadian gate, but, as in most Greek fortifications, consists of an outer and inner facing of squared blocks, the intermediate space being filled with rubble. These facings are generally formed of equal and parallel courses, but not always of rectangular stones. The masonry is like that of the walls of Mantinea, which were built about the same time. But there is this important difference, that whereas only the lower part of the walls of Mantinea seems to have been built of stone, the upper part having apparently been built of unburnt brick, we have Pausanias's word for it that the whole circuit of the walls of Messene was built of stone from top to bottom.

The remains of another gate, generally called the Laconian gate, may be seen on the eastern side of the ridge or saddle which unites Ithome and Eva. On the western side of the ridge, about 80 yards off, are the remains of another wall running along the ridge, not quite parallel to the one on the eastern side. At one end of the ridge the wall rises towards Mt. Eva, then turns sharply off, leaving the upper part of that mountain outside the line of walls. At the other end of the ridge the wall climbs the steep side of Ithome till it is stopped by a perpendicular rock. In this direction there is a small square chamber in the walls with a loophole for shooting arrows. Above the perpendicular rock the wall begins again, and is furnished at intervals with buttresses instead of towers.

See Blouet, *Expédition scientifique de Morée: Architecture*, 1. pp. 37-42, with pl. 38-47; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 107; Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 60; Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 371 *sqq.*; Le Bas, in *Revue Archéologique*, 1 (1844), p. 422 *sqq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 139 *sqq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 445 *sqq.*; W. G. Clark, *Pelop.* pp. 232 *sqq.*, 237 *sqq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 166; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 275 *sqq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 360 *sq.* A view of the walls, with Mt. Ithome and Mt. Eva, is given by Le Bas (*Voyage archéologique*, 'Itinéraire,' pl. 19), and a view of the Arcadian gate by Fiedler (*Reise*, 1. pl. iv.) For various views and restorations of the gates see Schreiber, *Bilderatlas*, xlviii. 7, xlix. 1. 2, l. 8. 9.

31. 5. **the walls of Babylon.** These were reckoned one of the seven wonders of the world. According to Herodotus (i. 178), the walls formed a square, each side of which was 120 Greek furlongs or about 13 miles long. The space thus enclosed would be more than three times the size of Paris. The walls, according to Herodotus, were 50 cubits thick and 200 royal cubits high, which would seem to be about 373 feet, or rather higher than the extreme height of St. Paul's. Ancient authorities, however, differ in the measurements they give of the Babylonian walls. According to Ctesias the total circumference was 360 furlongs; according to Clitarchus it was 365 furlongs. Ctesias says that the height of the walls was 50 fathoms; later writers say that it was only 50 cubits. The breadth was such that two four-horse chariots could pass each other on the top of it. None of the walls remain. See Diodorus, ii. 7; Strabo, xvi. p. 738; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* vi. 121; the notes of Bähr and Rawlinson on Herodotus, *l.c.*; Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 2. p. 469 *sqq.*

31. 5. **the Memnonian walls at Susa.** Tradition ran that Susa had been built by Memnon, son of Tithonus. Hence the city was called the Memnonian city; and the great palace of the Persian kings

in it was called the Memnonia or Memnonium (Herodotus, v. 53 *sq.*; Diodorus, ii. 22; Strabo, xv. p. 728). Another tradition was that Susa was called the Memnonian city because the dead body of Memnon had been brought thither by his mother, the Morning (Aelian, *Var. Hist.* v. 1). As to the walls of Susa, Strabo (*l.c.*) says they were 120 furlongs in circumference and were built of burnt brick and asphalt, like those of Babylon. Mr. Dieulafoy, the French explorer of Susa, informs us that the fortifications consisted of a large and deep moat filled with water, and double walls. Each of the walls was faced outside and inside with unburnt bricks, and the space between the facings was filled with earth tightly rammed down. See Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 5. p. 766 *sq.*

31. 5. Ambrosus in Phocis. See x. 36. 3.

31. 5. Rhodes. The city of Rhodes, in the island of the same name, was built in the time of the Peloponnesian war under the superintendence of Hippodamus, the same architect who laid out Piraeus for the Athenians (see note on i. 1. 2). According to Strabo the walls, harbours, streets, and buildings of Rhodes were finer than those of any other city in the world. See Strabo, xiv. pp. 652, 654.

31. 6. In the market-place of Messene is —— a water-basin called Arsinoe. Cp. 33. 1. The spring Clepsydra, which fed the fountain of Arsinoe, is generally identified with the fine spring which issues in several jets from an ancient mossy wall, surmounted by bushes, in the hamlet of *Mavromati*, nearly in the middle of Messene. The spring gives rise to a brook which flows through the southern part of the ancient site. Accordingly, if this spring is the Clepsydra, the water-basin or fountain Arsinoe and with it the market-place must be looked for somewhat to the south of the spring. Here on a level space on the left bank of the stream are various ancient foundations, including the remains of a Doric temple. At a place now called *Mouzgaes*, between the theatre and the stadium (see below, 32. 6), there are remains of conduits and fragments of a large water-tank. This latter may have been the fountain or water-basin (κρήνη) of Arsinoe. See Blouet, *Expéd. scientif. de Morée: Architecture*, 1. p. 35, with pl. 35; Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 367; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 448; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 167; Baedeker,[3] pp. 360, 361; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 278. Prof. Curtius, on the other hand, identifies the spring at *Mavromati* with the fountain of Arsinoe, and supposes that the Clepsydra may have issued from an artificial grotto which Le Bas found much higher up the slope of Ithome, to the south-west of the temple of Artemis (see note on § 7). See Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. pp. 145, 147; *id.*, *Abhandlung über griechische Quell- und Brunneninschriften* (reprinted from the 8th vol. of the *Abhandlungen* of the Royal Society of Göttingen), p. 15 *sq.* W. G. Clark identified the Clepsydra with a well near the top of Mt. Ithome. The well is of no great depth, but contains a spring of perennial water. Clark, therefore, like Prof. Curtius, would identify the spring of *Mavromati* with the fountain of Arsinoe. See W. G. Clark, *Pelop.* p. 234 *sq.*; and for the spring near the summit of Ithome cp. Fiedler, *Reise*, 1. p. 354.

31. 6. Damophon. See Index, and note on vii. 23. 7.

31. 7. **Laphria.** See vii. 18. 8. According to Antoninus Liberalis (*Transform.* 40), who identified her with Britomartis, Artemis Laphria was also worshipped in Cephallene, where she had a sanctuary. Thus Pausanias's statement as to the limits of her worship seems to need correction. A temple of Artemis was discovered on the southern slope of Mt. Ithome by Le Bas, who thought that it might be the temple of Artemis Laphria. The ruins are near the winding path which leads from *Mavromati* to the summit of Ithome. On the right of the path, about half-way up, there are three platforms supported by walls. On the highest of these are the remains of a small temple, 55 feet long by 32 feet broad. It consisted of a fore-temple (*pronaos*) and *cella*, and was of the kind called distyle *in antis; i.e.* it had two columns between *antae* in front, but no columns at the sides or the back. The bases of the two columns have been found; they are either Ionic or Corinthian; Le Bas speaks of the temple as Ionic, but Landron has restored it as Corinthian. The temple, up to and including the bases of the columns, was built by a hard stone; above that it was built of tufa coated with stucco. The pavement was a rough mosaic, without pattern, composed of reddish cement with small black and white pebbles. A few fragments of a statue, apparently of Artemis, were discovered, and a dedicatory inscription to (Artemis) Limnatis. The theory that the temple was that of Artemis Laphria rests on the very dubious assumption that Artemis Limnatis was here identical with Artemis Laphria. The date of the temple would seem to be at least 150 years later than the foundation of Messene. See Le Bas, *Voyage archéologique*, ed. S. Reinach, p. 134 *sqq.*; *ib. Architecture*, *Péloponnese* (1[re] Série) pl. 1-10; *id.*, *Revue Archéologique*, 1 (1844), p. 425 *sqq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 146 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 166; Baedeker,[3] p. 359; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 278. On a coin of Messene Artemis is represented standing, clad in a short tunic, a spear in her right hand, her left elbow resting on a column; beside her is a dog. "A comparison of this figure with that of Artemis Laphria on the coins of Patrae [see note on vii. 18. 10], which reproduces the statue of Menaechmus and Soidas, furnishes sufficient reason for calling this figure also Laphria. It is probably, as the pillar indicates, a copy of a statue, therefore of the statue of Damophon" (Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 67, with pl. P iii.)

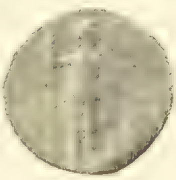


FIG 54.—ARTEMIS LAPHRIA (COIN OF MESSENE).

31. 8. **the size of the temple, which is the largest building in the world.** The great temple of Artemis (Diana) at Ephesus was twice rebuilt; the third and last temple was built in the time of Alexander the Great (Strabo xiv. p. 640 *sq.*) According to Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 95) the whole temple (*templum universum*) was 425 Roman feet long, and 225 Roman feet broad; there were 100 columns, of which twenty-seven were made by kings; each column was 60 feet high. The remains of the temple, which had been buried for centuries, were discovered after laborious excavations by Mr. J. T. Wood in 1869. He found that the platform on which the temple was raised (called by Pliny

templum universum) was 418 ft. 1 in. long, by 239 ft. $4\frac{1}{2}$ ins. broad, measured on the lowest step. The temple itself, according to Mr. Wood's measurements, was 342 ft. $6\frac{1}{2}$ ins. long by 163 ft. $9\frac{1}{2}$ ins. broad. It was octastyle, having eight columns in front; and dipteral, having two ranks of columns all round it. The columns of the peristyle were 100 in number, as Pliny says. (In Pliny *l.c.* we must read *columnae* c, xxvii *a singulis regibus factae*, instead of *columnae* cxxvii *a singulis regibus factae*.) The columns were 6 ft. $\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter at the base: which, adopting the proportion given by Vitruvius for the improved Ionic order, would give a height of 55 ft. $8\frac{3}{4}$ ins. including the base. See J. T. Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus* (London, 1877), p. 264 *sq.* On the building and rebuilding of the temple see Brunn, in *Sitzungsberichte* of the Bavarian Academy (Munich), Philosoph. philolog. Cl., 10 June 1871, p. 531 *sqq.*

31. 9. **they sacrifice all animals alike** etc. With these holocausts cp. vii. 18. 12.

31. 9. **I have shown above** etc. See iii. 26. 3.

31. 10. **an image of the City of Thebes.** Cp. viii. 30. 10; i. 3. 3; A. Gerber, in *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, Supplem. Bd. 13 (1884), pp. 257-266; Otto Schultz, *Die Ortsgottheiten d. griech. u. röm. Kunst* (Berlin, 1889).

31. 10. **Epaminondas, son of Cleommis.** The father of Epaminondas is called Polymnis by Aelian (*Var. Hist.* ii. 43. xi. 9), by Cornelius Nepos (*Epam.* i. 1), and by Pausanias himself elsewhere (viii. 52. 4; ix. 12. 6). The name Cleommis is here a slip either of Pausanias or of one of his copyists.

31. 11. **portraits of Aphareus and his sons** etc. Brunn (*Gesch. der griech. Künstler*, 2. p. 202) thought that the figures in these paintings were grouped as follows:—

A. Aphareus
Idas
Lynceus
Cresphontes

a. Nestor
Thrasymedes
Antilochus

B. Leucippus
Hilaira
Phoebe
Arsinoe

b. Aesculapius
Machaon
Podalirius.

31. 12. **Arsinoe.** Cp. ii. 26. 7; iii. 12. 8; iv. 3. 2.

31. 12. **Omphalion, a pupil of Nicias.** Omphalion appears not to be mentioned by any other ancient writer. As to Nicias, see note on iii. 19. 4.

32. 1. **the Place of Sacrifice contains images of all the gods.** See ii. 2. 8 note.

32. 2. **Aethidas.** "In the village of *Mavromati* I find an inscription in which occurs the name of Aethidas, who must I think be the same person Pausanias speaks of, for the monument was a dedication to Lucius Verus, and was consequently erected not long before the time when Pausanias travelled: it accords, therefore, with his remark, that

Aethidas was a man nearly of his own age [see Critical Note, vol. I. p. 582]. As the inscription refers moreover to an expense incurred by Aethidas, it accords in this particular also with the observation of Pausanias, as to the wealth for which Aethidas was distinguished. The inscribed stone is a plain quadrangular pedestal of white marble, which probably supported a statue of Lucius Verus. The inscription is in the following terms, 'The Hellenes grateful to the gods, and praying for blessings on the Imperial House, (have erected) Lucius Aelius Verus Caesar, Tiberius Claudius Aethidas Caelianus, High-priest and Helladarch of the community of the Achaeans for life, having recommended it, and defrayed the expense'" (Leake, *Morea*, I. p. 383 *sq.*) Cp. *C. I. G.* No. 1318.

32. 2. **when Demetrius, son of Philip** etc. See iv. 29. 1 *sqq.*

32. 3. **a tomb of Aristomenes** etc. Aristomenes was worshipped as a hero by the Messenians. See iv. 14. 7; iv. 27. 6. The victims sacrificed to heroes seem to have been generally either black bulls or black rams. Thus every year sacrifices were sent by the people of Thessaly to the grave of Achilles at Troy. The victims were a black bull and a white bull. First the black bull was taken to the top of the barrow; a trench was dug in the ground; and the bull was sacrificed so that the blood poured into the trench. This was the sacrifice which was offered to Achilles as to a dead man or hero. Afterwards the white bull was sacrificed on the shore to him as to a god. But the flesh of the white bull was carried on board the ship to be eaten, for it might not be consumed on hostile ground. See Philostratus, *Heroica*, xx. 25 *sqq.* A black bull was sacrificed annually to the Greeks who fell at the battle of Plataea (Plutarch, *Aristides*, 21). For sacrifices of black rams to heroes see Paus. i. 34. 5; v. 13. 2; ix. 39. 6; Strabo, vi. p. 284. On the subject generally see P. Stengel, *Die griech. Sakralalterthümer*, § 78.

32. 4. **The first people —— who asserted that the soul of man is immortal** etc. According to Herodotus (ii. 123) the Egyptians were the first who held that the human soul is immortal. Philostratus (*Vita Apollodori*, iii. 19) represents the Brahmans as maintaining that the doctrine of the transmigration of souls was borrowed by the Egyptians from the Hindoos. As to the Egyptian doctrine of immortality see especially A. Wiedemann, *The Ancient Egyptian Doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul* (London, 1895).

32. 6. **Xenocrates —— sent for the shield of Aristomenes** etc. An inscription (*C. I. G. G. S.* I. No. 2462) has been found at Thebes which seems to refer to the incident here narrated by Pausanias. It appears to have been carved on the base of a group of statuary representing Xenocrates, Theopompus, and Mnasilaus. The inscription is in verse, and somewhat awkwardly expressed. Translated it runs thus: "Xenocrates, Theopompus, and Mnasilaus. When the spear of Sparta was prevailing, then it fell to the lot of Xenocrates to carry trophies to Zeus. He dreaded not the army from the Eurotas nor the Laconian shield. So the Thebans were victorious in the war, whereof the trophy at Leuctra is a proof. We [*i.e.* Xenocrates, Theopompus, and Mnasi-

laus] were not inferior to Epaminondas in running." The meaning of this inscription is obscure and has been variously explained. None of the explanations suggested is convincing. See *Bulletin de Corresp. Hellénique*, 1 (1877), p. 351; *id.*, 2 (1878), pp. 22-28; Buecheler, in *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. 32 (1877), pp. 479-481; G. Gilbert, in *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 24 (1878), pp. 304-308; Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, No. 768*a*, p. xvi. *sq.* Xenocrates was one of the Boeotarchs in command at the battle of Leuctra, and he voted with Epaminondas to give battle to the Spartans at once. See ix. 13. 6. Theopompus was a Theban of noble family and a friend of Pelopidas (Plutarch, *Pelopidas*, 8). As to the shield of Aristomenes see iv. 16. 5 and 7: ix. 39. 14.

32. 6. **the stadium at Messene.** Considerable remains of the stadium may still be seen at some distance south-west of the hamlet of *Mavromati*. It was surrounded on three sides by a colonnade, which at the upper (semicircular) end was double and comprised three rows of columns. Here the lower parts of the columns are in their original places; there were about twenty columns in each row, each column measuring about 1 ft. 10 in. in diameter, with Doric flutings slightly indicated. On the right side of the stadium part of the colonnade is also in its place. Many drums of Doric columns are lying about on the ground, and many more are built at regular intervals of about 6 feet into the wall of a vineyard on the north-east side of the stadium, forming two sides of a quadrangle. These latter may be in their original positions. To the south of the stadium I observed some large blocks of triglyphs of rude workmanship and late date. The rows of stone seats extended only about two-thirds of the length of the race-course. They are best preserved at the semicircular end, where sixteen rows of them can be counted. The brook of *Mavromati* runs obliquely through the length of the stadium. On the south side the stadium is bounded by what seems to have been the city-wall, and at its lower end there are some ruins of a small distyle Doric temple, built of a fine limestone and consisting of a fore-temple (*pronaos*) and a narrower *cella*. The temple stood on an artificial terrace, of which the supporting wall remains.

See Blouet, *Expéd. scientif. de Morée: Architecture*, 1. pp. 27 *sq.*, 31 *sqq.* with pl. 24-34; Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 380 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 144 *sq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 447; W. G. Clark, *Pelop.* p. 236 *sq.*; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. p. 253; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 167; Baedeker,[3] p. 361; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 280; Guhl und Kohner, *Das Leben der Griechen und Römer*,[4] p. 151 *sq.*

32. 6. **the theatre.** The remains of the theatre are situated due west of the hamlet of *Mavromati*, about midway between the village and the stadium. It is a remarkably small theatre, being only about 60 feet in diameter, thus contrasting with the spacious and once splendid stadium. Another remarkable feature about it is that it does not rest upon the slope of a hill, as Greek theatres generally do, but is built of solid masonry from the level ground up. It rests on a massive quadrangular foundation. Portions of the side and back wall are preserved.

and the line of the stage can be traced. The theatre is built of small blocks. See Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 381; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 145; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 447; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. p. 253 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 167; Baedeker,[3] p. 361; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 280.

In a field to the south or south-south-west of the theatre I observed the remains of five small Doric columns standing in a row in their original positions; they are probably the ruins of a colonnade or temple. In dimensions and material they resemble the Doric columns built into the wall of the vineyard to the north-east of the stadium.

33. 1. **the summit of Ithome.** The top of Mt. Ithome (2630 feet) forms a ridge or narrow plateau running from south-east to north-west. The ridge, to be more exact, is made up of four peaks (not three, as the guide-books say); but these are so nearly on a level with each other, and the depressions between them are so small, that the four summits practically coalesce into a ridge. This ridge, viewed from the plain, gives to Ithome the appearance of being a table-mountain, which in reality it is not. The sides of the mountain fall away pretty sharply on both sides of the ridge. Ancient fortification-walls may be traced along the edge of the two central peaks, which alone seem to have been enclosed by them. In these walls there are some pieces of irregular Cyclopean jointing, which Prof. Curtius supposes to be remains of the oldest fortifications of Ithome. Possibly, however, they may be relics of the fortifications raised by the rebel Messenians in the third Messenian war (465-455 B.C.) At least one tower may be seen on the side further from the ancient city. On the highest peak (the second from the north-west end of the ridge) is a ruined monastery, a branch from the monastery of *Vourkano*. There are a few ancient remains (columns and architectural fragments) in and about it. A hermit who lives in the ruins showed me an inscription built into one of the inner walls; but the darkness and the worn state of the stone rendered it illegible. Near the edge of the cliffs to the south of the monastery are two large ancient cisterns, with stone troughs. There is a third cistern within the fortification-walls, under the peak adjoining on the south-east the peak on which the monastery stands. On this peak (the second from the south-east, or the third from the north-west) is the paved threshing-floor of the old monastery. Here, probably, was celebrated the annual festival which Pausanias mentions (§ 2). The threshing-floor is now the scene of the annual festival of the Panagia, at which the peasantry dance crowned with oleander blossom.

The view from the top of Ithome is magnificent. The whole of the Messenian plain, both the upper half (Stenyclerus) and the lower half (Makaria, 'the happy land'), lies stretched out beneath us. To the south the full sweep of the Messenian gulf is seen, with the glorious snow-capped range of Taygetus bounding both plain and gulf on the east. High up on Taygetus is visible the gap through which the *Langada* pass runs. Over this pass, which forms the direct route between Sparta and Messenia, the Spartans must have often marched to attack their ancient foes; and it seems just possible that the gleam of their burnished arms in the sunshine, as the army defiled over the

pass, may have been visible to the sentinels on Ithome. Further to the north we see the mountains of Arcadia, with the Lycaean group conspicuous on the north-east. Westward the view is in general bounded by the nearer and lower hills of Messenia; but where they dip on the north-west and again on the south-west we catch glimpses of the Ionian or (as the ancients also called it) the Sicilian sea.

See Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 362 *sqq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 356 *sqq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 147 *sq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 449 *sqq.*; W. G. Clark, *Pelop.* p. 234 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 165; Baedeker,[3] p. 358 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 277 *sq.*

33. 1. **who claim that Zeus was born and brought up among them.** On the birth and childhood of Zeus as represented in ancient art see Overbeck, in the *Verhandlungen* of the Royal Saxon Academy (Leipsic), Phil. histor. Class, 18 (1866), pp. 229-256; *id.*, *Griech. Kunstmythologie*, 2. p. 322 *sqq.*

33. 2. **The image of Zeus is a work of Ageladas.** The chronology of the sculptor Ageladas is beset with difficulties. If, as Pausanias says, the image of Zeus was made for the Messenians of Naupactus, it cannot have been made before 455 B.C., the year in which the banished Messenians settled at Naupactus (see iv. 24. 7). But Ageladas also made statues (1) of Anochus, who gained an Olympic prize in 520 B.C. (Paus. vi. 14. 11); (2) of Cleosthenes, who gained an Olympic prize in 516 B.C. (Paus. vi. 10. 6); and (3) of Timasitheus, who gained an Olympic prize not later than 507 B.C. (Paus. vi. 8. 6). Thus the artistic activity of Ageladas would seem to have extended from 520 B.C. to 455 B.C. at least. But this is not all. According to a scholiast on Aristophanes (*Frogs*, 501) Ageladas made the image of Hercules Alexicacus ('warder-off of evil') which stood in the Attic township of Melite: and he made it, according to the scholiast, during the great plague which was stayed in 427 B.C. by the making of this very image. Moreover Pliny (*N. H.* xxxiv. 49) says that Ageladas flourished in Ol. 87 (432-429 B.C.) Thus if we accepted these data, we should have to suppose that the artistic activity of Ageladas extended over 93 years, from 520 B.C. to 427 B.C. This is practically impossible, and various ways of evading the difficulty have been suggested. The late H. Brunn proposed to shorten the artist's life at both ends. He adduced reasons for believing that the statues of Olympic victors were often not made for some years after the victory which they were intended to celebrate. Hence he held that the statue of Anochus, the Olympic victor of 520 B.C., need not have been made till 500 B.C. Again, he showed that popular tradition was apt to confuse all outbreaks of pestilence with the great plague of 430-427 B.C.; and while he did not deny that Ageladas made the image of Hercules Alexicacus, and made it to stay a pestilence, he thought that this pestilence could not have been the great plague of 430-427 B.C., but must have been an earlier one. He got rid of Pliny's statement by supposing that Pliny, like the scholiast on Aristophanes, had been misled by assigning a wrong date to the image of Hercules Alexicacus. Thus Brunn reduced the artistic life of Ageladas to reasonable limits, namely

500-455 B.C. Afterwards he docked the sculptor of seven more years of his life by dating the end of the Messenian war, and consequently the settlement of the Messenians at Naupactus, in 462 B.C. with Krüger, instead of in 455 B.C. Prof. Overbeck is also of opinion that the scholiast on Aristophanes was in error in stating that Ageladas was at work during the great plague at Athens (430-427 B.C.), and he gets rid of Pliny's evidence in the same way as Brunn did. Further, he believes that Pausanias's statement that the image of Zeus "was originally made for the Messenians of Naupactus" does not imply that the Messenians were actually at Naupactus when the image was made for them; it may mean that it was made for them before they went to Naupactus, while they were still at Ithome or at Messana in Sicily or anywhere. This singular interpretation of Pausanias's words, though it is also maintained by Mr. A. S. Murray, seems to me quite inadmissible. If Pausanias's statement means anything, it means that the image was made for the Messenians while they were at Naupactus. Having thus thrown overboard the evidence of Pausanias, Pliny, and the scholiast on Aristophanes, Prof. Overbeck is at liberty to place the artistic career of Ageladas about 520-500 B.C. Prof. W. Klein cuts the knot by his favourite device of assuming two artists of the same name.

Another factor in determining the date of Ageladas was introduced by the discovery at Olympia of the base of a statue bearing the name of Ageladas (spelt Hagelaidas) the Argive, father of the sculptor Atotus or of Argeiadas (for the inscription is variously interpreted). This base was found in a position which showed that it must have been set up before the great temple of Zeus was built. Hence if that temple was built, as it seems to have been, between 468 and 456 B.C. (see note on v. 10. 2), the son of Ageladas must have been at work not later than 468 B.C. and may have been at work a good deal earlier, for the style of the letters is such that the inscription may very well date from 500 B.C. Prof. Robert holds that the temple of Zeus was begun in Ol. 75 (480 B.C.), and that consequently the base in question must be earlier than that year. At all events if the Hagelaidas of the inscription is the same with our sculptor, it would appear that the son or the slave (as Professors v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff and C. Robert interpret the inscription) of Ageladas was at work as a sculptor in the first half of the fifth century B.C., and that consequently the artistic career of Ageladas himself must have fallen in the early part of that century or in the latter part of the sixth century B.C. This agrees on the whole with the other evidence. It does not seem wholly impossible that Ageladas should have made a statue in 520 B.C. and one in 455 B.C. If we suppose that he was 20 years of age when he made the statue of Anochus in 520 B.C., he would be 86 years old when he made the image of Zeus for the Messenians of Naupactus, supposing that the image was made immediately after the Messenians settled at Naupactus.

See H. Brunn, *Geschichte der griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 63 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Die Kunst bei Homer*, p. 48 *sq.*; W. Klein, in *Archäolog.-epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich*, 7 (1883), p. 60 *sqq.*; Overbeck, 'Zur Chronologie des Agelaidas oder Hagelaidas,' *Berichte über die Verhandlungen d. k. sächs. Gesell. d. Wissen.*,

Philolog. histor. Cl. 44 (1892), pp. 26-34; *id.*, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. p. 140; A. S. Murray, *History of Greek Sculpture*,[2] 1. p. 185 *sqq.*; C. Robert, *Archäologische Märchen*, p. 92 *sqq.*; Collignon, *Hist. de la Sculpture Grecque*, 1. p. 316 *sq.* For the Olympian inscription containing the name of Hageladas, see Roehl, *I. G. A.* No. 42 (cp. No. 41); *id.*, *Imagines Inscr. Graec. Antiquiss.* No. 11; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, No. 30; Cauer, *Delectus Inscr. Graec.*[2] No. 55; Roberts, *Greek Epigraphy*, No. 81; R. Schöll, 'Griechische Künstlerinschriften,' in *Histor. und philolog. Aufsätze Ernst Curtius gewidmet*, p. 117 *sqq.*

Difference of opinion also exists with regard to the manner in which Ageladas represented Zeus of Ithome. On the one hand coins of Messene portray Zeus as a bearded man striding towards the right, with an eagle on his outstretched left arm and a thunderbolt in his raised right hand. Moreover some of these coins bear the inscription ΜΕΣΣΑΝΙΩΝ ΙΘΩΜ. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 67 *sq.*, with pl. P iv. v.; Head, *Historia Nummorum*, p. 361 *sq.*; *id.*, *Coins of the Ancients*, iii. B. 35 and iv. B. 24; Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, pl. viii. 25 and xii. 47; *id.*, *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum*, *Peloponnesus*, p. 109 *sqq.*, with pl. xxii. 1. 5. 7. 10; Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, 2. p. 12. Now since Ithomatian Zeus is the only Zeus known to have been worshipped by the Messenians, and since his image was made by Ageladas, numismatists have naturally concluded that the representation of Zeus on the coins of Messene is a copy of the statue made by Ageladas. A different view was taken by the late H. Brunn. He pointed out that Ageladas made a statue of Zeus, represented as a child, for the town of Aegium (see Paus. vii. 24. 4). Now Aegium lay directly opposite Naupactus, the town for which, when it was occupied by the Messenians, Ageladas made the image of Ithomatian Zeus. Thus the two towns, separated only by an arm of the sea, had both statues of Zeus by the same artist. Moreover both statues were worshipped in the same way; each year a priest was chosen, who kept the image in his own house. Again, the Messenians had a tradition that Zeus was born and brought up in Messenia, and that one of his nurses had given her name to Mt. Ithome (Paus. iv. 33. 1). Similarly the people of Aegium had a legend that the infant Zeus was brought up by a she-goat at Aegium (Strabo, viii. p. 387). From all these coincidences Brunn thought it highly probable that the Zeus of Ithome, like the Zeus of Aegium, was represented as a child, which would further explain why the priest, acting as a sort of foster-father, kept the image of the infant god in his house. See Brunn, *Gesch. der griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 73. This ingenious view is on the whole accepted by Prof. Overbeck, who adduces some fresh arguments in support of it. He points out that the type of Zeus which appears on coins of Messene is not confined to them, but is found also on coins of Lucania, Pantalia in Thrace, Megara, Patrae, Mantinea, etc., and that other gods than Zeus are represented on coins in the same attitude, as for example Poseidon on coins of Posidonia, and Apollo on



FIG. 55.—ZEUS OF ITHOME? (COIN OF MESSENE).

coins of Caulonia. This, however, is an argument that cuts two ways; for if this type of image was so common it is all the more likely to have been found at Messene. Prof. Overbeck also points out that the type of Zeus on coins of Messene was not always the same; sometimes the god was represented standing quietly, not striding along. See Overbeck, 'Die zwei Zeusbilder des Ageladas,' *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. 22 (1867), pp. 122-127; *id.*, *Gesch. der griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. p. 141; *id.*, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, 2. p. 11 *sqq.* Brunn's view is also accepted by Mr. Murray (*History of Greek Sculpture*,[2] 1. p. 187). Mrs. Mitchell, on the other hand, inclines to agree with the numismatists (*History of Ancient Sculpture*, p. 249), and Prof. Collignon does so decidedly (*Hist. de la Sculpture Grecque*, 1. p. 318). They are probably right. In the Museum of Lyons there is a bronze statuette representing Zeus in the attitude in which he appears on the Messenian coins. See E. de Chanot, 'Jupiter, bronze du Musée de Lyon,' *Gazette Archéologique*, 6 (1880), pp. 80-82.

33. 3. **the stream of the Balyra.** Pausanias is now journeying north-east from Messene. He has descended from the skirts of Mt. Ithome into the Messenian plain and comes to a stream which he calls the Balyra. This was perhaps the small stream which flows into the *Mavrozoumenos* from the west, about a quarter of a mile to the south of the Triple Bridge (as to which see below). The stream is now called the *Sphendamos*, as I am informed by Mr. W. J. Woodhouse, who has made a special study of Messenian topography on the spot. It is probably the stream which Gell crossed in 1 hour 23 minutes from the Arcadian gate of Messene (Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 60). This distance would agree fairly with the 30 furlongs mentioned by Pausanias. The Balyra is generally identified with the *Mavrozoumenos*, but this identification rests upon a mistranslation of the last words of the section. Pausanias says: ἡ δὲ Λευκασία καὶ Ἄμφιτος συμβάλλουσιν ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ τὰ ῥεύματα, 'the Leucasia and the Amphitus unite their streams.' The sentence is commonly understood to mean: 'The Leucasia and Amphitus unite their streams to it' (namely to the Balyra). But in Greek this would require ἐς αὐτό instead of ἐς τὸ αὐτό. The words συμβάλλουσιν ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ τὰ ῥεύματα can only mean 'form a junction *with each other*,' not with another stream. Hence Pausanias is describing the conflux, not of three, but of two rivers: and this conflux must beyond doubt be the meeting of the two rivers at the Triple Bridge. Of the two rivers which meet at the Triple Bridge or the *Mavrozoumenos* bridge, as the Greeks call it, the one which comes from the north-west, the *Mavrozoumenos* (or *Vasiliko* as Leake says it is called above the bridge) is probably the Leucasia of Pausanias; the one which comes from the north, now called the *Vivari* (or *Divari*), is probably the Amphitus of Pausanias. This identification of the rivers Balyra, Leucasia, and Amphitus was made by W. G. Clark (*Pelop.* p. 240 *sq.*), and is accepted by Mr. W. J. Woodhouse, at least so far as the Balyra is concerned. There seems to be only one other possibility. The two streams which unite at the bridge *must* be the Leucasia and Amphitus; but the Balyra *may* be the river formed by their junction. In favour of this latter view it may be said that, unless

the *Mavrozoumenos* below the bridge is the ancient Balyra, we have no ancient name for this important river from the point where the Leucasia and Amphitus meet to the point where it is joined by the Pamisus coming from *H. Floros*. From this latter point to the sea the river is the ancient Pamisus. As to the Triple Bridge, it "owes its celebrity, first, to its antiquity, and secondly, its singular plan. A horizontal section of it would resemble the cognizance of the Isle of Man, the three legs, more than anything else. The two rivers, as I have said, join, leaving an apex of low land, liable to be flooded, between them. A few yards above the apex is the bridge; of which the western leg spans the *Mavrozoumenos*, the eastern the *Vivari*, and the northern leg stretches over the low ground between" (W. G. Clark). This northern leg is a causeway rather than a bridge; the bridge, strictly speaking, has only two arms. A good deal of it is ancient, probably of the same date as Messene, since it is built in the same regular style of masonry. The bridge contains in all seven arches and one rectangular opening. This latter opening is a sort of doorway for the passage of the water; it is about 7 feet high by 4 feet wide, with a large single stone for architrave. The masonry of this rectangular opening or water-gate appears to be wholly ancient. The arches, on the other hand, are generally said to be mediaeval or modern; but Mr. W. G. Clark was decidedly of opinion that several courses in one of the arches over the western stream (the *Mavrozoumenos*) are ancient. He says: "The span of the arch is about 17 feet, and its height from the water to the keystone about 13 feet, of which 9 ft. 6 in. from the water consist of Hellenic work." The matter is important for the decision of the question whether the ancient Greeks were acquainted with the principle of the arch. See Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 357; Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 58; Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 479 *sqq.*; Mure, *Journal*, 2. p. 263 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 150 *sq.*; W. G. Clark, *Pelop.* p. 240 *sqq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 163; Baedeker,[3] p. 361; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 284. At *Xerokampo* in Laconia one of the western tributaries of the Eurotas is spanned by a single-arched bridge, which, according to Mure (*Journal*, 2. p. 247 *sqq.*), is entirely of ancient, if not prehistoric masonry. A Greek engineer, who had been employed by the government in surveying for projected roads, told W. G. Clark that "he had found in various parts of Greece remains of bridges, unquestionably Hellenic, the span of which was too wide to have been accomplished except by means of an arch. He instanced in particular one at *Kókino*, near Thebes, and had no doubt whatever that the ancient Greeks were perfectly conversant with the principle of the arch" (W. G. Clark, *Pelop.* p. 203). However, with regard to the arch of the *Mavrozoumenos* bridge referred to by Clark, Col. Leake observes: "Six courses of Hellenic masonry still remain; and it appears from the shaping of the stones of these courses, where they are united to one of the modern arches, that the ancient arch was not formed on the principle of concentric wedges, but by courses shaped to a curve" (Leake, *Pelop.* p. 197). This also was the opinion of Gell (*l.c.*), and it is entirely confirmed by the drawing of the bridge

given by the French surveyors, from which it clearly appears that the arch-shaped opening in the bridge, though certainly of ancient Greek masonry, is not constructed on the principle of the arch at all, but merely consists of horizontal courses of masonry protruding one above the other (Blouet, *Expédition scientifique de Morée: Architecture*, I. pl. 48, fig. ii.) As to the question whether the Greeks of the best period were acquainted with the principle of the true arch (formed by concentric wedges), see Leake, *Pelop.* p. 115 *sqq.*

The *Mavrozoumenos* bridge has been compared to a similar one at Croyland in Lincolnshire; and at Inchinnan in Renfrewshire there is a double bridge spanning the White and the Black Cart just above their junction.

33. 3. **because here Thamyris threw away** (*apobalein*) **his lyre.** Thus the name of the river was popularly derived from the verb *ballein*, 'to throw.' As to a vase-painting representing the contest of Thamyris with the Muses, see H. Heydemann, 'La gara di Tamiri colle Muse,' *Annali dell' Instituto*, 39 (1867), pp. 363-373. Cp. § 7 of this chapter; ix. 30. 2; x. 30. 8.

33. 4. **the Stenyclerian plain.** This is the northern plain of Messenia. "This fertile and well-watered expanse, sheltered from the north and east winds by screens of lofty hills, is covered with luxuriant groves of orange-trees, fig-trees, olives, and mulberries, interspersed with a few date-palms. The vineyards and corn-fields are surrounded with impenetrable hedges of cactus; and in the villages the aloe attains the dimensions of a tree" (Baedeker, Engl. Trans.[2] p. 291).

The central portion of Messenia, from north to south, consists of a fertile alluvial plain, or rather of two such plains, a northern and a southern, divided from each other by low hills, through which, however, the *Mavrozoumenos* river makes its way from the northern plain to join the Pamisus in the southern plain. The northern or upper plain is the Stenyclerian plain of the ancients; the southern or lower is the Makaria or 'happy land' (see above, p. 428). "If the mildness of its climate, the abundance of its water, and the fertility of its soil make the upper plain one of the most fortunate districts of Greece, these advantages are enhanced in the lower plain, which is open to the sea and which still maintains its ancient reputation. In no other part of Greece will you find a tillage so productive, nowhere in equal measure the luxuriant vegetation of the south. High hedges of cactus divide the well-tilled fields; the great aloe stands in thick clumps, lemons and oranges flourish plentifully, the date itself ripens under the Messenian sun, and the superabundance of oil and wine is exported from *Kalamata*. The fruitfulness of Messenia and the warmth of the climate in its lowlands —a warmth almost excessive for Greece—could not but influence the history of its inhabitants. To this day the Mainote of Taygetus, with his warlike bearing and way of life, forms a strong contrast to the more effeminate husbandman of *Kalamata*, who plies his peaceful calling in his sunny plain, shaded by a broad straw hat. The neighbourhood of Laconia was the fatal dower of beautiful Messenia, whose oldest legends, as well as her whole history, betray a certain weakness and lack of

independence" (Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 123). Cp. Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 378 *sqq.*

33. 4. **Oechalia —— the Carnasian grove.** This appears to have been near the site of the modern village of *Philia*, towards the north-east corner of the Stenyclerian plain. Its site is approximately determined by its distance (8 Greek furlongs, see § 6) from Andania, the situation of which is known (see below). Thus the stream which flows by the villages of *Philia* and *Sandani* seems to be the Charadrus mentioned by Pausanias. Its modern name, as I learn from Mr. J. W. Woodhouse, is *Dzami*. See Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 133 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 164. As to Oechalia see note on iv. 2. 2.

33. 4. **Carnean Apollo —— Hermes carrying a ram. Hagne.** These deities are all mentioned repeatedly in the great inscription relating to the Andanian mysteries (see note on iv. 1. 5). It is there provided (lines 32 *sqq.*, 69 *sqq.*) that a boar shall be sacrificed to the Carnean Apollo, a ram to Hermes, and a sheep to Hagne; also a pregnant sow to Demeter, and a young two-year sow to the Great Gods.

33. 4. **a spring of water rises beside her image.** The exactness of Pausanias's description is proved by the great inscription of the Andanian mysteries (see note on iv. 1. 5), which mentions (line 85 *sqq.*) the spring and the image beside it. The passage runs as follows: "The fountain which is called the fountain of Hagna in the ancient writings, and the image beside the fountain, shall be in the charge of Mnasistratus as long as he lives, and along with the Sacred Men he shall share in the sacrifices and mysteries and in all that is offered upon the table beside the fountain, and he shall get the skins of the animals that are sacrificed; and of the money which is laid beside the fountain or cast into the treasury (when it shall be built) by persons who offer sacrifice, Mnasistratus shall get the third part." Provision is also made in the inscription for building two treasure-houses with the money offered by the faithful. The treasure-houses were to be built of stone and were to be secured with locks and keys. One of the treasuries was to be built in the temple of the Great Gods: the other beside the fountain. There were to be two keys for the latter; one of the keys was to be kept by Mnasistratus, the other was to be kept by the Sacred Men. Once a year, at the time of the mysteries, the treasuries were to be opened and money taken out.

33. 5. **the bronze urn.** See iv. 26. 7 *sq.*

33. 6. **the ruins of Andania.** See iv. 1. 2 and 7 *sq.*; iv. 2. 6; iv. 3. 7 and 10; iv. 26. 6. The ruins of Andania were discovered by Prof. E. Curtius in 1840. They occupy a projecting hill above the village of *Trypha*, at the north-eastern corner of the Stenyclerian plain, where a stream (the Charadrus?) issues from the mountains and turns a mill. In the plain, three quarters of an hour to the south-west of the ruins, the village of *Sandani* appears to have preserved the ancient name. The hill of Andania slopes steeply on the one side to the plain, on the other to the valley in which the mill is. The top is a small tableland, about 150 paces square, and is enclosed with walls, thus forming an acropolis. From this acropolis a branch-wall runs out to the

north-east; and two other branch-walls run out southwards in the direction of the mill-stream, till their traces are lost on the steep slopes. The back wall of the acropolis is the best preserved; there is an ancient gateway in it. The walls are not built of very large blocks, but here and there they are 20 feet thick. They form angles and bastions, but have no towers. The ruins are now called *Helleniko*.

See Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 132 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 164; Baedeker,[3] p. 362; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 283. Gell recognised the name Andania in the modern *Sandani* (*Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 69).

33. 6. **Polichna.** Pausanias now strikes westward from Andania across the Stenyclerian plain. But the places mentioned by him in the rest of this chapter have not yet been identified with certainty. It is conjectured that Polichne may have been near the khan of *Kokla*, at the southern end of the plain or valley of *Soulima*. It is reached by following up the narrow wooded valley through which the *Mavrozoumenos* flows above the Triple Bridge. See Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 154; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 163; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 333.

33. 7. **Dorium.** The passage of Homer referred to by Pausanias is *Iliad*, ii. 594-600. Cp. Stephanus Byz., *s.v.* Δώριον. Strabo (viii. p. 350) says: "Some say that Dorium was a mountain, some that it was a plain, and others that it was a small town. Nothing of it is now shown. However, some say that what is now called Oluris or Alura in the Defile (as it is called) of Messenia is Dorium." As to the Defile (*Aulon*) of Messenia see iv. 36. 7 note. As to the position of Dorium Leake says (*Morea*, 1. p. 484): "The plain of *Sulimá*, I have little doubt, is the district of the Homeric Dorium, as well from Pausanias, . . . as from Strabo, who informs us, that, according to some opinions, Dorium stood on the site of a place called in his time Olurus [*sic*], which was situated in the Aulon of Messenia; whence it would seem that Strabo understood by Aulon the whole valley of *Kokhla*, of which indeed the word Aulon, in its ordinary acceptation, was exactly descriptive. Xenophon, also, in describing King Agis as having marched from Sparta through Aulon of Messenia and the Lepreatis (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, iii. 2. 25), appears to refer to Aulon in the same sense as Strabo." Prof. Curtius (*Pelop.* 2. p. 154) thinks that Dorium may have been about the watershed between the basins of the *Mavrozoumenos* and the Cyparissiae river. Mr. J. W. Woodhouse, in a letter to me, suggests that the site of Dorium may be marked by some Cyclopean ruins of the second order at *Aietos*, which is a village in the hills to the south of the plain of *Soulima*. There is here a beautiful perennial spring, which may be the spring called Achaia by Pausanias.

33. 7. **the epic poem called the Minyad.** See x. 28. 2 note.

34. 1. **The Pamisus flows through tilled land.** This is the great southern plain of Messenia known in antiquity as Makaria or 'the Happy Land.' See notes on 30. 2; 31. 4; 33. 4. The modern name of the Pamisus is *Pirnantsa* or *Dipotamo*.

34. 1. **vessels sail up it from the sea for about ten furlongs.** At present, in spite of the marshy nature of the mouth of the river, small

craft can ascend the Pamisus as far as *Nisi*, a busy little town of 6300 inhabitants, situated on a sandy dune about two and a half miles from the mouth of the river (Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 162 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 362; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 285; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, pp. 349, 496).

34. 1. **Sea-fish also ascend it.** The Pamisus still abounds in fish, according to Fiedler (*Reise*, 1. p. 353).

34. 1. **the Rhine.** On the Rhine in antiquity see *Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande*, 64 (1878), pp. 1-17.

34. 2. **the gray mullet.** The Greek word is κέφαλος. "The fish is still known by its ancient name, and though it frequents the rivers, it attains the greatest size and fatness in the lagoons of the coasts of Greece, where it constitutes the most profitable part of the fisheries of those shallow maritime lakes. From the roe is made the ὠά τάριχα, Romaicé, αὐγοτάριχον, Italicé, botargo" (Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 440). Aristotle and Aelian also remark that this fish lives in muddy water (Aristotle, *Hist. An.* viii. 2. p. 591 a 25 and 27 (Berlin ed.); Aelian, *Nat. An.* i. 3). As to the mullets in the Achelous, to which Pausanias alludes, Chandler writing last century says: "The Achelous was among the rivers most noted for shoals of fish, which entered from the sea, especially in spring. It was particularly frequented by mullet, which delight in foul and muddy water. The multitudes now taken yearly at that season on the shallows surpass belief. The rows [roes] are made into Botargo and Caviaro [caviare]; a species of food, which the antients esteemed as a delicacy. The small sheds, erected each on a single post, extended as far as one could see, and appeared innumerable. They are designed for watchmen, who observe the finny squadrons, and by closing the avenues of the fences, secure them in prison" (*Travels in Greece*, p. 281).

34. 3. **the Nile contains hippopotamuses.** The hippopotamus is described by Herodotus (ii. 71), Aristotle (*Hist. An.* ii. 7. p. 502, Berlin ed.), Diodorus (i. 35), Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* viii. 95), and accurately by Achilles Tatius (iv. 2). In antiquity the animal seems to have been very common in Egypt, especially in the Delta; it was hunted with harpoons (Diodorus, i. 35). An hippopotamus hunt of this sort is depicted in the great mosaic of Palestrina (see *Gazette Archéologique*, 5 (1879), p. 80), and in a Theban wall-painting (see Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, 2. p. 128, ed. 1878). The hippopotamus is also well represented in an Egyptian landscape finely worked in mosaic, which was found on the Aventine in 1858. See *Gazette Archéologique*, 6 (1880), p. 170 *sq.*, with plate 25. There is a doubtful representation of the animal on a Punic monument. See *Gazette Archéologique*, 3 (1877), p. 23. Ammianus Marcellinus says (xxii. 15. 24) that in his time the hippopotamus was no longer found in Egypt; but this can hardly be true, for as late as the year 1600 A.D. the Neapolitan doctor Zerenglu caught two of these animals at Damietta. The hippopotamus has now retreated up the Nile, and is not found lower down than the third cataract. See the notes of Bähr, Sayce, and Wiedemann on Herodotus, *l.c.*

34. 3. **sharks.** See ii. 34. 1 note.

34. 4. **Corone.** Pausanias now quits the north of Messenia and turns south to the Messenian gulf. According to Strabo (viii. p. 360 *sq.*) Corone was on the coast, not far to the west of the mouth of the Pamisus. It is the modern *Petalidi*, a small town on the western shore of the Messenian gulf, near the head of the gulf. The modern town stands in a small but fruitful plain close under the slopes of Mt. *Lykodimo* (3140 ft.), the ancient Mt. Mathia. Remains of an ancient breakwater, intended to shelter vessels from the south wind, may be seen running out from a flat promontory. The town stands partly on this promontory, partly on the flat shore of the bay. In the plain many ancient foundations have been found, also marble sarcophaguses, pointing to the existence of a thriving and art-loving population in imperial times. The broad-backed height which advances towards the sea from Mt. *Lykodimo*, bounded sharply on either side by narrow glens, was the acropolis of Corone. The ancient walls may be traced running round the edge; they are best preserved at the narrow upper end of the plateau. They appear to belong to the age of Epaminondas and were probably built when the Messenians were restored to their country after the battle of Leuctra. Inside the acropolis are many remains of buildings, also fragments of statues and inscriptions. The little plain immediately to the north of Corone is formed of alluvial soil brought down by numerous brooks; and being abundantly supplied with water and enjoying an extremely mild climate, it is one of the most fertile spots in Greece. The whole plain is a thick wood of fruit-trees, intersected by high and impenetrable hedges of cactus. The chief product of the neighbourhood is figs, which are deemed the finest in Greece. They are exported in small *caïques* as far as Albania and Dalmatia; other exports are olives, oranges, lemons, and wine. According to Livy (xxxix. 49) it was to protect Corone, which was threatened by Lycortas, that Philopoemen made his last and fatal expedition. But Plutarch (*Philopoemen*, 18) mentions Colonis (*i.e.* Colonides, see § 8 of this chapter) as the place which Philopoemen wished to protect. As to the expedition cp. iv. 29. 11 *sq.*; viii. 51. 5 *sqq.*

See Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 165 *sq.*; *id.*, *Bullettino dell' Inst.* 1841, pp. 43-47; also Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. p. 233 *sqq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 111; Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 443 *sqq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 172 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 330; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 356 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 286.

34. 4. **Ino —— Leucothea.** See i. 42. 7; i. 44. 7 *sq.*, and Index.

34. 4. **the water flows out of a broad plane-tree which is hollow inside.** The oriental plane, the most beautiful of all the trees now native to Greece, loves water; hence the classical writers often speak of springs rising under or actually out of a plane-tree. See vii. 5. 2; viii. 19. 2; viii. 23. 4. The captains of the Greek host at Aulis, before sailing for Troy, offered sacrifice "under a beauteous plane, whence sparkling water flowed" (Homer, *Il.* ii. 307). Theognis (*v.* 879) bids the toper temper the wine with water from a plane-tree grove. Plato, in his immortal picture of a summer noon in Attica, describes a

spring of cold water gushing from under a plane-tree (*Phaedrus*, p. 230 b). A writer in the Anthology (ix. 374) has an epigram on a crystal spring bubbling up under plane-trees and laurels and inviting the parched and weary traveller to slake his thirst at its limpid rill and to rest beside it in the shade. A sacred spring of Aesculapius flowed from under a plane-tree (Aristides, *Or.* xviii. vol. 1. p. 410 ed. Dindorf). At a roadside in Lycia, beside a spring of cold water, grew a gigantic plane-tree with a hollow trunk so vast that the interior, paved with mossy stones, resembled a cavern, and the Roman governor feasted eighteen guests in it at once, reclining on beds of leaves and listening to the patter of the rain among the branches (Pliny, *N. H.* xii. 9). The same union of a clear gurgling spring with a great umbrageous plane-tree may still be seen in Greece now as of old. Mure, travelling from Sparta to *Leondari*, halted at a place called *Platano* or 'the plane-tree.' It was "an enormous plane-tree, from the roots of which flowed copious streams of fine water. . . . Throughout the whole of Messenia and Western Arcadia, a striking feature of the scenery are these copious perennial springs, gushing from the base of the mountains. They are for the most part similarly adorned with gigantic plane-trees, the fibres of whose roots are interlaced with the separate channels in which the water finds issue. The oriental plane everywhere prefers a situation where it can bathe its roots in fresh water; and hence, throughout the countries where it chiefly flourishes, and which I believe are Southern Greece and Asia Minor, they are commonly to be seen by the side of rivers and fountains" (*Journal*, 2. p. 258). On the way from *Andritsena* in Arcadia to *Krestena* in Elis I drank of just such a spring as Pausanias here describes. The water gushed from the broad hollow trunk of a great plane; a holy picture was fastened to the bole of the tree.

34. 5. **The ancient name of Corone was Aepea.** Aepea is mentioned by Homer (*Iliad*, ix. 152, 294). Strabo (viii. p. 360) identifies the Homeric Aepea with Thuria, but mentions that by others it was variously identified with Thuria, Methone (Mothone), and Asine.

34. 6. **Artemis called Child-rearer.** A trace of the worship of Artemis, as the goddess who cared for the upbringing of children, survives in Southern Andros, where the people take their sick children to be cured at the church of St. Artemidos; at the church they change the children's clothes and put on them fresh ones which have been blessed by the priest (J. T. Bent, 'Researches among the Cyclades,' *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 5 (1884), p. 46).

34. 6. **she is holding a crow in her hand.** On the relation of Athena to the crow see note on ii. 11. 7 'Coronis.'

34. 7. **a sanctuary of Apollo beside the sea.** See note on 'Colonides,' § 8 of this chapter.

34. 7. **Crested-lark Apollo.** The current explanation of this epithet as applied to Apollo would seem to have been the story, here told by Pausanias, that the neighbouring town of Colonides had been founded by settlers from Attica who had been led to the spot by a crested-lark. For similar legends see note on x. 6. 2. The people of Lemnos revered the crested-lark because it found and smashed the eggs

of the locusts (Plutarch, *Isis et Osiris*, 74). Cp. Critical Note on this passage (vol. I. p. 582).

34. 8. **Colonides.** Pausanias tells us that it was 80 furlongs from Corone to the sanctuary of Apollo (§ 7), and 40 furlongs from Colonides to Asine (§ 12); but he does not mention the intermediate distance from the sanctuary of Apollo to Colonides. That distance must, however, have been small (if we can trust Pausanias's measurements); for the total distance from Corone (*Petalidi*) to Asine (*Koron*) does not exceed 120 furlongs. Above the village of *Kastelia*, on the hill of *St. Elias*, close to the sea there are considerable foundations of an ancient building, with fragments of architecture and sculpture scattered about. The remains are probably those of the sanctuary of Apollo or of the town of Colonides. The distance of the place from Asine (*Koron*) tallies exactly with the distance of Colonides from Asine, as stated by Pausanias, namely 40 Greek furlongs. This points to the ruins being those of Colonides. If so, the sanctuary of Apollo must have been situated a little to the north, perhaps on the bank of the river which falls into the sea half a mile to the north of *Kastelia* and which may have been the southern boundary of the district of Corone. The village of *Kastelia*, which was converted into a heap of ruins by the earthquake of 1886, stands in a vast wood of olives. The neighbouring coast is iron-bound, the cliffs falling about 300 feet sheer down to the sea. They are being gradually undermined by the waves; huge blocks come hurtling down from time to time.

See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 111 *sq.*; Leake, *Morea*, I. p. 443 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Pelop.* p. 195 *sqq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 167; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 173; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 360; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 286.

34. 9. **Asine.** Asine must have occupied the site of the modern town which bears the name of *Koron* or *Koroni*. At this point of the coast a rocky headland, about half a mile long, juts out like a horn into the sea, its sides falling down in perpendicular sandstone cliffs, which are gradually crumbling away under the action of the heavy surf. Sheltered by the cape lies the roadstead of *Koron*, a bay opening in a long sweeping curve to the north-east. Small sailing craft find a safe refuge here from the dreaded south and south-west storms of the rainy season; but even the little coasting-steamers have to anchor outside the breakwater, in the open bay. In spite, however, of its exposed anchorage Asine must always have been the chief place on the coast. The cape, now crowned by the imposing ruins of a Venetian and Turkish castle, was probably the ancient citadel. On the cape, to the east of the fortress, there are six ancient cisterns and a great quantity of broken pottery and terra-cottas. At the edge of the sea-cliffs are pieces of walls of late Roman date, and some steps cut in the rock—a fragment of a staircase which once led down the face of the cliffs to the sea. Remains of the ancient break-water, much eaten away by the waves, may also be seen in the harbour. About two hundred yards west of the castle-hill there is another hill called *Purgo*, which is nearly on a level with the ramparts of the castle. On it there are some

ancient cisterns and remains of walls. The modern town stands on the narrow strip of sandy beach which skirts the bay, and the houses are built also on the low ridge which joins the cape to the higher ground inland. There are many fine old houses with balconies and great stanchioned windows; but the town on the whole seems in a state of decay. The trade done in its bazaar and harbour is but small. It is only at the season of the currant-harvest that the town wears a busier aspect.

Before the ancient city was bestowed by the Spartans on the Asinaeans (cp. ii. 36. 4 *sq.*; iv. 14. 3), its ancient name would seem to have been Rhium; it was the capital of one of the five petty kingdoms into which the Dorian conqueror Cresphontes divided Messenia (Strabo, viii. pp. 360, 361). The country about Asine appears to have been well wooded in antiquity; for when the Athenians had fortified themselves at Pylus in 425 B.C., the Spartans sent ships to Asine to procure timber for the manufacture of siege engines (Thucydides, iv. 13). How the name of Corone (*Koroni*, *Koron*) came to be transferred from the ancient place of that name (now *Petalidi*) to Asine, we cannot tell. Perhaps in the Middle Ages, when Greece was depopulated, the remaining inhabitants of Corone migrated from *Petalidi* to the deserted site of Asine and transferred the name of Corone to their new home. Such migrations of names have been not uncommon in Greece.

See Blouet, *Expédition scientifique de Morée: Architecture*, 1. p. 15 *sq.*, with pl. 17; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 112 *sq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 435 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Pelop.* p. 195; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 167 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 175 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 330; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 286; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 302. An inscription found at Hermion (*C. I. G.* No 1193) records a decree of the Hermionians in favour of the people of Asine; the decree purports to be a renewal and confirmation of old ties of kinship and amity.

34. 9. **the Dryopians were conquered —— and brought to Delphi as an offering to Apollo.** On the sacred slaves attached to sanctuaries, who tilled the temple lands and performed the temple service, and on the custom of dedicating such slaves to the gods, see K. O. Müller, *Dorians*, 1. p. 282 *sqq.*; K. F. Hermann, *Gottesdienstliche Alterthümer*,[2] § 20. As to the conquest of the Dryopians by Hercules and their final settlement in Peloponnese, see Herodotus, viii. 43, 73; Apollodorus, ii. 7. 7; Schol. on Apollonius Rhodius, i. 1213, 1218; 'Appendix Narrationum,' xxviii. 6 in Westermann's *Mythographi Graeci*; and on the Dryopians see Müller, *Dorians*, 1. p. 47 *sqq.*; Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.*[2] 1. p. 209 *sq.*; J. Töpffer, in *Aus der Anomia* (Berlin, 1890) p. 41 *sqq.*

34. 9. **they first occupied Asine, near Hermion.** See ii. 36. 4 *sq.*

34. 11. **a temple of Apollo.** Antoninus Liberalis (*Transform.* 32) mentions a sanctuary of Apollo in the Dryopian land (Dryopis) near Mt. Oeta. It was founded by Amphissus because his mother Dryope, daughter of Dryops, had been beloved by Apollo. From this sanctuary Dryope was carried off by the Hamadryad nymphs (nymphs of the oak), who hid her in the forest and made a black poplar to spring up in her

stead, and beside the poplar a spring of water. So from a mortal woman Dryope became a nymph. For this favour shown to his mother, Amphissus founded a sanctuary of the nymphs and instituted foot-races, which, says Antoninus, are still kept up by the natives. But no woman may be present at the races, because, when Dryope was carried off, two prying girls went and told it to the people, and that angered the nymphs, who turned the girls into pine-trees.

34. 11. **Dryops, whom they affirm to be a son of Apollo.** According to Tzetzes (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 480) Dryops was a son of Apollo by Dia, daughter of Lycaon, who, when she had brought forth the babe, hid it in the trunk of an oak-tree; so the child was called Dryops (from *drus*, 'an oak'). According to the scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius (i. 1218) the father of Dryops was Lycaon and his mother was Dia, the daughter of Lycaonia. Pherecydes, referred to by the scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius (i. 1212), said that Dryops was the son of Polydora, daughter of Danaus, and that his father was the river Peneus. Antoninus Liberalis (*Transform.* 32) agrees with Pherecydes as to the mother of Dryops, but says that his father was the river Spercheus.

34. 12. **Acritas.** This is the rugged mountainous promontory, which forms the southern termination of Messenia. Its extreme point, the Acritas proper, now called Cape *Gallo*, is a narrow spit of steep rocks, round which the surf breaks furiously. The distance of this cape from Asine (*Koron*) is nearer 80 furlongs than the 40 at which Pausanias puts it. But he may have reckoned the distance not from the cape, but from the highest point of the promontory. This highest point (1677 feet) is now called *H. Demetrios*, after a chapel of the saint. The rocky island of Theganussa (now *Venetiko*) is still, as it was in Pausanias's time, quite uninhabited. But there are some graves in it and some ruins beside a spring.

See Leake, *Morea*, 1. pp. 435, 443; *id.*, *Pelop.* p. 196; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. pp. 168, 172; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 158; Baedeker,[3] p. 330; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 363; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 286.

34. 12. **port Phoenicus.** This is the roomy bay to the north-west of Cape *Gallo*, and sheltered by the Oenussian islands. Or the name may have been confined to one particular inlet of this spacious bay. At one place on the bay there are the ruins of a Roman brick building and of a mediaeval church, also some remains of walls, and numerous potsherds. The name 'port Phoenicus' may mean either 'the harbour of palms' (from *phoinix*, 'a palm-tree'), or 'the Phoenician harbour.' Prof. Curtius takes it in the former way. Olshausen took it in the latter way, and saw in the name a reminiscence of a Phoenician settlement at the place. He pointed out that the name Phoenicus or its equivalent Phoenix was applied to other harbours, as to one at Mimas in Asia Minor (Thucydides, viii. 34), one in Crete (Strabo, x. p. 475; *Acts of the Apostles*, xxvii. 12), one in Cythera (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, iv. 8. 7), etc. The Oenussian islands, which shelter the bay on the south-west, consist of two large islands (now called *Cabrera* or *Schiza* and *Sapienza*) with a small one (now called *Prasonisi* or *Santa Maria*) between them.

The islands are rocky and totally uninhabited, but afford pasture to cattle and horses in the spring.

See Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 433 *sq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 112; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. pp. 169, 172; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. pp. 158, 174; Baedeker,[3] p. 330; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 287. On the name Phoenicus see Olshausen in *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 8 (1853), p. 334 *sq.*

35. 1. **Mothone.** This form of the name is used also by Plutarch (*Aratus*, 12). On the other hand the form Methone is used by Thucydides (ii. 25), Diodorus (xi. 85), Strabo (viii. p. 359), Scylax (*Periplus*, 46), and Mela (ii. 41, ed. Parthey). In Ptolemy (iii. 14. 31) and Pliny (*N. H.* iv. 15) it seems doubtful whether the name should be spelled Mothone or Methone. The modern name is *Modon*, pronounced *Mothon*; probably this, rather than Methone, was always the local pronunciation. The town is situated at the extreme point of a rocky ridge which runs out into the sea opposite the island of *Sapienza*. Inland the mountainous ridge stretches northward along the coast. On the eastern side of these hills is a plain about three-quarters of a mile wide, which opens on the bay of Mothone. This plain is distinguished by its luxuriant fertility; it is covered with vineyards, currant-plantations, and olive-groves. A torrent, which dries up early in the summer, traverses the plain from north to south; and over its bed a bridge, resting on ancient foundations, leads into the town. This is the only entrance into *Modon* from the land side. "Off the outer end of the town is the little insulated rock which Pausanias calls Mothon, and which he describes as forming at once a narrow entrance and a shelter to the harbour of his time: it is now occupied by a tower and lantern, which is connected by a bridge with the fortification of Mothóni [*Modon*]. A mole branches from it, which runs parallel to the eastern wall of the town, and forms a harbour for small vessels. It seems to be exactly in the position of the ancient port, the entrance into which was probably where the bridge now stands" (Leake). There are some ancient foundations in the mole and in the town wall, especially on the side of the harbour. The Venetians held *Modon* in the Middle Ages. The extensive remains of a Venetian fortress crown the rocky peninsula: and just inside the landward gate is the old Venetian piazza; here stands the shaft of a column of reddish granite, 3 ft. in diameter by 12 ft. high, which was once surmounted by the lion of St. Mark. The harbour of *Modon* is small and partially sanded up. Steamers enter it only in summer. The inhabitants busy themselves exclusively with the cultivation of the neighbouring plain.

See Gell, *Journey in the Morea*, p. 36 *sqq.*: Blouet, *Expédition scientifique de Morée: Architecture*, 1. p. 11 *sqq.*, with plates 12-15; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 113; Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 429 *sqq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 160 *sqq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 174 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 330; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 287; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 355.

About a mile and a half to the east of *Modon* is a place called Old Mothone, where are the vestiges of a city, with a citadel and a few marbles. A river runs half round the place. See Gell, *Itinerary of the*

Morea, p. 54. In this neighbourhood the French surveyors found many Roman remains on the shore and the neighbouring hills. They observed a temple on a small hillock near the sea. See Blouet, *Expéd. scient. de Morée: Architecture*, 1. p. 15; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 113. The harbour of Mothone is represented in the shape of a theatre on coins of the city (Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 68, pl. P viii.)

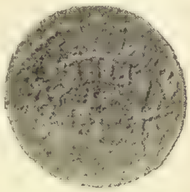


FIG. 56. — PORT OF MOTHONE (COIN OF MOTHONE).

35. 1. **was called Pedasus.** Pedasus is mentioned by Homer (*Iliad*, ix. 152 and 294) as one of the seven Messenian cities which Agamemnon offered to give to Achilles as his daughter's dowry.

35. 2. **when the Nauplians were expelled by the Argives** etc. See iv. 24. 4; iv. 27. 8.

35. 2. **Nauplius, son of Amymone.** Amymone was one of the daughters of Danaus. Cp. ii. 37. 1; ii. 38. 2.

35. 4. **The history of Pyrrhus —— has been already narrated by me.** See i. 11-13.

35. 8. **the country used to suffer from stormy and unseasonable winds.** "Standing upon a promontory open to a great expanse of sea in the direction of the prevailing breezes, Mothóni enjoys a temperate and salubrious climate, though I doubt not, that in spite of Minerva [Athena] it is often exposed to furious gales in winter, and even in summer may have sometimes too much of the Etesian breezes" (Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 432 *sq.*) The coast about Mothone has still an evil reputation for its tremendous surf, especially in spring and autumn. The spray is said to be sometimes thrown up to a height of 150 feet (Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 355).

35. 8. **the fragrant oil of Cyzicus.** This ointment was made from the iris plant which grew best at Cyzicus and in Elis (Athenaeus, xv. p. 688 e; Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* ix. 9. 2).

35. 9. **The bluest water I ever saw** etc. At Thermopylae there are two pools fed by one of the hot springs from which the pass gets its name of Thermopylae ('the hot gates'). "The water of these pools, like that of the principal source, is very bright, and of a deep blue colour, thus illustrating in some measure the remark of Pausanias, that the bluest water he ever saw was in one of the baths at Thermopylae (Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, 2. p. 36). Baedeker says of the water that it "appears bluish-green" (*Griechenland*,[3] p. 206). On the springs at Thermopylae cp. also Clarke, *Travels*, 4. p. 247; Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 69 *sq.*; Fiedler, *Reise*, 1. p. 208 *sq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 638 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 1. p. 93. Herodotus mentions (vii. 176) that these waters were called 'the pots.' From Philostratus (*Vit. Sophist.* ii. 1. 9) we learn that the swimming-bath referred to by Pausanias was built by Herodes Atticus, a contemporary of Pausanias. This fact, which makes it nearly certain that Pausanias had seen what he describes and was not copying his description from an older writer, is ignored by Mr. Kalkmann, who as usual regards Pausanias's statements of personal knowledge as false. See Kalkmann, *Pausanias der Perieget*, p. 32 *sq.*

35. 9. **Red water —— near the city of Joppa** etc. The people of Joppa used to show a rock near their town on which were traces of the fetters with which Andromeda had been chained to it (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* v. 69; cp. Strabo, xvi. p. 759). No other ancient author except Pausanias mentions the red pool where Perseus washed off the blood of the sea-beast which he had slain. But further to the north, on the same coast, there is a well, the water of which periodically assumes a ruddy hue. It is close to the village of *Sour*, which stands on a promontory in the neighbourhood of Tyre. The women of the village draw water at this well. "Better water is not to be found on this coast. From some unknown cause, it becomes troubled in September, and continues some days full of a reddish clay. This season is observed as a kind of festival by the inhabitants, who then come in crowds to the well, and pour into it a bucket of sea water, which, according to them, has the virtue of restoring the clearness of the water" (Volney, *Travels through Syria and Egypt* (English translation, London, 1787), vol. 1. p. 213). In spring the river Adonis in Syria is annually tinged with a blood-red hue by the red earth which is washed down from the mountains. In antiquity the red stain was believed to be the blood of Adonis annually slain by the boar on Mt. Lebanon. See Lucian, *De dea Syria*, 8; Maundrell, 'Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem,' in Bohn's *Early Travels in Palestine*, edited by Thomas Wright; Baudissin, *Studien*, 1. p. 128. Cp. the lines in Milton, *Paradise Lost*, bk. i. (For the references to Volney and Maundrell, I am indebted to my lamented friend, the late W. Robertson Smith.) The explorers Lewis and Clarke observed a similar appearance on the Missouri. "In the evening after the storm the water on this side of the river became of a deep crimson colour, probably caused by some stream above washing down a kind of soft red stone, which we observed in the neighbouring bluffs and gullies" (*Travels to the Source of the Missouri River*, 1. p. 387). From the summit of Mt. Kisigau in Eastern Africa Mr. Charles New "was greatly struck with the deep red colour of the soil. The water courses proceeding from the shoulder of the mountain look as if they were stained with blood, indicating the richly ferruginous character of the soil" (C. New, *Life, Wanderings, and Labours in Eastern Africa*, p. 328). Such appearances are naturally explained by primitive peoples in the way the Syrians explained the red pool at Joppa and the crimsoned waters of the Adonis. "The modern Albanian still sees the stain of slaughter in the streams running red with earth. . . . The Cornishman knows from the red filmy growth on the brook pebbles that murder has been done there" (Tylor, *Primitive Culture*,[2] 1. p. 406).

35. 10. **Astyra, which is the name of the hot baths at Atarneus.** Atarneus was deserted in Pausanias's time (vii. 2. 11; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* v. 121), but of course the warm springs would survive the ruin of the city. Messrs. Wernicke and Kalkmann, however, appear to think that the springs must have disappeared with the city, or rather with its population; for they deny that Pausanias could have seen the springs, since Pliny (*l.c.*) tells us that Atarneus and Astyre had perished. However the hot springs are there to this day. In 1879 the site of Atarneus was

identified by the late H. G. Lolling. The ruins lie half an hour to the north-east of *Dikeli* and are now called *Kalé-Agili* or *Ageli*, *i.e.* 'the castle of the herds,' a significant name for ruins among which herdsmen pasture their flocks. At *Dikeli* there is a hot spring which is still used by patients; and in the marshes an hour and a half to the south-east of *Dikeli*, to the right of the road leading to the upper valley of the Caicus, Lolling observed countless hot springs; most of them are now inaccessible and can only be recognised by the jets of steam which rise from them. The hot springs described by Pausanias were probably at one or other of these places. See H. G. Lolling, 'Atarneus,' *Mitth. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 4 (1879), pp. 1-10. Cp. Wernicke, *De Pausaniae studiis Herodoteis*, p. 108; Kalkmann, *Pausanias der Perieget*, p. 33. Olshausen thought that the name Astyra is Phoenician, meaning 'a sanctuary of Astarte.' He made out a list of six places called Astyra, three of them being in the north-west of Asia Minor. Hence we cannot be sure that the Astyre of Pliny (*l.c.*) is the place referred to by Pausanias. See Olshausen, 'Ueber phönicische Ortsnamen ausserhalb des semitischen Sprachgebiets,' *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. 8 (1853), p. 325 *sqq*.

35. 10. **Atarneus is the price which the Chians received** etc. See Herodotus, i. 160.

35. 10. **above Rome, across the river Anio, there is white water.** This was called by the Romans Albula or Albulae Aquae, *i.e.* 'the white water,' the name being doubtless derived from the colour of the water, which is, as I am informed by my friend Dr. J. H. Middleton, as white as milk. Cp. Martial, i. 13. 1 *sq.*; Strabo, v. p. 238; Vitruvius, viii. 3. 2; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxi. 10. It is a small lake, now called the *Solfatara*, about a mile to the left of the modern road from Rome to *Tivoli*, and about 16 miles from Rome. A stream flows from the lake into the Anio. "The water is a saturated solution of carbonic acid gas, which escapes from it in such quantities in some parts of its surface, that it has the appearance of being actually in ebullition. 'I have found by experiment,' says Sir Humphry Davy, 'that the water taken from the most tranquil part of the lake, even after being agitated and exposed to the air, contained in solution more than its own volume of carbonic acid gas, with a very small quantity of sulphuretted hydrogen. Its high temperature, which is pretty constant at 80° of Fahr., and the quantity of carbonic acid that it contains, renders it peculiarly fitted to afford nourishment to vegetable life'" (Sir Ch. Lyell, *Principles of Geology*,[12] 1. p. 403). Cp. Sir E. H. Bunbury in Smith's *Dict. of Geogr.* 1. p. 93 *sq.*

35. 11. **beside the village of Dascylus —— there is hot water** etc. This water is mentioned by Athenaeus (ii. p. 43), who says that the water was so oily that persons who had bathed in it did not need to anoint themselves afterwards.

35. 12. **Herodotus —— affirms that a spring of bitter water** etc. See Herodotus, iv. 52. Cp. Vitruvius, viii. 3. 11. No traces of this spring are to be found at the present day. "The water of the Scythian river is brackish to a considerable distance from the sea, but there is

now nothing peculiar in the water of the Hypanis" (Rawlinson, on Herodotus *l.c.*) The Hypanis is now the *Bog*.

35. 12. **at Dicaearchia —— a hot spring** etc. Dicaearchia is the Italian Puteoli in Campania. The sulphurous springs of Puteoli are mentioned by ancient writers (Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 25 ; Festus, p. 218, ed. Müller ; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxi. 4 ; Strabo, v. p. 245) : but the acid spring here described by Pausanias is not mentioned by any other classical author. As it was only discovered in his time, it could not, of course, have been mentioned by any earlier writer. The corrosive power possessed by the water was probably due to the presence of carbonic acid gas, which is commonly disengaged from springs in almost all countries, especially near active or extinct volcanoes. Water saturated with gas is corrosive in the highest degree ; the only minerals that can resist it are gold and platinum. See Lyell, *Principles of Geology*,[12] 1. p. 408 ; Oscar Peschel, *Physische Erdkunde*, herausgeg. von G. Leipholdt, 2. p. 335.

36. 1. **Cape Coryphasium —— Pylus.** Coryphasium is the rocky promontory at the northern end of the bay of *Navarino*. It is now called *Old Navarino* or *Palaeokastro* from the extensive ruins of a Venetian castle which crown it. The promontory is connected with the mainland on the east only by two narrow strips of sand, which enclose between them the large lagoon of *Osman Aga*. On the south side the promontory is separated by a shallow channel (220 yards wide and only 18 inches deep) from the island of Sphagia or Sphacteria. This island extends southward for about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles, in front of the crescent-shaped bay of *Navarino*, which it thus shelters on the west. On the north side the promontory of Coryphasium (*Old Navarino*) is bounded by a small semicircular bay, shallow and sandy, called *Voidokoilia*, *i.e.* 'ox's belly.' The rocky promontory itself forms a rough plateau about 220 yards long, rising from south to north. The summit (720 feet high) is at the northern extremity. On the eastern side, or towards the lagoon, Coryphasium is a precipice. To the westward, or toward the open sea, it slopes more gradually, especially at the south-west corner, where the Athenians under Demosthenes, who had entrenched themselves at Pylus, successfully opposed the attempt of the Lacedaemonians under Brasidas to effect a landing (Thucydides, iv. 11 *sq.*) The north side descends in successive spurs, and there is a stretch of flat sand both at the northern and the southern end. The ruined mediaeval castle is of vast size, with an inner and an outer court built of rough stones and mortar, filled in with small pebbles. But remains of ancient buildings are found near the middle of the south wall of the castle, and also on the north-eastern side. Some of these are fragments of walls built in the regular polygonal style ; others are of rough Cyclopean masonry. In several places, two, three, and four courses of ancient Greek masonry may be observed under the mediaeval walls. There is a large piece of a Cyclopean wall on the western side, constructed of great rough blocks, the interstices being filled with smaller stones. Ancient cisterns and staircases hewn in the rock may also be seen ; and the stretch of level sand at the north-eastern foot of the rocks is strewn in one place with ancient

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potsherds. The lagoon of *Osman Aga* washes the precipitous eastern side of Coryphasium, with the exception of the north-eastern and south-eastern corners, where long narrow strips of sand join the peninsula to the mainland, like ropes mooring it to the shore. Thus the rocky headland rises almost like an island from the waves, being surrounded by the sea on three sides and nearly surrounded by the lagoon on the fourth. The lagoon has several openings to the bay of *Navarino*, and is filled once a year by the sea, when fish are caught in it in great numbers. It appears that the lagoon is gradually being sanded up, as is also the channel which separates Coryphasium from the island of Sphacteria. It seems probable, therefore, that the sand-bank which now separates the lagoon from the Bay of *Navarino* did not exist in antiquity, and consequently that what is now a lagoon must in antiquity have been part of the bay of *Navarino* (Pylus). This would account for the silence of Thucydides and Pausanias as to the lagoon. The other hypothesis, adopted by Leake and others, that the lagoon is a modern encroachment of the sea upon what in antiquity was a level stretch of sand, does not seem so consonant with the facts. Captain Smyth, who surveyed this coast for the British Admiralty, was decidedly of opinion that the lagoon was filling up, instead of being of recent formation. It would seem in fact that the promontory of Coryphasium must once have been an island like Sphacteria; but has been gradually united to the land by the accumulation of sand. A similar process promises in time to convert Sphacteria into a peninsula joined to Coryphasium by a sandy isthmus. But certainly, so far back as history carries us, Coryphasium was not an island but a peninsula. The view put forward by Dr. Arnold that what is here called Coryphasium was really the ancient Sphacteria, that the lagoon of *Osman Aga* was the ancient bay of Pylus, and that the rocky promontory to the north of the bay of *Voidoikoilia* was Coryphasium, is wholly inadmissible.

Nor does there seem any good ground for doubting that the Homeric Pylus was at Coryphasium. Strabo, indeed, argues at some length (viii. pp. 349-353) that the Homeric Pylus was not at Coryphasium, but in Triphylia, to the north of the Neda; but his view has been sufficiently refuted by Leake, Curtius, etc. A chief argument in favour of the Homeric Pylus being at *Old Navarino* rather than in Triphylia is furnished by Homer's account of the journey of Telemachus from Pylus to Sparta by Pharae and back the same way (see note on iv. 30. 2). If the Homeric Pylus had been in Triphylia, as Strabo supposed, it would have been hardly possible to journey from it to Pharae (*Kalamata*) in a single day, as Homer represents Telemachus doing. The 100 furlongs mentioned by Pausanias as the distance between Mothone and Coryphasium is within half a mile of the real distance between *Modon* (Mothone) and *Old Navarino* (Coryphasium). The 400 furlongs mentioned by Thucydides (iv. 3) as the distance between Pylus (Coryphasium) and Sparta is exact.

See Gell, *Journey in the Morea*, p. 4 *sqq.*; Blouet, *Expédition scientifique de Morée: Architecture*, 1. p. 4 *sq.*, with plates 5-7; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 113 *sqq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 1. pp. 398-425; *id.*, *Pelop.* pp. 190-194; Arnold, *Memoir to*

Illustrate the Maps of the Neighbourhood of Sphacteria, appended to the second volume of his ed. of Thucydides; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. pp. 172-182; W. G. Clark, *Pelop.* pp. 214-227; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, pp. 431-439; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. pp. 236-239; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. pp. 175-178; Baedeker,[3] pp. 363-366; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 351 *sqq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. pp. 287-291.

According to Strabo (viii. p. 359) the Messenian Pylus lay originally inland, at the foot of Mt. Aegaleum, and it was only after the destruction of this inland city that some of the people moved to Coryphasium and settled there. This account is esteemed probable by Prof. E. Curtius (*Pelop.* 2. p. 175 *sq.*), who supposes that the Pylus of Nestor was the inland city, of which *Navarino* was the harbour. He agrees with Strabo (viii. p. 350) in thinking that the narrative in the *Odyssey* obliges us to suppose that the town of Pylus lay inland from its port. See especially *Odyssey*, xv. 199 *sqq.*; cp. *ib.* iii. 423 *sq.*

36. 1. **Neleus and the Pelasgians of Iolcus.** Neleus, being driven from Iolcus in Thessaly by his brother Pelias, came to Messenia and founded, or, according to Pausanias, took forcible possession of Pylus. See Apollodorus, i. 9. 8 *sq.*; cp. Homer, *Od.* xi. 254 *sqq.* The Pelasgians were settled in Thessaly (Busolt, *Griech. Geschichte*,[2] 1. p. 165), and Pausanias regarded Neleus as one of them.

36. 1. **Homer calls it the city of Neleus.** See *Il.* xi. 682; *Od.* iii. 4.

36. 2. **Thrasymedes.** He was a son of Nestor. See iv. 31. 11.

36. 2. **There is also in the city a cave.** This cave may still be seen. It is a spacious high-roofed stalactite cavern on the northern slope of Coryphasium. A steep and rather dangerous path leads down to it from the Venetian castle on the summit. The arched entrance is 30 feet wide and 12 feet high. The cave itself is 60 feet long by 40 feet wide and 40 feet high, with a roof like a Gothic vault. Light falls into it through a fissure in the roof. The stalactites do not hang free, but cling to the walls in a variety of fantastic shapes. There can be little doubt that, as K. O. Müller first suggested, this was the cave where young Hermes was said to have stowed away the stolen cattle of Apollo. For the author of the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes* represents the cave as being at Pylus, and says that after Hermes had killed two of the beasts, he stretched their hides on the rock, where, the poet adds, they may be seen to this day. The stalactic formations on the sides of the cave probably gave birth to the myth. See the *Hymn to Hermes*, 101-126, 397-404. The cavern, like the semicircular bay which it overlooks, is now called the *Voidokoilia*, 'ox's belly.'

See Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 411 *sq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 114; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 177; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 435 *sq.*; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. p. 237 *sq.*; W. G. Clark, *Pelop.* p. 223; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 177; Baedeker,[3] p. 366; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 291.

36. 3. **Neleus asked these cows as a bridal present** etc. The story was as follows. Neleus had a fair daughter Pero, who was wooed by many lovers. But her father declared that the man who would wed his daughter must bring him the cows of Iphiclus from Phylace. These

cows had belonged to Neleus's mother Tyro, from whom they had been wrongfully taken by Iphiclus. Now among the lovers of Pero was Bias; and his brother Melampus undertook to bring the cows of Iphiclus to Neleus, and so to win Pero for Bias. It chanced that Melampus was a great soothsayer. For he had saved the life of some serpents, and they, to show their gratitude, had cleansed his ears with their tongues while he slept. After that he understood the voices of all birds as they flew overhead, and taught by them he foretold what was about to happen. Well, then, Melampus went to Phylace to steal, or rather get back the cows. But the cows were guarded by fierce cowherds and savage dogs, and when Melampus tried to steal them he was caught and kept a prisoner for nearly a year. He was guarded by a man and a woman; the man treated him kindly, but the woman treated him ill. When the year was nearly up (for before he set out he had foretold that he would be caught and kept in captivity for a year), he heard a wood-worm in the roof overhead talking to another wood-worm, and asking how much of the roof-beam had been eaten through. The other made answer that there was only a tiny bit of the beam left. So Melampus made believe to be sick, and taking to his bed he told his guards to carry him out of the house, bidding the man take the head of the bed and the woman the foot of it. They did so, but when all but the foot of the bed was outside the door, down came the roof on the top of the woman and crushed her to death. But Melampus and the man escaped. When this came to the ears of Iphiclus, he sent for Melampus, and promised to set him free and give him the kine to boot, if only he would tell him how he could have a son; for Iphiclus was childless. So Melampus sacrificed two bulls, and cutting them up invited the fowls of the air to come and feast on them. Only he did not invite the vulture. When the birds came, Melampus asked them what Iphiclus must do to get a son. But they could not tell. At last up came the vulture, who knew all about it. He said that once when Phylacus, the father of Iphiclus, was gelding rams in the fields, he had laid down the bloody knife beside Iphiclus, and had threatened him with it. Iphiclus was frightened and ran away; and his father stuck the knife into a sacred oak-tree, or, according to others, into a wild pear-tree. The bark of the tree had grown round the knife and hidden it. The vulture said that if they found the knife, scraped the rust off it, and gave the rust to Iphiclus to drink mixed with wine for ten days, he would beget a son. This was done, and it turned out as the vulture had said. So Iphiclus set Melampus free, and gave him the cows. He drove them to Neleus at Pylus, and so won Pero, Neleus's daughter, to be the wife of his brother Bias. This story is told, with more or less full detail and with some trifling variations, by Homer (*Odyssey*, xi. 281-297, xv. 225-238), Eustathius (on Homer, *Od.* xi. 292), Apollodorus (i. 9. 11 *sq.*), the scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius (i. 118), a scholiast on Theocritus (iii. 43), and Propertius (ii. 3. 51 *sqq.*)

36. 4. **Eryx —— wrestled with Hercules** etc. Cp. iii. 16. 4 *sq.*

36. 4. **Homer in the Iliad says** etc. See *Iliad*, xi. 244.

36. 5. **the district of Pylus is in general sandy.** This is still

true. See note on § 1. However, on the stretch of sand which separates the lagoon of *Osman Aga* from the little sandy bay to the north, there grow scattered bushes of lentisk and juniper and some tufts of coarse grass. Here W. G. Clark counted "seventy fine cattle, such as would have charmed Neleus or Hermes, though it was a mystery to me how with such pasture they got so fat" (*Pelop.* p. 223).

36. 6. **the island of Sphacteria.** Another name for the island in antiquity was Sphagia (Strabo, viii. p. 359; Plato, *Menexenus*, p. 242 e), which it still retains. This island extends, as already mentioned, for a length of about 2½ miles from north to south in front of the bay of *Navarino*. Its breadth averages 650 yards. Thucydides (iv. 8) under-estimates the length of the island; he says it is 15 Greek furlongs long. He also greatly under-estimates the breadth of the two entrances to the harbour. According to him, the northern entrance, now called the *Sikia* channel, between Sphacteria and the promontory of Coryphasium, was only wide enough to admit two ships abreast. In reality, though it is now too shallow to be entered except by boats, it is 220 yards wide. The other entrance, between the southern extremity of Sphacteria and the mainland, is stated by Thucydides to have been only broad enough to admit eight or nine ships abreast. In point of fact it is over 1400 yards wide, or not much short of a mile. It would seem therefore that Thucydides had not himself visited Sphacteria and Pylus, and that his informant had wrongly estimated these distances. In other respects his description of the events which took place at Pylus and Sphacteria in the Peloponnesian war is perfectly borne out by the natural features of the place. In 425 B.C. a body of Athenian troops under the general Demosthenes landed and entrenched themselves on the promontory of Coryphasium (Pylus). They were attacked by the Lacedaemonians by sea and land, but repelled them. Meantime the Lacedaemonians landed 420 men in the island of Sphacteria. By the arrival of an Athenian fleet, which defeated the Lacedaemonian fleet, the Lacedaemonians were blockaded in the island, and would have been starved out, but that their friends ashore managed from time to time, with great difficulty and at much risk, to run the blockade and throw stores into the island. This was chiefly done by the Helots, who, tempted by the offer of high rewards, watched for a stormy night and then, working round to the open sea, ran in before the wind and landed on the western (seaward) shore of the island. At last the Athenians landed troops in the island. The Lacedaemonian outpost was camped about the middle of the island, where the ground was lowest and there was a spring of water. Another division of the Lacedaemonians garrisoned the northern extremity of the island, which was precipitous and almost impregnable. The Athenians surprised and cut to pieces the Lacedaemonian outpost, and gradually forced back the main body till it was cooped up in the high precipitous northern corner of the island. A Messenian now discovered a difficult path along the cliffs, by which he led a party of Athenian troops and established them in a position commanding the enemy's rear. The Lacedaemonians were then summoned to surrender, and, after communicating with their friends ashore, they laid down their arms, to the

number of 292. The rest had fallen in the skirmishing which preceded the surrender. The blockade had lasted in all seventy-two days. See Thucydides, iv. 3-40.

"An inspection of the island illustrates the description of Thucydides in the most satisfactory manner; the level and source of water in the middle where the Lacedaemonians encamped — the summit at the northern end to which they retired—the landing-places on the western side, to which the Helots brought provisions, are all perfectly recognisable. Of the fort, of loose and rude construction on the summit, it is not to be expected that any remains should now exist; but there are some ruins of a signal-tower of a later age, on the same site. The summit is a pile of rough rocks ending in a peak; it slopes gradually to the shore on every side, except to the harbour, where the cliffs are perpendicular, though here, just above the water, there is a small slope capable of admitting the passage of a body of men active in climbing among rocks and difficult places. By this pass it is probable the Messenians came upon the rear of the Lacedaemonians on the summit, for just at the southern termination of the pass there is a passage through the cliffs which border the greater part of the eastern shore of the island, so that by this opening and along the pass under the rocks to the northward of it, the Messenians had the means of passing unseen from the centre of the island to the rear of the Lacedaemonians on the summit. Though this hill, as I have observed, slopes gradually from its rocky peak to the shore, on every side except the harbour, it does not admit of a landing at its foot, except in the calmest weather, nor is it easily assailed on any side by land, on account of the ruggedness of the summit, except by the means to which the Messenians resorted, so that the words of Thucydides respecting it are perfectly accurate. The southern extremity of the island is rocky, steep, and difficult of access, and forms a separate hill; in every other part the ground slopes from the cliffs on the side of the harbour to the western shore, which, though rocky, is low, so that when the weather is calm, it is more easy in face of an opponent to land, and to make way into the island on that side than on the eastern shore, where the cliffs admit of an easy access only in two places, one towards the northern end, of which I have already spoken, the other in the middle of the island, where an opening in the cliffs leads immediately into the most level part of it; exactly in the opening stands a small church of the Panaghia. . . . The principal source of water is towards the middle of the island, at an excavation in the rock 20 feet deep, which seems to be more natural than artificial" (Leake, *Morea*, 1. pp. 408-410).

Cp. Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 178 *sqq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 438 *sq.*; W. G. Clark, *Pelop.* p. 223 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 175 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 365 *sq.*; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 353 *sqq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 291.

The modern town of *Navarino* or Pylus, locally known as *Neokastro* to distinguish it from the *Palaeokastro* on Coryphasium, is situated at the foot of a projecting spur of Mt. *St. Nicholas*, on the southern entrance to the bay of *Navarino*. On the rocky cape immediately to

the west of the little town stands a great Venetian and Turkish castle, now falling into decay. From the castle there is a fine view over the beautiful lake-like bay and out through the straits to the broad blue expanse of the Ionian sea. The bay of *Navarino* is famous in modern history as the scene of the destruction of the Turkish fleet by the combined fleets of England, France, and Russia. The battle was fought 20th October, 1827. See Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 431 *sqq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 363 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 287 *sq.*; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 350 *sq.*

36. 6. Caphareus. Cp. ii. 23. 1.

36. 6. Psyttalia. See i. 36. 2.

36. 7. Having come to Cyparissiae from Pylus. The Messenian coast from Cape Coryphasium north to Cyparissiae, a distance of about 20 miles, is of an extremely uniform and monotonous character. It curves outward in the form of a bent bow, broken by no bays or headlands of importance. A long and lofty ridge runs parallel to the shore, forming the boundary of a broad tableland which is covered with a fertile soil. Between this ridge and the sea there is a narrow, sandy, but well-watered and fertile strip of coast land. Inland from the ridge, and nearly parallel to it, stretches a chain of sombre mountains, probably the Mt. Aegaleum mentioned by Strabo (viii. p. 359). On all this line of coast Pausanias mentions not a single place. But Strabo (viii. p. 348) mentions several, first, the island of Prote (now called *Prodano*) with a town of the same name (cp. Thucydides, iv. 13); the island is wooded and contains a chapel and some walls alleged to be ancient, perhaps the ruins of the town of Prote. Next Strabo mentions the headland of Platamodes, distant 100 furlongs from Coryphasium; and lastly the town of Erane, situated perhaps at the mouth of the *Longobardo* river, where there are some ancient remains. See Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 425 *sqq.*; Gell, *Journey in the Morea*, p. 62; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 182 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. pp. 158 *sq.*, 178; Baedeker,[3] p. 317; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 293; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 348 *sq.*

36. 7. Cyparissiae. The city was also called Cyparissia (Strabo, viii. p. 348 *sq.*; Diodorus, xv. 77), Cyparissus (Scylax, *Periplus*, 45; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* iv. 15), or Cyparisseis (Homer, *Iliad*, ii. 593; Stephanus Byz. *s.v.* Κυπαρισσήεις). The modern town still stands on the site of the ancient city and retains its ancient name, though from the Middle Ages down to the War of Independence it was called *Arcadia*. The mediaeval castle on the site of the ancient citadel of Cyparissiae is situated about a mile from the sea on the narrow summit of a rock (500 feet high), which is connected with and immediately overlooked by the lofty Mt. *Psychro* ('the cold mountain'), or Mt. *Hagia Paraskeve* (St. Friday), as its highest peak (3756 feet) is locally called. The castle looks down upon the houses of the town, which occupy the successive terraces on the very steep sides of the acropolis. The foot of the rock abounds in springs and is surrounded by shady gardens, in which the olive-trees are particularly remarkable for their size. The whole situation is highly picturesque, and the view from the castle is very fine, ranging over the beautiful slopes of Mt. *Psychro* and across the sea to the

islands of *Zante* and *Cephalonia*. Near the town are plantations of olives mixed with cornfields. At the entrance to the castle and in different parts of the walls are some pieces of ancient Greek masonry. Remains of a very ancient wall may be seen encircling the summit, including blocks 4 or 5 feet long. Other parts of the walls are built in the regular squared style, like the walls of Messene. A bastion built in this style faces towards Mt. *Psychro*.

Below the castle, about half-way between it and the sea, is a ruined chapel of St. George, near which some large blocks of *poros* stone, bases and shafts of Ionic columns, fragments of an architrave, and a few fragmentary marble sculptures have been found. The sanctuary of Apollo may have stood here. Judging from analogy, we should conjecture that the sanctuary of Athena which Pausanias mentions was in or near the citadel. In the midst of gardens between the town and the sea is a spring, the water of which is caught in an ancient stone basin overgrown with reeds. It is now called the spring of *Hagia Lougoudis*, and miraculous properties are ascribed to its water. A fair, much frequented by the country people, is held here annually from the 8th to the 16th of September (20th to 28th, according to our reckoning). The spring is believed to be the spring of Dionysus, mentioned by Pausanias.

See Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 349 *sq.*; Gell, *Journey in the Morea*, p. 76 *sqq.* (with a view of Cyparissiae, or of *Arcadia* as Gell calls it); Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 68 *sq.*; Blouet, *Expédition scientifique de Morée: Architecture*, 1. p. 48 *sq.*, with pl. 49; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 115 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 184 *sq.*; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. pp. 243-245; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 178 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 368; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 294 *sq.*; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 347 *sq.*

36. 7. **Dionysus made the water flow by smiting the earth with his wand.** To the wand or thyrsus of Dionysus the power of producing a spring of water or wine by smiting the rock seems to have been regularly ascribed. For other examples see Euripides, *Bacchae*, 704 *sq.*, 765 *sq.*; Nonnus, *Dionysiacs*, xlviii. 573 *sqq.* These examples are cited by Stephani (*Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg), 1872, p. 57).

36. 7. **Athena surnamed Cyparissian.** Cp. iii. 22. 9. Athena Cyparissia at both places was doubtless originally the goddess or spirit of the cypress-tree. In the mountain-valley of Psophis in north Arcadia there were tall and stately cypresses which the people held sacred and called 'the Maidens' (Paus. viii. 24. 7). The native home of the cypress is in the highlands of Afghanistan, from which it appears to have spread over western Asia and thence into Europe. The name, as well as the tree, is of Asiatic orgin. It is the Hebrew gopher (Genesis, vi. 14). Probably, therefore, the worship of the cypress came to Greece from the East. Cp. F. Lajard, 'Du cyprès pyramidal consideré comme symbole ou attribut des dieux en Orient et en Occident,' *Annali dell' Instituto*, 19 (1847), pp. 36-104; V. Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Hausthiere*,[4] p. 228 *sq.*

36. 7. **the Defile** (*Aulon*). The language of Pausanias in the next sentence implies that the Defile in question is the narrow valley of the Neda. At the mouth of the river the valley opens out into a

fertile stretch of level ground, covered with luxuriant vegetation. Here probably stood the temple of Aesculapius mentioned by Pausanias. At the present day fever and mosquitoes, the two plagues of low-lying districts by the sea in Greece, render this plain and the neighbouring coast from Cyparissiae north for many miles almost uninhabitable. The view of Leake and Prof. Curtius that the Defile (*Aulon*) was the valley of the Cyparissiae river seems precluded by the language of Pausanias. See Leake, *Morea*, 1. pp. 57, 72, 484; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 185 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 179. Cp. note on iii. 33. 7 'Dorium.'

BOOK FIFTH

ELIS

SPECIAL works on this book are P. Hirt, *De fontibus Pausaniae in Eliacis* (Greisswald, 1878); Beinert, *Disputatio de locis quibusdam ex Pausaniae Eliacis prioribus* (Breslau, 1853).

In antiquity works on Elis (Ἠλιακά) were composed by Rhianus in at least three books (Stephanus Byz. *s.vv.* Λαπέρσα, Νώνακρις, Λιθήσιος), by Ister in at least four books (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Φύτειον; see *Fragm. Histor. Graec.*, ed. Müller, 1. p. 424), and by Teupalus (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἀνδρία).

1. 1. **who say that Peloponnese is divided into five parts.** Pausanias seems to refer to Thucydides, who says (i. 10) that the Lacedaemonians possessed two out of the five parts of Peloponnese. But Thucydides may only mean that the Lacedaemonians possessed two-fifths of the whole area of Peloponnese. The commentators Arnold and Classen understand him in the former way; Professors Curtius (*Pelop.* 2. p. 93) and v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff (*Hermes*, 12 (1877), p. 347), and Mr. W. H. Forbes understand him in the latter way. Mr. Forbes (in his edition of Thucydides, book i.) adds that "the language of Thucydides always implies the ordinary division of the Peloponnese into six parts; Argolis, Achaea, Elis, and Arcadia, besides Laconia and Messenia." If Mr. Forbes is right, Pausanias appears to have mistaken Thucydides's meaning by interpreting his expression 'parts' in the sense of 'divisions,' 'provinces.' Pausanias's use of Thucydides's history is examined by Dr. Otto Fischbach ('Die Benutzung der thukydideischen Geschichtswerkes durch den Periegeten Pausanias,' *Wiener Studien*, 15 (1893), pp. 161-191).

1. 1. **the Arcadians and Achaeans are aborigines** etc. Cp. Herodotus, viii. 73.

1. 2. **it is two hundred and seventeen years since** etc. Corinth was restored in 44 B.C. Hence Pausanias was writing his account of Elis in 174 A.D.

1. 4. **The Moon —— loved Endymion.** On representations of this myth in ancient art see Jahn, *Archäologische Beiträge*, p. 51 *sqq.*

1. 5. **the Eleans show Endymion's tomb.** See vi. 20. 9.

1. 7. **the wrath of the deity at the death of Myrtilus.** Cp. ii. 18. 2; vi. 20. 17; viii. 14. 10 *sq.*

1. 9. **or of some other reward.** Apollodorus says (ii. 5. 5) that Augeas had promised to give Hercules the tenth part of his cattle as a reward.

1. 10. **by turning the stream of the Menius upon the dung.** As to the Menius see vi. 26. 1. According to Apollodorus (ii. 5. 5) it was the united streams of the Alpheus and Peneus that Hercules diverted from their beds to wash away the dung.

1. 11. **Actor and his sons.** See below, note on v. 2. 1.

1. 11. **the city of Hyrmina.** The city is mentioned by Homer (*Iliad*, ii. 616). Strabo says (viii. p. 341): "Hyrmina was a small town, but it exists no longer. It is a mountainous promontory near Cyllene, called Hormine or Hyrmina." Leake identified Hyrmina with the site of *Kastro Tornese* or *Chlemoutsi*, a ruined mediaeval castle occupying a central and commanding situation on the promontory of *Chlemoutsi*, anciently called Chelonatas (*Morea*, 2. pp. 170-176). But Hyrmina is more usually identified with the ruined Cyclopean acropolis on a small rocky cape which forms the harbour of *Kounoupeli*. See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 119 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 33; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 308; Baedeker,[3] p. 331. Strabo's description of the place as "a mountainous promontory" certainly applies better to *Chlemoutsi*, which is a long ridge of rough hills, forming a very conspicuous feature of this part of Peloponnese, both by sea and land. "*Kastro Tornese* standing on a height surrounded by plains or by the sea, and hence easily recognised at a great distance, is one of the finest geographical stations in Greece" (Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 171). The ruined castle of *Kastro* (or *Castel*) *Tornese*, with its high, enormously thick walls, is one of the most imposing remains of the Middle Ages in Greece. See Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 299.

2. 1. **the sons of Actor** etc. Their names were Cteatus and Eurytus; they were called Actorione or Actoriones after their nominal father, and Moliones or Molionids after their mother. Their real father was said to be Poseidon. Later tradition represented them as a pair of Siamese twins, with a single body between them. See Homer, *Iliad*, xi. 709 (with Mr. Leaf's note), 750; Pindar, *Ol.* x. (xi.) 30 *sqq.*, with the Scholia; Apollodorus, ii. 7. 2. Cp. Paus. ii. 15. 1; iii. 18. 15; viii. 14. 9.

2. 2. **no athlete from Elis will enter for the Isthmian games.** Cp. vi. 3. 9; vi. 16. 2.

2. 3. **Cypselus —— dedicated a golden image to Zeus.** This image of Zeus, dedicated by Cypselus and made of beaten gold, is mentioned by Strabo (viii. pp. 353, 378). Cp. Plato, *Phaedrus*, 236 B. According to one account, Cypselus vowed that if he became tyrant of Corinth he would consecrate the property of his subjects for ten years. He succeeded in his object, and out of the tithes which he levied he made the golden image. See Suidas and Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* Κυψελιδῶν ἀνάθημα. According to another account, the image was dedi-

cated, not by Cypselus, but by his son Periander (Diogenes Laertius, i. 7. 96; Schol. on Plato, *l.c.*) It is said to have stood in the temple of Hera (Suidas and Photius, *ll.cc.*)

2. 5. **Timon, an Elean, won victories** etc. See vi. 16. 2. He is to be distinguished from Timon the victor in the chariot-race (vi. 2. 8; vi. 12. 6).

3. 1. **Phyleus.** See v. 1. 10.

3. 2. **the Bady Water.** A different explanation of the name is given, on the authority of Echephyllidas, by a scholiast on Plato (*Phaedo*, 89 c). He says that when Hercules was defeated by Cteatus and Eurytus, the sons of Actor, he was pursued as far as the land of Buprasium; then looking round and seeing none of his enemies coming, he took breath and having slaked his thirst at the river that ran by the spot, he called it the Sweet Water. It is still shown, the scholiast says, on the way from Dyme to Elis, and it is called by the natives Bathy ('sweet') water. *Bathy* (βαθύ) here seems to be a dialectical form of ἡδύ. The β in βαδύ appears to stand for an ancient digamma; for there are traces of the digamma in various forms of ἡδύς. See G. Curtius, *Griech. Etymologie*,[5] p. 229; and for the transition of the digamma into β in Greek see *id.* p. 584 *sqq.* The author of the *Etymol. Magnum* remarks (p. 426) that it was customary in the Doric dialect to prefix β to words beginning with a vowel.

3. 3. **he returned to Dulichium.** He had gone to Dulichium when his father expelled him from Elis (Apollodorus, ii. 5. 5). Cp. above, v. 1. 10.

3. 4. **This is signified by Homer** etc. See *Iliad*, ii. 615 *sqq.*

3. 5. **take the three-eyed one to guide them** etc. Cp. Apollodorus, ii. 8. 3; and see note on ii. 24. 3.

4. 1. **the land of Elis was good** etc. On the fertility of Elis cp. vi. 26. 6; Tozer, *Geography of Greece*, p. 267 *sq.*

4. 1. **one soldier should be chosen from each side to do battle** etc. This combat is recorded, somewhat more at length, by Strabo (viii. p. 357) on the authority of Ephorus, whom Pausanias may also have followed.

4. 2. **introduced colonies of his Aetolians among them.** The tradition of an Aetolian settlement in Elis is confirmed by the close relationship between the dialect of Elis and the Locrian and Aetolian dialects. See Busolt, *Griech. Geschichte*,[2] 1. pp. 194, 232 note 3.

4. 2. **assigned certain privileges to Dius.** The reference is probably not to honours paid to the living, but to worship rendered to the heroic dead. The Greek is Δίῳ τε ἀπένειμε γέρα. The expression γέρα, used in this way, seems equivalent to τιμαί, which Pausanias oftener employs in this sense. For γέρα in this sense see iv. 3. 10; viii. 2. 4; viii. 9. 7. Thus the phrase γέρα or τιμὰς ἀπονέμειν τινι is much the same as 'to canonize' him, and γέρα ἔχειν is 'to be adored as a hero or saint.'

4. 3. **a small section of the Achaeans.** According to Ephorus, as reported by Strabo (viii. p. 357), the Achaeans possessed the Olympian sanctuary before the Aetolian conquest. Prof. Curtius accepts

the testimony of Ephorus and points to a variety of facts which seem to show that Olympia was an Achaean sanctuary before the Dorian invasion. Amongst the facts on which he lays emphasis are the worship of Pelops and the worship of Hera at Olympia; for both Pelops and Hera, as the legends and religion of Argolis prove, were intimately connected with the Achaeans. See E. Curtius, as reported in *Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 14 (1894), pp. 446 *sqq.*, 477 *sqq.*; *Jahrbuch d. archäolog. Instituts*, Archäologischer Anzeiger, 9 (1894), pp. 40-43.

4. 4. **buried him in a tomb —— in the gate.** The spirit of the dead man was probably expected to guard the gate against foes. The grave of Laomedon was over the Scaean gate at Troy, and was believed to protect the city (Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 241). Neoptolemus was buried under the threshold of the temple at Delphi (Schol. on Pindar. *Nem.* vii. 62). Cp. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, p. 281 note. It is possible that in this story of the burial of Aetolus in the gate we have a faded tradition of an actual human sacrifice offered when the gate was built. Such sacrifices have been offered in many lands for the purpose of securing the foundations of buildings and rendering cities impregnable. "In Africa, in Galam, a boy and girl used to be buried alive before the great gate of the city to make it impregnable, a practice once executed on a large scale by a Bambarra tyrant; while in Great Bassam and Yarriba such sacrifices were usual at the foundation of a house or village. . . . When the gate of the new city of Tavoy, in Tenasserim, was built, perhaps twenty years ago, Mason was told by an eye-witness that a criminal was put in each post-hole to become a protecting demon. Thus it appears that such stories as that of the human victims buried for spirit-watchers under the gates of Mandalay, of the queen who was drowned in a Birmese reservoir to make the dyke safe, of the hero whose divided body was buried under the fortress of Thatung to make it impregnable, are the records, whether in historical or mythical form, of the actual customs of the land" (Tylor, *Primitive Culture*,[2] i. p. 106 *sqq.*) In Greece sacrifices are offered at the foundation of buildings to this day. A fowl, a ram, or a lamb is killed, its blood is poured on the foundation stone, and the carcass is buried under it. Sometimes, as a substitute for an animal, the builder measures by stealth a man or one of his limbs or only his shadow with a piece of tape, which he then buries; or he lays the foundation stone upon the man's shadow. It is believed that the man will die within a year. This seems plainly a substitute for human sacrifices offered at the foundation of buildings. Traditions of such sacrifices are still current in Greece. Indeed in the island of Zacynthus the peasants to this day believe that in order to secure the durability of important buildings, such as bridges and fortresses, it is necessary to kill a man (especially a Mohammedan or a Jew) and bury him on the spot; and it has been asserted that but for the fear of the law they would actually perform such sacrifices. See B. Schmidt, *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen*, p. 196 *sqq.*

4. 5. **the Olympic —— truce.** Cp. v. 20. 1. According to Polybius (xii. 26) the Olympic truce was founded by Hercules. Cp.

J. H. Krause, *Olympia*, p. 35 *sqq.* In the island of Nukahiwa, one of the Washington or Marquesas islands in the Pacific, "the wars with the Tai-pihs are continued by land, until one of the two kings (and they have both a right to it) shall demand a truce for the purpose of celebrating their dance-feast, the Olympic games of these savages, and which, according to their custom, must not be deferred too long. In order to celebrate this they agree upon a term, and all parties, friends as well as enemies, assist in the preparations. . . . After the termination of the feast, they return home, and the war recommences in all its vigour" (Krusenstern, *Voyage round the world*, translated by Hoppner, 1. p. 169 *sq.*)

4. 5. **which had been discontinued for a time.** According to Phlegon, a contemporary of Pausanias, the Olympic festival was discontinued for 28 Olympiads, or 112 years, from the time of Pelops and Hercules, who instituted the festival, down to the time of Coroebus the Elean, who won the first historically recorded Olympic victory in 776 B.C. See *Scriptores rerum mirab. Graeci*, ed. Westermann, p. 205; *Fragm. histor. Graec.*, ed. Müller, 3. p. 603. (In the text of Phlegon ἀπὸ Ἰφίτου must be wrong. Prof. G. F. Unger conjectured ἀπὸ Ἰφίκλου. See *Philologus*, 44 (1885), p. 185.)

4. 6. **to renew the Olympic games.** The story of the renewal of the Olympic festival by Iphitus is told somewhat more fully by Phlegon. See the references in the preceding note.

4. 6. **The inscription at Olympia states that Iphitus was a son of Haemon.** Phlegon also calls Iphitus a son of Haemon, but says that according to others he was a son of Praxonides (*Frag. hist. Graec.*, ed. Müller, 3. p. 603). As to the inscription mentioned by Pausanias see v. 20. 1 note.

4. 6. **The ancient writings of the Eleans.** These were the registers of the Olympic victors in the foot-race. Pausanias often refers to them. See Index, *s.v.* 'Eleans,' and Hirt, *De fontibus Pausaniae in Eliacis*, p. 12 *sqq.* Philostratus also made use of them in writing his treatise on gymnastics (*De arte gymnastica*, 2). They were probably engraved on stone. Cp. Müller, *Dorians*, 1. p. 148 *sq.*; L. Hicks, *Greek historical inscriptions*, p. 2. Plutarch tells us (*Numa*, 1) that the register of Olympic victors was first published by Hippias of Elis, the sophist who is satirised by Plato and who flourished about 400 B.C. Professor Mahaffy has argued that the register was not only edited but actually compiled by Hippias, and that no complete and authoritative register had been kept before his time. He points out that Thucydides and the historians of the fifth century do not date events by the Olympic victors. (It is true that Thucydides v. 49 refers to an Olympic victory, but to a victory in the pancratium, not in the foot-race.) He thinks that the practice of registering the victors' names in inscriptions only dates from about the 50th Olympiad (580 B.C.), and that for earlier dates Hippias, in drawing up his register, had no trustworthy evidence to go upon. 'The ancient writings of the Eleans' to which Pausanias so often refers are, in Prof. Mahaffy's opinion, nothing but the treatise of Hippias, preserved and copied at Elis. See Prof.

Mahaffy, 'On the authenticity of the Olympian register,' *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 2 (1881), pp. 164-178.

4. 8. **At the time of the invasion of Agis etc.** On this war see iii. 8. 3-5; v. 20. 4 *sq.*; v. 27. 11.

4. 9. **the Eleans —— joined the Macedonian alliance.** See iv. 28. 4.

5. 1. **Aristotimus.** The date of his tyranny seems to have been somewhere about 272 B.C. A long account of his atrocities and death is given by Plutarch, *De mulierum virtute*, 15; compare also Justin. xxvi. 4-10, who says that the tyranny of Aristotimus lasted five months. Cp. Droysen, *Gesch. des Hellenismus*,[2] iii. 1. p. 222 *sqq.* Droysen thought that both Plutarch and Justin have copied from Phylarchus. Coins of Aristotimus are extant bearing the letters AP or API. See E. Muret in *Bulletin de Corresp. Hellénique*, 4 (1880), pp. 45-46: Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 356. Cp. Paus. vi. 14. 11.

5. 2. **fine flax grows here.** The word translated 'fine flax' is *bussos* (βύσσος). Elsewhere (vi. 26. 6) Pausanias tells us that in the land of Elis people sowed hemp, flax, and *bussos*: and in another place (vii. 21. 14) he says that most of the women of Patrae gained their livelihood by weaving head-dresses and other articles of dress out of the *bussos* which grew in Elis. In all these passages *bussos* has commonly been taken to mean 'cotton.' But against this interpretation it has to be said that (1) the general usage of ancient writers is decidedly in favour of taking *bussos* as flax, not as cotton. Thus Herodotus says (ii. 86) that the Egyptian mummies were swathed in bandages of fine *bussos* cloth. Now microscopical examination of the mummy-cloths has proved that these are of linen, not (as used to be asserted) of cotton. Cp. Paus. x. 32. 16. Again Herodotus describes (vii. 181) how bandages of fine *bussos* cloth were used for binding up wounds. But linen is the proper material for bandaging a wound: cotton irritates it. Again, when Herodotus does actually describe cotton, he calls it, not *bussos*, but tree-wool (iii. 47 and 106). For the other evidence which makes it practically certain that by *bussos* the best writers of antiquity meant, not cotton, but a kind of flax, see Yates, *Textrinum antiquorum*, p. 267 *sqq.*; Marquardt, *Das Privatleben der Römer*,[2] p. 481 *sq.*: O. Schrader, *Linguistisch-historische Forschungen zur Handelsgeschichte und Warenkunde*, p. 192 *sqq.* In only two passages of late writers of antiquity does *bussos* seem to be used of cotton. Philostratus, who wrote in the third century A.D., describes (*Vit. Apollon.* ii. 20) some of the Hindoos as clad in *bussos*, which grew, he says, upon a tree. But his description of the tree agrees neither with the cotton-tree (*Gossypium arboreum*) nor with the cotton-plant (*Gossypium herbaceum*). Again, Pollux (about 200 A.D.) describes *bussos* as "a kind of Indian flax," and he immediately adds, "In Egypt also wool is got from a tree," and he describes this 'wool' in a way which shows he meant cotton. It would seem, therefore, that though he speaks of *bussos* as a kind of Indian flax, he meant cotton. However, the text of Pollux is here open to doubt; for the passage is wanting in some of the good MSS.: and Yates (*op. cit.* p. 468 *sqq.*) brings forward some arguments

to show that the passage should read thus: καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰ βύσσινα καὶ ἡ βύσσος λίνου τι εἶδος. Παρὰ δὲ Ἰνδοῖς ἀπὸ ξύλου τι ἔριον γίγνεται etc. "And, moreover, there are cloths of *bussos*, and *bussos* is a kind of flax. But among the Indians a sort of wool is produced from trees," etc.

(2) Again Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* xix. 20), enumerating the various kinds of flax, mentions the *bussos* of Elis as a very valuable sort, which was used for making female finery. Thus he certainly is describing the same plant as Pausanias; and if he had known it to be cotton, he would hardly have omitted to refer to the cotton of Elis in his description of the cotton-plant. Whereas in the passages where he is undoubtedly describing the cotton-plant, he makes no reference to the fact that it grew in Elis; and in these passages, though he describes the cotton-plant by various names, he never applies the name *bussos* to it. See Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xii. 25, 38, 39; xix. 14.

(3) If the *bussos* referred to by Pausanias had been the cotton-plant, it seems probable that, like so many ancient writers, he would have made some reference to the curious fact of a wool-like substance being produced by a tree or plant, and would have referred to the foreign countries, especially India, where cotton grew. He is particularly fond of noticing remarkable natural products (plants, animals, etc.), and of comparing them with those of foreign lands. It would have been strange, therefore, if he had omitted so natural an opportunity of introducing a digression upon the nature and native home of the cotton-plant.

On the other hand, in favour of taking *bussos* to mean 'cotton' in Pausanias, it may be urged: (1) that the evidence of Pollux and Philostratus goes to show that in late writers *bussos* sometimes meant cotton; (2) that Pausanias repeatedly distinguishes *bussos* from flax (see vi. 25. 5; vi. 26. 6; x. 32. 16); and (3) that the terms in which he speaks of it, as one of the two great wonders of Elis, are more applicable to a rare exotic like cotton than to a particular species of a plant so familiar to the ancients as flax. The force of this last argument is weakened by the fact that flax of any kind seems to have been much rarer in ancient Greece than we are apt to suppose. Yates, indeed (*op. cit.* p. 286), thinks that the only evidence of the growth of flax in Greece are the passages of Pausanias under discussion and the parallel passage of Pliny already referred to (*Nat. Hist.* xix. 20); and Marquardt, who interprets *bussos* in these passages as cotton, says (*op. cit.* p. 482 *sq.*) that in ancient Greece flax seems to have been little, if at all, cultivated. In Thucydides (iv. 26) we read of pounded flax-seed being used as food on the coast of Messenia; but it may have been imported from abroad.

The word *bussos* is identical with the Hebrew *bûz*, which also signifies a species of flax. On the whole, the preponderance of evidence seems in favour of taking *bussos* in Pausanias to mean a fine kind of flax.

On the meaning of *bussos* in classical writers and the cultivation of cotton in the ancient world, see Yates, *Textrinum Antiquorum*, pp. 267 *sqq.*, 334 *sqq.*; C. Ritter, 'Ueber die geographische Verbreitung der Baumwolle,' etc. in *Abhandlungen* of the Prussian Academy (Berlin), 1851, pp. 297-359; H. Brandes, 'Ueber die antiken Namen und die geographische Verbreitung der Baumwolle

im Alterthum,' *Jahresbericht des Vereins von Freunden der Erdkunde zu Leipzig*, 1865, pp. 91-119; Neumann und Partsch, *Physikalische Geographie von Griechenland*, pp. 452-455; O. Schrader, *Linguist.-histor. Forschungen zur Handelsgeschichte und Warenkunde* (Jena, 1886), pp. 189-213; De Candolle, *Origin of Cultivated Plants*, pp. 402-408; Winer, *Biblisches Realwörterbuch*, s.v. 'Baumwolle'; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 438 *sq.*, 2. pp. 10 *sq.*, 95; Movers, *Die Phoenizier*. iii. 1. p. 259 *sq.*; Pauly's *Real-Encyclopädie*, s.v. 'Byssus'; Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* (ed. 1878), 2. p. 158 *sqq.*; Becker, *Charicles*. p. 430 *sqq.* (Engl. trans.); Wiedemann on Herodotus ii. 86, p. 358 *sq.*; Marquardt, *Das Privatleben der Römer*, pp. 481 *sq.*, 487-491; V. Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Hausthiere*,[4] p. 143; Blümner, *Technologie und Terminologie*, 1. pp. 179 *sqq.*, 187 *sq.*

Of the writers just cited, Brandes, Neumann, Winer, Curtius, Wiedemann, and Marquardt understand *bussos* in Pausanias to mean cotton. Yates and apparently Hehn take it to be a kind of flax; Schrader thinks that the evidence for its being cotton is extremely weak: and De Candolle, a high authority on such questions, says: "It is evident that the cotton was never, or very rarely, cultivated by the ancients. It is so useful that it would have become common if it had been introduced into a single locality—in Greece, for instance." The other writers are doubtful or express no opinion. Leake seems to take it for granted that the *bussos* of Elis was flax. He says that one of the chief products of *Gastouni*, in the plain of Elis, is flax, but that, "contrary to its ancient reputation, the flax of *Gastouni* is not very fine, which my informant ascribes to its being exposed to the cold and running water of the river, instead of being soaked in ponds; it is chiefly used in the neighbouring islands by the peasants, who weave it into cloths for their own use" (*Morea*, 1. p. 12 *sq.*) Cotton is now cultivated to a considerable extent in Greece. In the beginning of the century, Leake noted its cultivation in Elis; but it was the Civil War in America, with its blockade of the southern ports, which first led to the cultivation of cotton on a large scale in Greece. It is grown especially in the plain of Elatea in Phocis and the plains of Chaeronea and Lebadea in Boeotia. See Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 15; Neumann und Partsch, *Physikalische Geogr. von Griechenland*, pp. 453, 455; Baedeker,[3] p. xliii.

5. 2. **the mares cannot be impregnated** etc. Cp. Herodotus, iv. 30; Plutarch, *Quaest. Graec.* 52; Antigonus, *Histor. Mirab.* 13. Of Maabar (the Coromandel Coast) Marco Polo says (2. p. 325 *sq.*, Yule's trans., ed. 2): "And another strange thing to be told is that there is no possibility of breeding horses in this country, as hath often been proved by trial. For even when a great blood-mare here has been covered by a great blood-horse, the produce is nothing but a wretched wry-legged weed, not fit to ride." Marco Polo's account is confirmed by a modern traveller, quoted by Yule. Mr. Clermont-Ganneau, however, is probably right in supposing that a religious scruple against breeding mules was the only foundation for the belief mentioned by Pausanias, Herodotus, and Plutarch. He points out that the Jews appear to have been similarly prohibited by their religion from breeding mules (*Leviticus*, xix. 19). See Clermont-Ganneau, 'Le dieu Satrape,' in *Journal Asiatique*, 7me Série, 10 (1877), p. 209 *sqq.*

5. 3. **Going from <the Neda> you come to —— Samicum.** At

present the Neda, a river of some size, flows between fields of maize into the sea. Beyond its mouth, to the north, the hills retreat from the coast, leaving between them and the sea a plain about a mile and a half wide, which extends northward some eleven miles. On the north the plain is closed by Mount *Kaiápha*, which thrusts itself forward till its steep, rocky slopes almost touch the beach. This maritime plain, reaching from the mouth of the Neda on the south to Mt. *Kaiápha* on the north, is the Samicum of the ancients (cp. Strabo, viii. pp. 344, 347). A line of sandy downs, overgrown with pinewood, separates it from the sea. On the inner side of the downs the low flat land is wooded with pines and with shrubs of different sorts. Interspersed among the pine-forest are many lakes, pools, and marshes, which in spring-time, reflecting the trees and flowers in their still waters, present scenes of idyllic beauty, but in the heat of summer they dry utterly up. Inland from these low-lying woodlands the country rises through fields of corn and maize to a rolling table-land, broken by many valleys, where fields of corn and currant-plantations alternate agreeably with groves of oranges and lemons. On these uplands, for the sake of the dryer soil and fresher air, are built many prosperous villages. The northern part of the plain of Samicum is nearly covered by the long lagoon of *Kaiápha*, which stretches for some three miles parallel to the sea, being divided from it only by the strip of wooded downs already mentioned. Strabo has described the plain in a few words (viii. p. 344), remarking in particular on its fertile soil and the narrow strip of sandy beach.

See Leake, *Morea*, 1. pp. 49-57; Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 344 *sqq.*; Beulé, *Études sur le Péloponnèse*, p. 183 *sqq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. pp. 277, 279 *sq.*, 281 note; Baedeker,[3] p. 326 *sq.*; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 326 *sq.* Cp. notes on v. 5. 7; v. 6. 1.

5. 3. **a city Lepreus.** Lepreus was one of six cities founded in Triphylia by the Minyans who were expelled from Lemnos by the Pelasgians, and who themselves drove out of Triphylia the indigenous races of the Paroreatians and Caucones (Herodotus, iv. 145-148). The city was distant 40 furlongs from the sea and 100 furlongs from the sanctuary of the Samian Poseidon (Strabo, viii. p. 344). The ruins of its acropolis occupy the summit of a steep hill to the north of *Strovitsi*, a village situated about four miles from the sea, in a well-watered and wooded valley, the warm and sheltered position of which is well adapted for the cultivation of the orange. A stream (the *Tholo*) traverses the valley, and then finds its way down a narrow glen, between hills wooded with pine, into the sea. The track that leads up the glen through the pine-forest is rough and difficult. From the village of *Strovitsi*, lying in the bottom of the open valley, a very steep footpath ascends a gorge to the ridge which, bounding the valley on the north, unites the ancient acropolis to another hill on the west. On reaching the ridge we turn to the right and ascend eastward to the acropolis. Before reaching it we come upon the ruins of a small building about 15 feet long by 10 feet broad; it may have been the shrine of a hero. From this point the ascent becomes very gentle, and among the broom and other shrubs we

perceive vestiges of the walls of the ancient city. Here, on the northern verge of the hill, may be seen a mediaeval fortification-wall built of ancient materials, which served to protect the hill on this side against attacks from the wooded gorge below. In about half an hour after leaving *Strovitsi* we suddenly come in sight of the ancient citadel. It is composed of two parts, forming an outer and an inner line of defence. The outer fortress is standing to a considerable height, and with its walls, its square towers, and its gates reminds us of the splendid fortifications of Messene (above, p. 429 *sqq.*) The walls are built of squared blocks laid in regular courses. The outer tower which faces the west, and is standing to a height of 14 feet, is almost an exact reproduction of one of the towers at the great gate of Messene. It seems probable, therefore, that this outer fortress was constructed about the same time as Messene, and under the influence of Epaminondas. On the other hand the inner fortress, which seems to have been the primitive acropolis, is of much more ancient date, though the style of its polygonal masonry testifies to the technical skill of its builders. It occupies a small plateau slightly higher than the outer fortress. Its walls form a triangle with the apex to the east. The western wall was apparently repaired in the age of Epaminondas, for in style it resembles the walls of the outer fortress. The other two longer walls may have been built by the Minyans who founded Lepreus. Their masonry marks a transition from the Cyclopean style to the regular ashlar masonry of the best Greek period. The courses are generally but not invariably horizontal. A gateway, 8 ft. 10 in. wide, leads into the interior. In the thickness of the walls may be seen a series of chambers, which possibly served to lodge the garrison in time of siege. About the middle of this inner fortress, opposite the gate, are the foundations of a large building 14.80 metres long by 6.50 metres broad. This may perhaps be the sanctuary of Demeter mentioned by Pausanias. At the further end of the acropolis are two great massive towers with some remains of staircases in their interior. From the summit there is a fine view over the rolling woodlands to the distant sea.

The ruins of Lepreus, however, are by no means confined to the summit of the acropolis-hill. They extend far down its slope. In particular a long wall stretches away down the steep bushy declivity in the direction of *Strovitsi*; its ruinous condition gives it somewhat the appearance of a staircase; hence the peasants call it *skala* ('staircase'). Further, we must note, within the acropolis but on one of its lower terraces, the scanty ruins of a small temple which came to light a few years ago. They were discovered by some inhabitants of *Strovitsi*, who were digging here for stones and for the lead with which the ancient blocks were clamped together. Unfortunately most of the walls of the little temple were pulled down, but enough remains to show that it was of the Doric order and peripteral, *i.e.* surrounded by a colonnade, and that it comprised a *cella* and a portico or fore-temple (*pronaos*) facing east. It measured 19 metres (62 ft. 4 in.) in length by 11 metres (36 feet) in breadth. A Doric capital, .62 metre in diameter, and several triglyphs and metopes were observed by Dr. Dörpfeld when he

visited the site in 1891. In size and proportions the temple agrees closely with the Metroum or temple of the Mother of the Gods at Olympia. Hence Dr. Dörpfeld would assign it to the fourth century B.C.

A short way to the east of the acropolis of Lepreus, on the other side of the village of *Strovitsi*, a reddish rocky hill, with a flat top and steep rifted sides, advances towards the *Tholo* river. It is now called *Kastro* from the ruins of a mediaeval castle which crown its summit, and among which some ancient squared blocks and pieces of columns may be seen.

See Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 347; Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 41 *sq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 56; Blouet, *Expédition Scientifique de Morée: Architecture*, 1. p. 51 *sq.*, with pl. 50-52; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 135; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 83 *sq.*; Beulé, *Etudes sur le Péloponnèse*, p. 184; Boutan, 'Mémoire sur la Triphylie,' *Archives des Missions Scientifiques*, 2me Série, 1 (1865), pp. 199-208; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 277 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 325 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 310 *sq.*; Dörpfeld, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 16 (1891), p. 259 *sq.*; *Bulletin de Corresp. Hellénique*, 15 (1891), p. 655.

If leaving Lepreus we strike north-west for the plain of Samicum we come in about an hour and a half to a steep hill, covered with oak-wood, rising from the depths of a narrow ravine. On its summit are the ruins of a very ancient citadel which Strabo (viii. p. 358) apparently identified with Chaa, under whose walls Nestor in his youth fought a battle with the Arcadians (Homer, *Il.* vii. 135, where, however, our copies of Homer read *Pheia* instead of *Chaa*). The ruins now go by the name of *Palaeo-kastro tes Kallidones* or *Gyphtokastro* ('Gipsy's castle'). Though it is very small (only some 53 yards long by 38 yards wide), the fortress is very interesting. Both the external walls and the walls of the houses are standing to a height of about 3 feet or more. The outer wall follows closely the edge of the precipices. It is 6 feet thick, and is built of small, flat, roughly-hewn stones fitted together with some skill; the core is of earth and rubble. Four towers may be traced in the circuit-wall, and beside one of them, on the south-east side, is a gateway, to which a staircase, cut in the rock, leads up. The other three sides of the hill are absolutely inaccessible. The walls of the houses are built in the same style as the fortification-wall, and rise from among the bushes to a height of about 6 feet. From the summit the islands of *Zante* and *Cephalonia* are visible in the distance. See Boutan, 'Mémoire sur la Triphylie,' *Archives des Missions Scientifiques*, 2me Série, 1 (1865), pp. 212-214; Baedeker,[3] p. 326; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 311.

Here, too, may be mentioned the well-preserved remains of an ancient town, which are believed to be those of Epium, Epeum, or Aepium, one of the six cities founded by the Minyans in Triphylia (Herodotus, iv. 148). They are situated near the village of *Platiana*, about seven miles north of Lepreus in a bee-line, and may be most conveniently visited on the way from *Andritsena* to Olympia. The ruins occupy the long narrow crest of a hill which extends east and west for a quarter of a mile, falling away steeply on all sides. The crest of the hill is surrounded (except at the south-west corner, where a precipice

renders fortification needless) by a fortification-wall 6 feet thick, built mostly of large polygonal blocks and strengthened by a number of square towers on the south and west. The northern part of the space enclosed by this outer fortification-wall, comprising the real crest of the ridge, is divided from the rest by inner fortification-walls on the west, south, and east; and thus forms an upper town measuring about 450 yards in length by 20 to 40 yards in breadth. Within this upper town, again, five distinct plateaus at different levels can be distinguished, all of which are separated from each other by cross-walls. The most westerly of these five plateaus, which is at the same time the highest, doubtless served as the citadel. On the next plateau to the east are the remains of a theatre, nine rows of seats and the foundations of the stage (32 ft. 10 in. long by 14 ft. 5 in. deep) being still preserved. The next plateau seems to have been occupied by the market-place and various public buildings; while on the two plateaus furthest to the east are the foundations of private houses, as well as of temples and other public edifices. The lower town, extending in a long narrow strip just below the real crest of the ridge and enclosed within the outer fortification-wall, contains the foundations of many private houses and of two temples, these last being situated at and near the eastern end of the town. The ancient city, of which the ruins have just been described, is believed to have been 'the well-built Aepy' of Homer (*Il.* ii. 592; cp. Strabo, viii. p. 349; Statius, *Theb.* iv. 180), which again was probably identical with the Epium (Ἔπιον) of Herodotus (iv. 148), the Epeum (Ἠπεῖον) of Xenophon (*Hellenica*, iii. 2. 30), and the Aepeum (Αἴπιον) of Polybius (iv. 77 and 80). Xenophon tells us (*l.c.*) that the town lay between Heraea and Macistus, which agrees well with the situation of the ruins just described, if Macistus was identical with Samicum (see note on v. 6. 1). See Boutan, 'Mémoire sur la Triphylie,' *Archives des Missions Scientifiques*, 2me Série, 1 (1865), pp. 236-248, with a plan of the site; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 284 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 320 *sqq.*

5. 3. **The people of Lepreus claim to belong to Arcadia.** The Triphylians in general claimed to be Arcadians, and the Arcadians on their side claimed Triphylia against Elis (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, vii. 1. 26; Strabo, viii. p. 337). Polybius (iv. 77) speaks of Triphylia as being the extreme portion of Arcadia towards the south-west, and as occupying the sea-coast from Elis proper to Messenia. With regard to Lepreus in particular, Cicero tells us (*Epist. ad Atticum*, vi. 2. 3) that he learned from the maps of Dicaearchus that all the Peloponnesian states were maritime; but that, surprised to find Arcadia treated as a maritime district, he had consulted his Greek friend Dionysius, who was in turn surprised, but on reflection informed Cicero that Lepreon (Lepreus) belonged to Arcadia, and that thus Arcadia had a footing on the coast. Moreover Scylax (*Periplus*, 44) represents Arcadia as extending to the sea at Lepreus, the territory of which ran beside the sea for 100 furlongs.

5. 3. **Aristophanes also says** etc. See Aristophanes, *Birds*, 149.

5. 3. **There are three roads to Lepreus** etc. The route from Lepreus to Samicum or Samia (v. 6. 1) now goes by *Gyphtokastro* ('Gipsy's castle,' see above, p. 475) to *Kallidona*, and thence over

wooded hills to the pleasant village of *Piskini*, beyond which it descends gradually through cultivated fields to the village of *Zacharo*, and so enters the plain of Samicum near its northern extremity. The time from Lepreus to the foot of Mount *Kaiápha*, on which lie the ruins of the city of Samia or Samicum, is about four hours or a little more. See Baedeker,[3] p. 326 *sq.* The route from Lepreus to Elis might be expected to coincide with the route to Samicum (Samia) as far as the latter place; but as Pausanias distinguishes it from the route to Samicum, it would seem to have kept more inland, going perhaps by *Krestena.* Yet if it went by *Krestena* it would naturally coincide with the route to Olympia, from which, however, Pausanias distinguishes it. The whole passage is somewhat obscure and difficult. The statement that the longest of these roads (namely the one to Elis) was only a day's journey is open to objection; for the direct distance from Lepreus to Elis, as the crow flies, is about 36 miles. Hence, when we have allowed for the necessary detours, the ruggedness of some of the country to be traversed, and the badness of the roads, which would seem to have been as characteristic of ancient as of modern Greece, it appears that at an ordinary rate of travelling the journey from Lepreus to Elis must have occupied more nearly two days than one.

5. 4. **that he was as good a man as Hercules at eating** etc. On the contests of Lepreus and Hercules see also Aelian, *Var. Hist.* i. 24; Athenaeus, x. p. 412 a. One of the contests was as to who should draw water fastest. This last contest seems to be the subject of a vase-painting in which Hercules is represented hurrying to a well with a jar in each hand. See *Annali dell' Instituto*, 49 (1877), pp. 410-417, with *tav. d' agg.* W.

5. 5. **Zeus Leucaeus ('of the white poplar').** The white poplar seems to have been especially associated with Zeus, since its wood was the only fuel used in sacrificing to him at Olympia (v. 14. 2). It also furnished the wood for the sacrifices to Pelops at Olympia (v. 13. 3). It is, therefore, needless to alter the text in the present passage of Pausanias, as some scholars would do, by reading Λυκαίου instead of Λευκαίου (Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 117 note 86; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 278 note 1; J. Töpffer, *Attische Genealogie*, p. 217 note 2). If this alteration were adopted, the translation would be, 'Wolfish (Lycaean) Zeus.' As to the mythology of the white poplar see C. Bötticher, *Baumkultus der Hellenen*, p. 441 *sqq.*; J. Murr, *Die Pflanzenwelt in der griech. Mythologie*, p. 20 *sqq.* The epithet Leucaeus might possibly be derived from *leuke*, 'leprosy.' Cp. § 11 of this chapter.

5. 5. **Caucon.** See iv. 1. 5 note, and Index. According to some, Caucon was the father of Lepreus (Aelian, *Var. Hist.* i. 24; Athenaeus, x. p. 412 a). The Caucones, as we have seen (p. 473), were an indigenous race of Triphylia who were expelled by the Minyans (Herodotus, iv. 148). According to some ancient authorities the whole of Elis from Messenia to Dyme in Achaia had once been in the hands of the Caucones and had been called Cauconia. See Strabo, viii. p. 345 *sq.*, who mentions that the tomb of Caucon was in the territory of Lepreus. Cp. Töpffer, *Attische Genealogie*, p. 215 *sqq.*

5. 6. **the wife of Aphareus.** See iv. 2. 4.

5. 7. **the river Anigrus.** Towards the northern end of the maritime plain which Pausanias calls Samicum (see note on § 3) there is a long and narrow but deep lagoon called the lake of *Kaiápha*. At its north-eastern end the lagoon is overhung by the precipitous cliffs of Mt. *Kaiápha*. On the west it is separated from the sea by a broad strip of sand-dunes, covered with a dense wood of tall dark pines. The coast-road runs along this wooded ridge between the lagoon and the sea. At its northern end the lagoon is separated by another wooded sand-bank from the southern extremity of the still longer lagoon of *Agoulenitsa*, which extends northward to the mouth of the Alpheus, a distance of eight or nine miles, and attains a breadth of nearly three miles. A short stream, spanned by a stone bridge, unites the two lagoons. A steep rocky point of Mt. *Kaiápha* here projects westward and is separated from the sea only by the wooded sand-bank already mentioned. This is the pass of *Klidi* ('the key'), or of *Kaiápha* or *Derveni*, as it is otherwise called. It used to be commanded by a small Turkish fort called *Klidi*, the ruins of which may be seen on one of the three hillocks between the lagoons. A mile or two to the south-east of this pass, a stream called the *Mavro-potamo* ('Black River') falls into the lake of *Kaiápha* from the mountain of the same name. At the beginning of this century the stream had an outlet from the lake through the sandy ridge which divides the lake from the sea. "When the winds are violent, the surf and the sand thrown up by it reject the waters of the river, and assist very much in increasing the lake. This fact, which is remarked both by Strabo [viii. p. 346 sq.] and Pausanias, added to other particulars in conformity with these authors, leaves no doubt of the river being the *Anigrus*. . . . In summer the marsh is said to be very fetid, and the air extremely unwholesome, as one may easily conceive, the place being closely overhung by the precipices which here terminate the mountain" (Leake). At the present day the lake has no visible outlet to the sea. The Acidas, mentioned by Pausanias and probably identical with the Acidon of Strabo (viii. p. 351), may be a brook which descends into Lake *Kaiápha* from Mount *Kaiápha* to the south-east of the Anigrus. The face of the country hereabout seems to have changed a good deal since antiquity, for Pausanias makes no mention of the two large lagoons. Strabo, indeed (viii. p. 346), speaks of a stinking marsh formed by a spring and by the Anigrus, but this marsh can hardly have been of the extent and depth of the present lagoon of *Kaiápha*, which is three miles long and nearly a mile wide. The Anigrus has sometimes been identified (as by Boblaye, Ross, and Prof. Curtius) with the river which flows into the sea to the south of the lake of *Kaiápha*, beside the solitary khan of *St. Isidore*. But this river seems to be too far off from the cave of the nymphs (see note on § 11) to be the Anigrus.

See Pouqueville, *Voyage de la Grèce*,[2] 6. p. 12 *sqq.*; Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 344 *sq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 1. pp. 51-54, 66 *sq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 134 *sq.*; Ross, *Reisen*, p. 105; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 81 *sq.*; Boutan, 'Mémoire sur la Triphylie,' *Archives des Missions Scientifiques*, 2me Série, 1 (1865), pp. 214-217;

Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 279 *sqq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 326 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 311 *sq.*; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 326 *sq.*

5. 9. **That the old name of the Acidas was Jardanus** etc. Homer speaks of the river Jardanus as flowing near the walls of Phea (*Il.* vii. 135). Cp. Strabo, viii. p. 342, and see Ebeling's *Lexicon Homericum*, *s.v.* Κελάδων. Strabo says (viii. p. 347) that between the Anigrus and the mountain from which it flowed there were shown the meadow and the grave of Jardanus. Cp. note on vi. 21. 7.

5. 9. **the odd smell —— is caused by the soil** etc. The river of *St. Isidore*, which some identify with the Anigrus (see note on § 7), rises among the mountains near the village of *Troupaes*; and in the valley of *Troupaes* the earth, according to the peasants, burns every year with a foul smell (Ross, *Reisen*, p. 105). Cp. note on § 11. The mythical explanations of the unsavoury smell are mentioned also by Strabo (viii. p. 346).

5. 9. **the waters inland from Ionia** etc. Strabo (xiii. p. 629 *sq.*) describes the hot springs of Hierapolis near Laodicea, where there was also a cave full of mephitic vapour which proved instantly fatal to any living creature that entered the cave. He describes a similar cave, without however mentioning hot springs, between Tralles and Nysa (xiv. p. 649 *sq.*)

5. 11. **the cave of the Anigrian nymphs.** Strabo (viii. p. 346) mentions that there were two caves, one of them sacred to the nymphs of the Anigrus, the other sacred to the daughters of Atlas; in the latter cave Dardanus was said to have been born, his mother being Electra, daughter of Atlas (Apollodorus, iii. 12. 1). These caves still exist in the face of the cliff which descends into the water at the north end of the lagoon of *Kaiapha*. They are at the level of the water and can now only be approached by boat. They emit foul mephitic vapours and inflammable gas. Warm sulphureous springs issue from fissures in the rock: the most copious is in the larger of the two caves, where there are baths which are still used by patients. The bathing establishment, however, is on a peninsula stretching into the lake; it is only used in summer. In antiquity the caves were approached by a stone causeway, of which there are remains in front of the caves.

See Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 345; Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 53 *sq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 134; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 80 *sq.*; Boutan, 'Mémoire sur la Triphylie,' *Archives des Missions Scientifiques*, 2me Série, 1 (1865), p. 216; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 280 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 327; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 326.

With the cure described by Pausanias we may compare the cure of the leper Naaman the Syrian by bathing in the Jordan (2 *Kings*, v. 10-14). It is a curious coincidence that the old name of the Anigrus should have been, according to Pausanias's Ephesian informant, Jardanus, *i.e.* Jordan. Strabo also mentions that the waters of the Anigrus were a cure for leprosy. He describes a spring close to the cave of the nymphs, most of the water of which fell into the Anigrus (viii. p. 346 *sq.*) This makes it certain that the Anigrus was close to the cave.

6. 1. a city Samia standing on it. The city was also called Samus (Strabo, viii. p. 347) or Samicum (Polybius, iv. 77). It seems probable that Samia was identical with the ancient Macistus, one of the six cities founded by the Minyans in Triphylia (Herodotus, iv. 148). The whole district from the Alpheus south to about Mounts *Kaiápha* and *Smerna* appears to have been known as Macistia. See Strabo, viii. p. 343 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 277. The ruins of Samia or Samicum occupy the summit and northern slope of Mt. *Kaiápha*, which is a spur projecting westward from Mt. *Smerna* to within a quarter of a mile of the sea, between the two lagoons already described (note on v. 5. 7). The hill of *Kaiápha* is about 1000 ft. high and slopes rapidly away towards the north-west; it is divided at the back by a shallow ravine from the rest of the mountain. The fortification-walls of the ancient city are about a mile and a half in circumference. The space enclosed by them seems to have been roughly triangular in shape, the base of the triangle being on the lower slope to the north-west, where, however, the fortification-wall has wholly disappeared. On the other hand the side-walls, converging to the apex of the triangle on the summit of the hill, are perhaps the finest extant specimen of ancient Greek polygonal masonry. They average about 8 feet thick, and are standing almost everywhere to a height of 12 feet. The faces of the stones are smoothed, and the jointing of the polygonal blocks is accurate, so that no small stones are needed to fill up the crevices. Here and there a few squared blocks occur. The wall follows the contour of the hill, with projecting and re-entering angles without towers, except on the south-west side towards the sea, where it is strengthened with many buttresses and a few square towers. These towers, which are without any inner chambers, are perhaps later than the rest of the wall, the style of which points to a remote antiquity. There are a number of small sally-ports. In places the wall runs along the brink of precipices. Inside the circuit of the walls the ground is very rugged and broken, and is thickly overgrown with trees and shrubs. Foundation-walls may be seen in various places, especially on the summit; and lower down there are many terrace-walls. A low ridge of rugged rocks crosses the middle of the slope.

See Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 344; Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 52 *sq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 133 *sq.*; Blouet, *Expédition scientifique de Morée: Architecture*, 1. p. 53 *sq.*, with pl. 53-55; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. pp. 78 *sq.*, 82 *sq.*; Beulé, *Études sur le Péloponnèse*, pp. 185-188; Boutan, 'Mémoire sur la Triphylie,' *Archives des Missions Scientifiques*, 2me Série, 1 (1865), pp. 219-225; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. pp. 277-280, 282; Baedeker,[3] p. 327 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 312.

There was a much revered sanctuary of the Samian Poseidon in a grove of wild olives beside the sea, facing north-west. The Macistians had charge of the sanctuary, but all the Triphylians united in paying it homage. It may have stood at the northern foot of Mt. Samicum (now Mt. *Kaiápha*). See Strabo, viii. pp. 343-346. In the pass of *Klidi*, about 20 yards beyond the hillock, on which are the ruins of the Turkish fort (see above, p. 478), Mr. Boutan observed the foundations of a wall about 82 feet long and 8 feet thick, which he conjectured may perhaps have formed part of the temple. The wall, which abuts on

the road, consists of two facings of ashlar masonry, with a core of earth and rubble between them. See Boutan, *op. cit.* p. 217 *sq*.

6. 2. **the ruins of Arene.** See Homer, *Iliad*, ii. 591, xi. 723. The latter is the passage here quoted by Pausanias. Strabo thought (viii. p. 346) that Samus (Samia) may have been the citadel of Arene. He also mentions the conjectural identification of the Anigrus with the Minyeius of Homer.

6. 4. **journeying —— through a sandy district where wild pine-trees grow.** This is still an exact description of part of the district south of the Alpheus, which Pausanias is now passing through. Pine-trees are a conspicuous feature in the landscape, and the soil between *Krestena* and Olympia is so sandy that I observed children playing in it, just as they might do on the sea-shore.

6. 4. **Scillus.** The site has not been identified. As Pausanias, coming from the south, saw the ruins before he reached the Alpheus, Scillus must have been on the southern side of the river. Xenophon tells us (*Anabasis*, v. 3. 11) that Scillus was 20 furlongs from Olympia on the way to Sparta. With the prize-money which he had won on his famous expedition with the Ten Thousand, Xenophon bought some land at Scillus and dedicated it to Artemis. He built a small temple to her, a model of her great Ephesian temple, and the image of the goddess in cypress-wood was a copy of her golden image at Ephesus. The temple stood in a grove of fruit-trees. The river Selinus, stocked with fish, flowed through the glebe. The sacred lands comprised also meadows and wooded hills, where there was pasture for swine and goats, for oxen and horses; so that travellers who came to the festival of Artemis could bait their beasts in the neighbourhood. For Xenophon instituted a festival in honour of Artemis, at which he sacrificed a tithe of the produce of his lands. All the townspeople and the people of the neighbourhood, with their wives, came and partook of the good cheer. They camped out in temporary huts or bothies, according to a common custom in antiquity; and the goddess furnished them from her own lands with flour and loaves and wine and sweetmeats and a share of the beasts that were sacrificed and of the game that was killed. For Xenophon's sons and the other young men of the neighbourhood went hunting to provide meat for the festival; and came back laden with wild hogs, roebucks, and deer. Xenophon also set up a tablet beside the temple with an inscription as follows: "This land is sacred to Artemis. Whoever owns the land and its produce shall sacrifice yearly a tithe; and from the remainder he shall keep the temple in repair. If he does not do so, the goddess will see to it." See Xenophon, *Anabasis*, v. 3. 7-13.

The river Selinus is by some supposed to be the stream which flows past the little town of *Krestena*, falling into the Alpheus to the west of Olympia. It is a pleasant land of vineyards, and pine-groves, and luxuriant green lanes, deep in bushes and (a rare sight in Greece) ferns, reminding one of country lanes in Surrey or Devonshire. Cp. Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 213 *sqq*.; Curtius, *Pelop*. 2. p. 90 *sqq*.; Boutan, 'Mémoire sur la Triphylie,' *Archives des Missions Scientifiques*, 2 Série, 1 (1865), pp. 228-231; Bursian, *Geogr*. 2. p. 285 *sq*.; Baedeker,[3] p. 328; *Guide-*

Joanne, 2. p. 313. The people of Scillus are the subject of an inscription which was found engraved on a bronze plate at Olympia (Roehl, *I. G. A.* No. 119, pp. 43, 180 *sq.*; Cauer, *Delectus Inscr. Graec.*² No. 261).

6. 7. **a precipitous mountain with lofty cliffs —— named Typaeum.** "Opposite to Olympia, on the southern side of the river, rises a range of heights, higher than the Cronian ridge, in some parts separated from the river by a narrow level, in others falling to the river's bank. Among these hills is observed a bare summit, terminating towards Olympia in a lofty precipitous ridge, distant about half a mile from the river. This is the ancient Typaeus [Typaeum]. . . . With the exception of this summit the mountains to the left of the river are clothed and diversified like those on the opposite side, and complete the sylvan beauties of the vale of Olympia" (Leake, *Pelop.* p. 8 *sq.*: cp. *id.*, *Morea*, 1. p. 30). As to the punishment of death by hurling the offender from a height, see note on iv. 18. 4. It was only married women who were excluded from witnessing the Olympic games: maidens were free to view them. See vi. 20. 9; cp. v. 13. 10. Women were forbidden to be present at the foot-races instituted by Amphissus in Dryopis (Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 32).

6. 7. **Callipatira, or Pherenice.** She was a daughter of Diagoras, the Rhodian athlete. See vi. 7. 1 *sq.* Boeckh has made it probable that her name was Pherenice, not Callipatira (*Explic. Pindar.* p. 166). For Diagoras, as we learn from Pausanias (*l.c.*), had two daughters, Callipatira and another whose name Pausanias does not mention. Callipatira had a son Eucles who was victorious among the men, and her sister had a son Pisirodus, who was victorious among the boys. The name of this sister, the mother of Pisirodus, was probably Pherenice, for Pausanias himself in the present passage admits that she was so called by some people, and Pherenice is the name given her by Philostratus (*De arte gymnastica*, 17), Aelian (*Var. Hist.* x. 1), Valerius Maximus (viii. 15. 12, ext. 4), and Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* vii. 133). (In Pliny and Valerius Maximus the name appears as Berenice, but this is no doubt a copyist's mistake for Pherenice.) A scholiast on Pindar (*Olymp.* vii. Introd. p. 158, ed. Boeckh), however, calls her Callipatira. Valerius Maximus (*l.c.*) calls Pherenice's (Berenice's) son Eucles instead of Pisirodus. Cp. [Aeschines,] *Epist.* iv. 5, who does not, however, mention the names of the mother and son.

7. 1. **On reaching Olympia** etc. Olympia lies on the right or north bank of the Alpheus, where the river meanders westward through a spacious valley (about seven miles long by one mile broad), enclosed by low wooded hills of soft and rounded forms, beyond which appear on the eastern horizon the loftier mountains of Arcadia. The soil of the valley, being alluvial, is fertile; cornfields and vineyards stretch away in all directions. The whole aspect of the scene, without being grand or impressive, is rich, peaceful, and pleasing. The bed of the Alpheus is wide; but in summer the water is scanty and is divided into several streams running over a broad gravelly bed. The sacred precinct or Altis of Olympia lies between the river on the south and a low but steep

hill, thickly wooded with pine-trees and shrubs, which rises on the north. This wooded hill is the ancient Mount Cronius. Immediately to the west of the precinct the Cladeus flows between steep sandy banks into the Alpheus from the north.

Cp. Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 23 *sqq.*; Mure, *Journal*, 2. p. 280 *sq.*; Curtius und Adler, *Olympia und Umgegend*, p. 4 *sq.*; Bötticher, *Olympia*,[2] p. 21 *sqq.*; Flasch, 'Olympia' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1053 *sqq.*; *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. p. 1. On the history of Olympia see E. Curtius, 'Die Achäer in Olympia,' *Jahrbuch d. arch. Inst.* 9 (1894), Archäologischer Anzeiger, pp. 40-43; *id.*, 'Studien zur Geschichte von Olympia,' *Abhandlungen* of the Prussian Academy (Berlin), 1894, pp. 1095-1114; *id.*, 'Olympia in hellenistischer Zeit,' *Jahrbuch d. arch. Inst.* 10 (1895), Archäologischer Anzeiger, pp. 16-20.

7. 2. **Arethusa.** Cp. vii. 24. 3; viii. 54. 3. It was said that on the days when the guts of the sacrificed victims were thrown into the Alpheus at Olympia, the spring Arethusa at Syracuse grew turbid. Another story was that a cup thrown into the Alpheus reappeared in Arethusa. See Antigonus, *Histor. Mirab.* 140 (155); Strabo, vi. p. 270; Seneca, *Natur. Quaest.* iii. 26. 5. A painting found in the baths of Trajan represents Alpheus rejoining Arethusa (*Monumenti Inediti*, 1839, tav. ix.)

7. 5. **living creatures float on its surface without swimming** etc. "While the water of the ocean contains from 4 to 6 per cent of solids in solution, the Dead Sea holds from 24 to 26 per cent., or five times as much. The water is very nauseous to the taste and oily to the touch, leaving on the skin, when it dries, a thick crust of salt. But it is very brilliant. Seen from far away no lake on earth looks more blue and beautiful. Swim out upon it, and at a depth of 20 feet you can count the pebbles through the transparent waters. The buoyancy of the Dead Sea is well known; it is difficult to sink the limbs deep enough for swimming; if you throw a stick on the surface, it seems to rest there as on a mirror, so little of it actually penetrates the water. . . . No fish can exist in the waters, nor is it proved that any low forms of life have been discovered" (G. A. Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, p. 501 *sq.*)

7. 6. **Cronus —— a temple was made for him at Olympia** etc. In this legend and in the name of Mount Cronius (Paus. vi. 20. 1) Prof. Curtius sees reminiscences of a Cretan settlement at Olympia (*Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1894, p. 42).

7. 6. **the Golden Race.** On the classical fables of the Golden Age see L. Preller, *Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, p. 196 *sqq.*; E. Graf, 'Ad aureae aetatis fabularum symbola,' *Leipziger Studien zur classischen Philologie*, 8 (1885), pp. 1-84. Other peoples beside the Greeks have had their legends of a Golden Age. The Delaware Indians of North America held "that the pristine age was one of unalloyed prosperity, peace and happiness, an Age of Gold, a Saturnian Reign. Their legends asseverated that at that time 'the killing of a man was unknown, neither had there been any instances of their dying before they had attained to that age which causes the hair to become white, the eyes dim, and the teeth to be worn away.' This happy time was brought to a close by the

advent of certain evil beings who taught men how to kill each other by sorcery" (D. G. Brinton, *The Lenâpé and their legends*, p. 135 *sq.*) The people of Mangaia in the South Pacific have a tradition that the Golden Age fell in the earlier part of the reign of Mangi, when death, war, famine, sickness, and pain were unknown (W. W. Gill, *Myths and Songs of the South Pacific*, p. 282 *sq.*) Cp. Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States*, 3. p. 274.

7. 6. **the Idaean Dactyls.** See Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, p. 1156 *sqq.* The discovery of iron was attributed to them; they are said to have found it on Mount Ida (*Marmor Parium*, line 22).

7. 6. **Ida in Crete.** The cave of Zeus on Mount Ida in Crete was discovered, or rather identified, by accident in 1884. Excavations have yielded a large number of objects of ancient art, bronze shields, statuettes, objects in ivory, amber, rock crystal, terra-cottas, etc. See *Museo Italiano di antichità classica*, 2 (1888), pp. 689-904; *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 10 (1885), pp. 59-72, 280 *sq.*; *American Journal of Archaeology*, 4 (1888), pp. 431-449.

7. 7. **the wild olive was brought —— from the land of the Hyperboreans.** This tradition is mentioned by Pindar (*Ol.* iii. 24 *sqq.*), except that he calls the tree an olive (*elaia*), not a wild olive (*kotinos*). The Athenians, however, apparently had a tradition that the olive which Hercules planted at Olympia was a shoot obtained by him from a certain sacred olive-tree which grew at Athens beside the Ilissus and was fenced in by a wall, a heavy penalty being denounced against any one who should touch it ([Aristotle,] *Mirab. Auscult.* 51; Schol. on Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 586; Suidas, *s.v.* κοτίνου στεφάνῳ). A different legend is recorded by Phlegon in a fragment which has been preserved of his Olympic chronicle. He says that for the first five Olympiads no crown was awarded to the victors. King Iphitus was then bidden by an oracle to crown the victors with wreaths of wild olive made from a tree which was encased in spiders' webs. He found a tree answering to this description in the sacred precinct at Olympia, and he enclosed it with a wall. From this tree the victors' crowns were made. The first who won the crown was Daïcles, a Messenian, in the seventh Olympiad. See *Fragm. histor. Graec.* ed. Müller, 3. p. 604. As to the olive-tree from which in historical times the victors' crowns were made, see v. 15. 3 note.

7. 8. **Opis and Hecaerge.** See i. 43. 4 note.

7. 9. **Aristaeus of Proconnesus.** See Herodotus, iv. 13.

7. 9. **The Idaean Hercules is therefore reputed to have been the first to arrange the games** etc. It was a common tradition that Hercules had founded the Olympic games; but opinions were divided as to whether the Hercules who founded them was the Idaean Hercules or the more famous hero of that name, the son of Zeus and Alcmena. See Strabo, viii. p. 354 *sq.*; Pindar, *Ol.* ii. 4 *sqq.*, vi. 114 *sqq.*, xi. 70 *sqq.*; Diodorus, iv. 14, v. 64; Eusebius, *Chronic.* vol. 1. p. 192, ed. Schöne; Lysias, *Or.* xxxiii. 1; Polybius, xii. 26; Apollodorus, ii. 7. 2; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 25; Helladius, in Photius, *Bibliotheca*, p. 533 b, ed. Bekker; Statius, *Theb.* vi. 5 *sqq.*; Solinus, i. 27, ed. Mommsen; Hyginus, *Fab.*

273. According to Pindar (*ll.cc.*, with the schol. on *Ol.* ii. 2, 5, 7) Hercules instituted the games in honour of Zeus out of the spoils which he had taken at the conquest of Elis (cp. Paus. v. 3. 1). But according to another tradition he established them in honour of Pelops (Statius, Solinus, Hyginus, *ll.cc.*; Clement of Alex. *Strom.* i. 21. 137, p. 401 ed. Potter). As to the traditionary connexion of Hercules with Olympia, see E. Curtius, in *Abhandlungen* of the Prussian Academy (Berlin), 1894, p. 1098 *sq.*; Busolt, *Griech. Geschichte*,[2] 1. p. 240 *sq.* As to the legends of the foundation and early history of the Olympian games, see J. H. Krause, *Olympia*, p. 26 *sqq.*

7. 10. **the flutes play —— while the competitors in the pentathlum are leaping.** Cp. v. 17. 10; vi. 14. 10; Plutarch, *De musica*, 26. Philostratus says that leaping was thought a very difficult contest, and that hence the flutes played to stimulate the athletes (*De arte gymnastica*, 55). In the Argive games held in honour of Strong Zeus (cp. ii. 32. 7; ii. 34. 6) the wrestlers wrestled to the music of the flute (Plutarch, *l.c.*)

8. 1. **afterwards Clymenus —— held the games** etc. According to another tradition, the persons who celebrated the Olympian games between the time of their first institution and their celebration by Hercules, the son of Alcmena, were Aethlius, Epion son of Aethlius, Endymion, Oenomaus, and Pelops. See Eusebius, *Chronic.* vol. 1. p. 191, ed. Schöne. As to Clymenus, cp. vi. 21. 6.

8. 2. **Pelops.** The legendary connexion of Olympia with Asia Minor (see v. 1. 6 etc.) has been confirmed by the excavations at Olympia. For "the closest analogies of old Phrygian art are to be found in the earliest bronze work in Olympia, Italy, and the northern lands" (Prof. W. M. Ramsay, article 'Phrygia,' *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 9th ed. xviii. p. 850 note). On the bronzes found at Olympia, especially in and near the Pelopium, see notes on v. 13. 1; v. 14. 8.

8. 3. **Homer represents Menelaus as driving a pair** etc. See *Il.* xxiii. 293 *sqq.*

8. 4. **Hercules himself won the prizes for wrestling and the pancratium.** See v. 21. 10 note.

8. 5. **Oxylus, who also held the games.** As to Oxylus, the Aetolian, see v. 3. 6 *sq.* Strabo says, on the authority of Ephorus, that the charge of the Olympic sanctuary had been in the hands of the Achaeans until it was taken over from them by the Aetolians under Oxylus (Strabo, viii. p. 357). Prof. Curtius has collected what he believes to be evidence of the possession of Olympia by the Achaeans at a very early date. Amongst the facts to which he appeals are the sanctuary of Pelops at Olympia (Paus. v. 13. 1) and the tradition of the settlement of Agorius and his Achaeans (Paus. v. 4. 3). See *Jahrbuch d. archäol. Instituts*, 9 (1894), Archäologischer Anzeiger, pp. 40-43.

8. 5. **Iphitus renewed the games, as I have said before.** See v. 4. 5 *sq.*, with the note. According to Velleius Paterculus (i. 8, ed. Halm) the renewal of the Olympic games by Iphitus took place 823 years before the consulship of M. Vinicius (30 A.D.), *i.e.* in 793 B.C.

According to Solinus (i. 28, ed. Mommsen) it took place 408 years after the capture of Troy. Cp. Eusebius, *Chronic.* vol. 1. p. 193, ed. Schöne; Strabo, viii. p. 358.

8. 6. **the point at which the unbroken tradition of the Olympiads begins.** This, according to the received chronology, was 776 B.C. But see note on v. 4. 6, 'the ancient writings of the Eleans.'

8. 6. **there were at first prizes for the foot-race.** *I.e.* the foot-race was at first the only competition. Cp. iv. 4. 5; viii. 26. 4. Pausanias's statement is confirmed by Plutarch (*Quaest. Conviv.* v. 2. 12), Philostratus (*De arte gymnastica*, 12), and Eusebius (*Chronic.* vol. 1. p. 193, ed. Schöne), the two latter of whom agree with Pausanias as to the date (Ol. 14, *i.e.* 724 B.C.) when a second competition—the double foot-race—was added.

8. 6. **Coroebus.** See viii. 26. 3. That Coroebus of Elis won the foot-race in the first Olympiad is stated also by Eusebius (*Chron.* vol. 1. p. 194, ed. Schöne), whose history of the institution of the various Olympic contests and the names of the victors agrees with that of Pausanias except in a few particulars noted below. The same may be said of the history of the Olympic contests given by Philostratus (*De arte gymnastica*, 12 *sq.*), though it is not so full as that of Pausanias. All three writers doubtless drew their information from the Olympic registers, as to which see v. 4. 6 note.

8. 6. **And in the next —— Acanthus.** Eusebius tells us (*l.c.*) that in the fifteenth Olympiad (720 B.C.) the long foot-race (*dolichos*) was added, and that the victor in it was Acanthus, a Laconian. Philostratus says that after the fourteenth Olympiad (by which he probably means in the fifteenth Olympiad) the long race was introduced, and the victor was a Spartan, Acanthus (*De arte gymnastica*, 12). Pausanias probably made the same statement in the present passage, but there is a gap in the text. That the Lacedaemonian Acanthus was victorious in the fifteenth Olympiad is mentioned also by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Antiquit. Rom.* vii. 72).

8. 7. **Eurybatus.** According to some he was a Lusian (Philostratus, *De arte gymnastica*, 12). Eusebius agrees with Pausanias in calling him a Laconian. As to Lusi see viii. 18. 7 *sq.*

8. 7. **Smyrna, which was by that time included in Ionia.** Aug. Fick (*Die homerische Odyssee in ihrer ursprünglichen Sprachform*, p. 26) thinks that the forced accession of Smyrna to the Ionian confederacy must have taken place at the beginning of the reign of Gyges, king of Lydia (720-682 B.C.), since the Ionians were hard pressed by him. Smyrna was the first city of Ionia that could boast of an Olympic victor (Philostratus, *De arte gymnastica*, 12).

8. 7. **Pagondas.** In the Greek text of Eusebius (*Chron.* vol. 1. p. 196, ed. Schöne) this man is called Pagon: in the Armenian version of Eusebius he is named Paoron.

8. 8. **Eight Olympiads afterwards.** That is, in the thirty-third Olympiad, as we know from Philostratus (*De arte gymnastica*, 12) and Eusebius (*Chron.* vol. 1. p. 198, ed. Schöne), who says that the horse-race was won by Craxilas, a Thessalian.

8. 8. **Whether Lygdamis was as big** etc. It is said that his foot was a cubit long (Philostratus, *De arte gymnastica*, 12).

8. 9. **Prizes for boys in running** etc. According to Philostratus (*De arte gymnastica*, 13) the race for boys was introduced in Ol. 46 (596 B.C.), when Polymestor the Milesian was victorious. But this seems to be a mistake; for Eusebius agrees with Pausanias as to the date of the introduction of the race and the name of the first victor, while he also records the victory of Polymestor (Polymnestor) in Ol. 46.

8. 9. **Hipposthenes, a Lacedaemonian.** Cp. iii. 13. 9; iii. 15. 7. He also won the wrestling-match at Olympia in Ol. 39-43 (624, 620, 616, 614, 610 B.C.) (Eusebius, *Chronic.* vol. 1. p. 199, ed. Schöne).

8. 9. **In the forty-first Olympiad they introduced boxing for boys** etc. According to others, the boys' boxing-match was introduced in Ol. 60 (540 B.C.), and the first winner was Creon of Ceos (Philostratus, *De arte gymnastica*, 13). But Eusebius agrees with Pausanias; and Philostratus himself only mentions the other account as an alternative to the one supported by Pausanias and Eusebius.

8. 9. **Philetas.** Eusebius calls him Philotas (*Chron.* vol. 1. p. 200, ed. Schöne). Philostratus agrees with Pausanias in calling him Philetas (*De arte gymnastica*, 13).

8. 10. **The race between armed men.** This race was sometimes, if not always, a double race, *i.e.* the runners had to traverse the racecourse twice, first in one direction and then in the other. See Paus. ii. 11. 8, x. 34. 5; Aristophanes, *Birds*, 291 *sq.*, with the Scholium; Pollux, iii. 151; J. H. Krause, *Gymnastik und Agonistik der Hellenen*, 1. p. 355 note. As to the mode in which the race was run, see Fr. Hauser, in *Jahrbuch d. arch. Inst.* 2 (1887), p. 103 *sqq.*; *ib.* 10 (1895), p. 200 *sq.*

8. 10. **The race called synoris —— was instituted** etc. The same statement is made by Xenophon, who also agrees with Pausanias as to the victor's name and country (*Hellenica*, i. 2. 1).

8. 10. **Sybariades.** Eusebius calls him Eurybatus (*Chron.* vol. 1. p. 206, ed Schöne).

8. 11. **a woman Belistiche, from the coast of Macedonia.** In the Armenian version of Eusebius (*Chron.* vol. 1. p. 207, ed. Schöne) the name of the victor is given as Philistiakhus Maketi, *i.e.* Philistiachus, son of Macetus: in the Greek text of Eusebius the mention of the institution of the race and the name of the first victor are wanting. The Armenian version agrees with Pausanias in placing the institution of the race in Ol. 129 (264 B.C.)

8. 11. **Tleptolemus, a Lycian.** The name of the first victor in the race ridden on colts is given in the Armenian version of Eusebius as Hippocrates, son of Thesalus (*Chron.* vol. 1. p. 207, ed. Schöne): in the Greek text of Eusebius the mention of the institution of this race has dropped out, together with the name of the first victor.

8. 11. **Phaedimus, an Aeolian, from the city of Troas.** Eusebius calls him an Alexandrian (*Chron.* vol. 1. p. 210, ed. Schöne), meaning that he was a native of Alexandria Troas.

9. 1. **abolished by proclamation in the eighty-fourth Olympiad.**

A scholiast on Pindar (*Olymp.* v. Inscr.) assigns the same date (= 444 B.C.) for the abolition of the mule-cart race (if we accept Boeckh's correction πδ′ for οδ′). But on verses 6 and 19 of the same ode a scholiast mentions the 85th Olympiad as the date of the abolition; and again a scholiast on Pindar (*Olymp.* vi. Inscr.) mentions the 85th or 86th Olympiad as the date. The former date may be reconciled with the one mentioned by Pausanias, as Bentley has pointed out, "for if it was cried by the publick crier at Olymp. lxxxiv, that thenceforward there should be no more races with mules; then the first time that it *was left off* was Olymp. lxxxv." (*Dissertations upon the epistles of Phalaris*, p. 200, ed. W. Wagner).

9. 2. **the Mounters.** They seem to have been more commonly called the Dismounters (*apobatai*). They raced at the Panathenian festival at Athens. See Plutarch, *Phocion*, 20; Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, p. 426 *sq.* For a relief representing one of these men leaping from a four-horse chariot, see *Bulletin de Corresp. Hellénique*, 7 (1883), pp. 458-462, plate xvii.

9. 2. **an ancient curse** etc. See v. 5. 2.

9. 3. **The present order of the games** etc. From the present passage of Pausanias we gather that down to the seventy-seventh Olympiad (472 B.C.) all the contests took place on one day. In later times the festival lasted five days (Schol. on Pindar, *Olymp.* v. 8; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 41). The order in which the various contests came on has been much discussed, but the evidence seems too defective to enable us to decide the question fully. However, a few facts are fairly certain. Thus the long race, the short race, and the double race appear to have been run on the same day in the order mentioned (Paus. vi. 13. 3 note). The wrestling, boxing, and pancratium also took place in one day and in the order mentioned, though on one occasion at least the pancratium preceded the boxing (Paus. vi. 15. 3-5 note). Further, the chariot-races were followed on the same day by the pentathlum, and in the pentathlum the first contest was the race, and the second was the wrestling (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, vii. 4. 29). The race between armed men was the last of the contests (Artemidorus, *Oniricr.* i. 63). At Olympia all the contests for boys seem to have preceded the contests for men; whereas at other places the two sets of contests alternated, the boys' wrestling-match being followed by the men's wrestling-match, the boys' boxing-match by the men's boxing-match, and so on (Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* ii. 5. 1). See Boeckh, *Explic. Pindar.* p. 148; L. Dissen's Excursus I. to Pindar (vol. 1. pp. 263-272 of his edition); J. H. Krause, *Olympia*, p. 97 *sqq.*; A. E. J. Holwerda, 'Olympische Studien,' *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 38 (1880), pp. 169-171.

With regard to the time of year at which the Olympic festival was celebrated, it has generally been held that the celebration took place on the first full moon after the summer solstice, which on an average would be July 1st. But recent investigators seem to agree that the festival should be placed somewhat later in the year. Prof. G. F. Unger maintains that it fell on the second full moon after the

summer solstice, and hence in August or the last days of July. See his article, 'Der Olympienmonat,' in *Philologus*, 33 (1874), pp. 227-248; and his 'Zeitrechnung der Griechen und Römer,' in Iwan Müller's *Handbuch der klassischen Altertums-wissenschaft*, vol. 1. p. 603 *sq*. Prof. H. Nissen argues that in the odd Olympiads the festival began on the full moon in August, but that in the even Olympiads it began on the full moon of September. See *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. 40 (1885), p. 349 *sqq*. More recently the question has been again discussed by Mr. August Mommsen in a dissertation *Ueber die Zeit der Olympien* (Leipzig, 1891). He inclines to the newer view, with modifications.

The last celebration of the Olympic games took place in 393 A.D., after which the games were stopped by order of the Emperor Theodosius. The last Olympic victor known to history was an Armenian knight named Varaztad or Ardavazt, a man of giant strength. See Cedrenus, *Histor. Compend.* vol. 1. p. 573, ed. Bekker; Moïse de Khorène, *Hist. d'Arménie*, iii. 40, vol. 2. p. 97, ed. de Florival; Hertzberg, *Geschichte Griechenlands unter der Herrschaft der Römer*, 3. p. 377 *sq*.

9. 3. **the sacrifices for the pentathlum** etc. This passage of Pausanias has been a good deal discussed in connexion with the question whether the great public sacrifices were offered before or after the games. But the passage is too corrupt, and the other evidence too defective, to allow of a definite solution of the question. See Krause, *Olympia*, p. 83 *sqq*. Various proposals have been made to emend the present passage. See Critical Note, vol. 1. p. 584. As to the pentathlum see note on iii. 11. 6.

9. 4. **in the fiftieth Olympiad two men —— were entrusted** etc. This is plainly at variance with what follows in the next section; hence the text in one or other of the passages is probably corrupt. Perhaps the most probable correction proposed is to read ἑβδομηκοστῇ for εἰκοστῇ in § 5. The translation of that passage would then be: "But in the seventy-fifth Olympiad nine umpires were appointed." See H. Förster, *De hellanodicis Olympicis*, p. 20 *sqq*.; and Critical Note, vol. 1. p. 584. Aristotle in his *Constitution of Elis*, as reported by Harpocration (*s.v.* Ἑλλανοδίκαι), stated that the Eleans appointed at first one umpire, afterwards two, and afterwards nine. According to Hellanicus and Aristodemus the Elean, there were at first two umpires and finally ten, one being taken from each of the ten Elean tribes (Schol. on Pindar, *Olymp.* iii. 22; Harpocration, *l.c.*) Philostratus, who was nearly a contemporary of Pausanias, says that the number of umpires was ten (*Vit. Apollon.* iii. 30), which agrees with Pausanias's statement as to the number in his own time. See J. H. Krause, *Olympia*, p. 124 *sqq*.; H. Förster, *De hellanodicis Olympicis* (Leipsic, 1879).

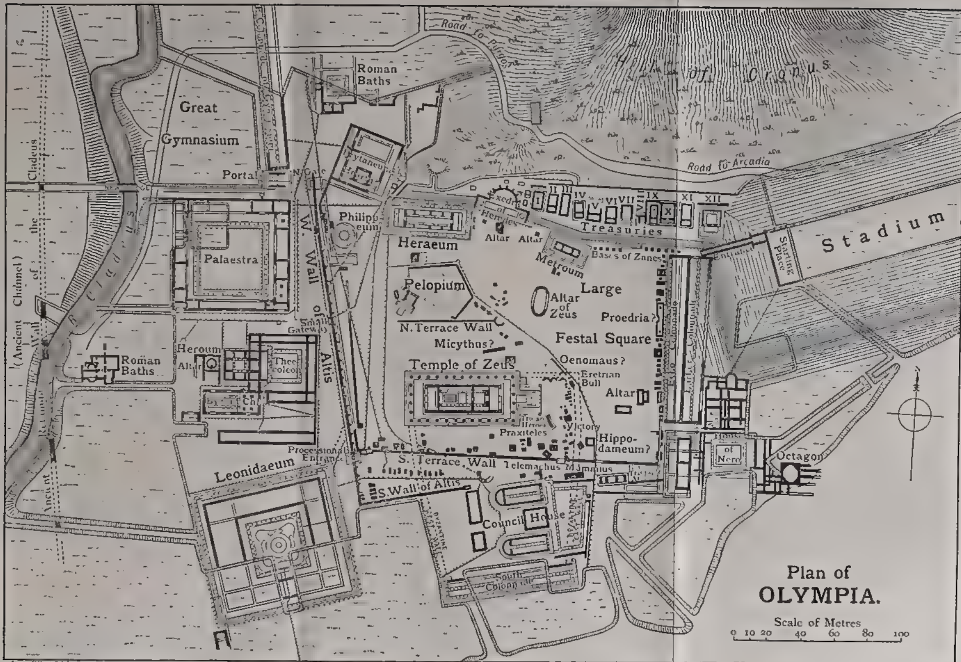
10. 1. **the sacred grove (alsos) of Zeus has been called Altis** etc. Pausanias's explanation of the name Altis as only another form of the Greek word *alsos* ('sacred grove') seems to be correct. See G. Curtius, *Griechische Etymologie*,[5] p. 356. Pindar speaks of the sacred precinct

as "the hospitable grove (*alsos*) of Zeus" (*Olymp.* iii. 31 *sq.*), "Pisa's well-wooded grove beside the Alpheus" (*Ol.* viii. 11), "the holy grove" (*Ol.* xi. 54). He also calls the precinct by the name of Altis, and attributes its formation to Hercules (*Ol.* xi. 55 *sq.*) Xenophon says that the Cladeus "flows down beside the Altis and falls into the Alpheus" (*Hellenica*, vii. 4. 29). According to Strabo (viii. p. 353) the stadium at Olympia was in a grove of wild olives down to his own time.

The first scholar in modern times who called attention to the wealth of ancient monuments which excavations might bring to light at Olympia was Montfaucon; and after him Winckelmann conceived the plan, which he did not live to execute, of systematically exploring the site (A. Bötticher, *Olympia*,[2] p. 51 *sqq.*; Flasch. 'Olympia,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1061 *sq.*) The first modern traveller who visited Olympia was the Englishman Chandler; he made his way thither in the summer of 1766, and saw "the walls of the cell of a very large temple, standing many feet high and well-built, the stones all uninjured" (*Travels in Greece*, p. 294). The temple of which he speaks was probably the temple of Zeus. It was not, however, until 1829 that excavations were actually made on the site. In that year the archaeologists of the French *Expédition de Morée* worked for six weeks at the temple of Zeus and cleared it sufficiently to make out the plan and approximate dimensions of the building. They also found some pieces of the sculptures which had adorned the temple, particularly fragments of three of the sculptured metopes. One of these fragments exhibits the Nemean lion slain by Hercules; another a sitting figure of Athena (part of the metope which represented Hercules's adventure with the Stymphalian birds); and the third, the best preserved of all, shows Hercules in the act of taming the Cretan bull. (As to these sculptured metopes see below, p. 523 *sqq.*) All the sculptures discovered by the French are now in the Louvre. See Blouet, *Expédition Scientifique de Morée: Architecture*, 1. pp. 56-72, with pl. 62-78; E. Michon, 'Les sculptures d'Olympie conservées au Louvre,' *Revue archéologique*, 3me Série, 27 (1895), pp. 78-109, 150-181.

In the years 1875-1881 the whole of the Altis, together with many adjacent buildings, was excavated by German archaeologists at the cost of the German Government. This great work, carried out with a skill and fidelity which left nothing to be desired, has been fruitful in results, which are still in course of publication. Its initiation and successful completion are due mainly to the zeal and energy of Prof. Ernst Curtius, who roused the interest and secured the concurrence of the Emperor and Crown Prince of Germany in the undertaking. By the terms of the agreement between the Greek and German Governments, the cost of the enterprise was borne entirely by Germany, while Greece acquired possession of all the objects brought to light by the excavations. The soil had accumulated over the ancient buildings to an average depth of 16 or 17 feet; the expense of clearing it away amounted to about £40,000. The work was directed mainly from Berlin by Prof. Ernst Curtius, the architect Dr. Adler, and a member of the Foreign Office, while the conduct of the excavations on the spot was entrusted to a

Plate VIII.



after Dörpfeld.

Walker & Boutall sc.

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varying commission of archaeologists and architects, among whom may be particularly mentioned G. Hirschfeld, Ad. Bötticher, Professors Treu, Furtwängler, and Dörpfeld, Dr. Weil, Dr. Purgold, and the architects Bohn, Borrmann, Graef and Graeber. The results of their labours are described in three great works, namely: (1) *Die Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, 5 vols. (Berlin, 1876-1881); (2) *Die Funde von Olympia*, 1 vol. (Berlin, 1882); (3) *Olympia: die Ergebnisse der von dem deutschen Reich veranstalteten Ausgrabung*, to be completed in four volumes of plates and five volumes of letterpress. Of this last work, forming the definitive publication of the results, four volumes of plates and four volumes of letterpress have up to the present (May 1896) been published; they deal respectively with the architecture, the sculpture, the bronzes, and the inscriptions. More popular accounts are given in the following works: Curtius und Adler, *Olympia und Umgegend*, with two maps and a plan drawn by Kaupert and Dörpfeld (Berlin, 1882); Ad. Bötticher, *Olympia: Das Fest und seine Stätte*[2] (Berlin, 1886); A. Flasch, 'Olympia,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, pp. 1053-1104 PP; Baedeker's *Griechenland*,[3] pp. 333-355 (the substance of this account was supplied by Drs. Dörpfeld and Purgold); *Guide-Joanne*, 2. pp. 333-362. A clear summary of the results is furnished by Prof. Jebb in his article 'Olympia,' in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 9th ed.

The sacred precinct or Altis appears to have formed a quadrilateral of about 200 metres (750 feet) long from east to west, by 175 metres (570 feet) broad from north to south. Its boundary on the north is not known, but probably it was formed by Mount Cronius. On the other three sides (west, south, and east) the precinct was bounded by a wall, the greater part of which can still be traced. On the east side the boundary-wall extends behind the Echo Colonnade, and serves at the same time as the supporting-wall of the stadium. On the west side remains of two walls can be seen extending parallel to, and within a short distance of each other, for a long way. The inner of these two walls is the earlier, and dates from the Greek period; like the east wall it is built of squared blocks of conglomerate without mortar. The outer of the two western walls is built of squared blocks of conglomerate and is supported by buttresses on the inside; it is standing to a height of more than three feet. Formerly this outer wall was supposed to have been built in the Macedonian age; but the subsequent discovery of tiles, mortar, and the masonry called *opus incertum* in the construction of the wall has proved that it is of Roman date. The wall on the south side of the Altis is also Roman. Originally, the southern boundary-wall seems to have been further to the north, on the line of the South Terrace Wall, as it is designated on the plans of Olympia. Thus we learn that in Roman times the Altis was enlarged on the south. Dr. Dörpfeld conjectures that this enlargement and the consequent construction of the existing south wall were works of the emperor Nero, who is known to have converted the building at the south-east corner of the Altis into a palace (see below, p. 575). A confirmation of this view, Dr. Dörpfeld thinks, is to be found in the fact that in these Roman walls of the Altis as well as in the Roman gateways are built many fragments of older

buildings and many bases of statues. These fragments, in Dr. Dörpfeld's opinion, may very well be the remains of buildings destroyed by Nero when he was building his palace, and these bases may be the pedestals of the many statues which he carried off from Olympia; for it was the emperor's interest not to leave the vacant pedestals long standing as silent but eloquent witnesses of the ravages which he had perpetrated in the sacred precinct.

The older wall of the Altis, which may be seen especially on the west, appears in many places to have been only a low enclosure, not a high boundary-wall. Hence Dr. Dörpfeld suggests that perhaps the precinct was not fully enclosed until the Roman period. With this view would accord very well the fact that though great pieces of the old wall of the Altis are preserved, no trace of a gateway older than the Roman period has been found. The existing gateways are all of Roman construction. Of these gateways there are three in the west wall and one in the south wall, not counting the entrance into the Council House on the south and the vaulted entrance into the stadium on the north-east. In the west wall the two chief gates are at the north-west and south-west ends respectively. Their plan and dimensions are exactly the same; each consisted of three openings in the wall with a portico on the outside supported by four columns (see below, note on v. 15. 2). The gateway in the middle of the west wall was a simple passage. On the other hand, the gateway in the south wall, near its eastern end, was the most spacious and stately of all. From the scanty existing remains, it appears to have had the form of a Roman triumphal arch of Corinthian style with three openings; and to have been built to some extent, like the later Altis wall, out of the materials of older buildings and the bases of statues. This imposing gate must certainly have been built with the intention of serving as the grand entrance by which processions were to pass into the Altis. Yet in the time of Pausanias it would appear that processions entered the sacred precinct, not by this triumphal gateway, but by the simpler gate at the south-west corner of the Altis (see v. 15. 2 note). Hence Dr. Dörpfeld suggests that the grand gateway at the south-east corner was built by Nero as a new processional entrance, but that after Nero's death the Eleans abandoned the innovation imposed by the tyrant and reverted to the older usage of introducing processions by the south-western gate.

See Curtius und Adler, *Olympia und Umgegend*, pp. 19 *sq.*, 21, 25; Ad. Bötticher, *Olympia*,[2] pp. 51 *sqq.*, 163 *sq.*, 400; Flasch, 'Olympia,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1061 *sqq.*; Baedeker,[3] pp. 338, 346, 348; W. Dörpfeld, 'Die Altismauer in Olympia,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 13 (1888), pp. 327-336; *id.*, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. p. 61 *sq.*; *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Tafelband 1. pl. xlv.

10. 1. **Pindar —— calls the place Altis.** See Pindar, *Ol.* xi. 55.

10. 2. **The temple and image of Zeus were made from the booty** etc. Pisa was conquered and destroyed by Elis about 570 B.C. But it is quite certain that the temple of Zeus was not built till at least a century later. We must, therefore, suppose either that the Eleans kept the booty for a century before expending it in the erection of the

temple, which seems scarcely credible; or that the conquest to which Pausanias refers must be a later one. Now Herodotus tells us (iv. 148) that in his lifetime the Eleans laid waste most of the Triphylian towns; and Strabo (viii. p. 355), apparently referring to the same event, says that after the close of the third Messenian war the Eleans with the help of the Spartans reduced to subjection the whole country as far south as the borders of Messenia. The third Messenian war came to an end in 455 B.C.; hence, on this calculation, the temple of Zeus could not have been begun before that date. On the other hand, the Lacedaemonians hung on the eastern gable of the temple a golden shield in commemoration of their victory at Tanagra (see § 4) which was won in 457 B.C. We should therefore suppose that the temple was finished or nearly finished in that year.

Evidence as to the date of the building of the temple has been obtained by an examination of the site. The base of a votive offering of a certain Praxiteles (not the sculptor) and the base of a statue by Onatas (see v. 27. 8) were found *under* the rubbish which was heaped up in building the temple; and the base of the votive offerings of Smicythus (see v. 26. 2 *sqq.*) was found *above* the rubbish heap. Hence the rubbish heap must have been made (and the temple built either wholly or in part) *after* the votive offering of Praxiteles and the statue by Onatas were set up, and *before* the votive offerings of Smicythus. Now a variety of considerations, palaeographical and historical, combine to show that the bases of Praxiteles and Onatas cannot have been set up much before Ol. 75 (480 B.C.); and the votive offerings of Smicythus were certainly later than Ol. 78 (468 B.C.), and probably not later than Ol. 80 (460 B.C.), or at the latest Ol. 82 (452 B.C.) Hence we arrive at Ol. 75 and Ol. 82 as the extreme limits within which the temple was built. We may say, then, that it was built between the years 480 B.C. and 452 B.C. or (taking the last year of the 82nd Olympiad) 449 B.C. Dr. Dörpfeld holds that the limits can be narrowed still further, namely to between 468 and 456 B.C. See Furtwängler, *Die Bronzefunde aus Olympia*, p. 4 *sq.*; Ad. Bötticher, *Olympia*,[2] p. 254 *sq.*; Flasch, 'Olympia,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, pp. 1098-1100; G. Loeschcke, *Die westliche Giebelgruppe am Zeustempel zu Olympia*, p. 5 *sqq.*; L. Urlichs, *Bemerkungen über den olympischen Tempel und seine Bildwerke*, pp. 1-7, 28; W. Dörpfeld, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. p. 19 *sqq.*

10. 2. **The temple is built in the Doric style** etc. The temple of Zeus, the largest and most important of all the buildings at Olympia, stands not in the middle but in a corner (the south-west corner) of the sacred precinct. The reason of this is that at the time when the temple was built the rest of the precinct was already occupied by buildings and altars. Whether an older temple stood on the site of the existing temple is not known; at all events no remains of any such earlier temple have been found. The ground on which the temple stands has a slope towards the south. It is not a good site for building, and it was necessary to raise it artificially by made earth in order to give the temple the commanding position which it enjoys among the other

edifices of the sacred precinct. The foundations, which are preserved entire, are sunk only 1 metre deep in the original soil of the Altis. Their height, measured to the upper edge of the stylobate, is about 4 metres; so that they rose to an average height of about 3 metres above the original level of the ground. Round about the temple an artificial mound, composed of rubbish and earth, was raised so as to hide the foundations and to give the temple the appearance of standing on an eminence. The natural soil, deep down under the new surface which was thus created, was found to contain a multitude of small bronze objects which had been deposited here before the temple was built (see below, p. 502). The foundations do not form a single connected block of masonry, but consist of separate walls, which supported the upper walls and the rows of columns of the temple. Like the rest of the temple the foundations are built of great blocks of a coarse shell-conglomerate which Pausanias calls *poros* (see below). The spaces between the foundation-walls were filled with earth.

The temple rested, as usual, on three steps. These steps differ in height and breadth. The two lower steps are each .48 metre high; the top step or stylobate proper is .56 metre high. Correspondingly, the lower step is .48 metre broad; the upper is .56 metre. The stones of the steps are fastened together with ⊢⊣ shaped iron clamps.

The extreme length of the temple, measured on the lowest step, is 66.64 metres; its extreme breadth, also measured on the lowest step, is 30.20 metres. Measured on the stylobate, its length is 64.12 metres, and its breadth 27.68 metres. The stylobate is built of enormous blocks of stone, each of them about 2.60 metres square.

The temple was, as Pausanias says, of the Doric order and surrounded by a colonnade. This outer colonnade comprised six columns at each of the narrow ends, and thirteen columns on each of the long sides. It was thus a hexastyle temple of the normal pattern. The columns are constructed of the same coarse conglomerate as the foundations, but, like all the parts of the temple which were exposed to view, they were coated with a fine white marble stucco. The intervals between the columns, measured from axis to axis, was about 5.20 metres. But the intervals are rather greater at the gable ends than on the long sides, and on the other hand the intervals between the columns at the four corners are less than the intervals between the other columns. On account of their great size the columns were necessarily built of several superposed horizontal sections or drums, as they are called. The number of drums is not the same in all the columns. One column on the south side had fifteen of them. The drums were fastened together by wooden dowels. None of the columns is now standing entire; at the most one or two drums may be seen in their original position. On the south side of the temple some of the columns lie stretched on the ground, just as they were thrown down by earthquakes; their drums, however, have been severed from each other by the fall. The height of the columns was 10.43 metres. Each column had twenty flutes, that is, grooves or channels cut perpendicularly on its surface. The echinus of the capitals was somewhat flat, forming in

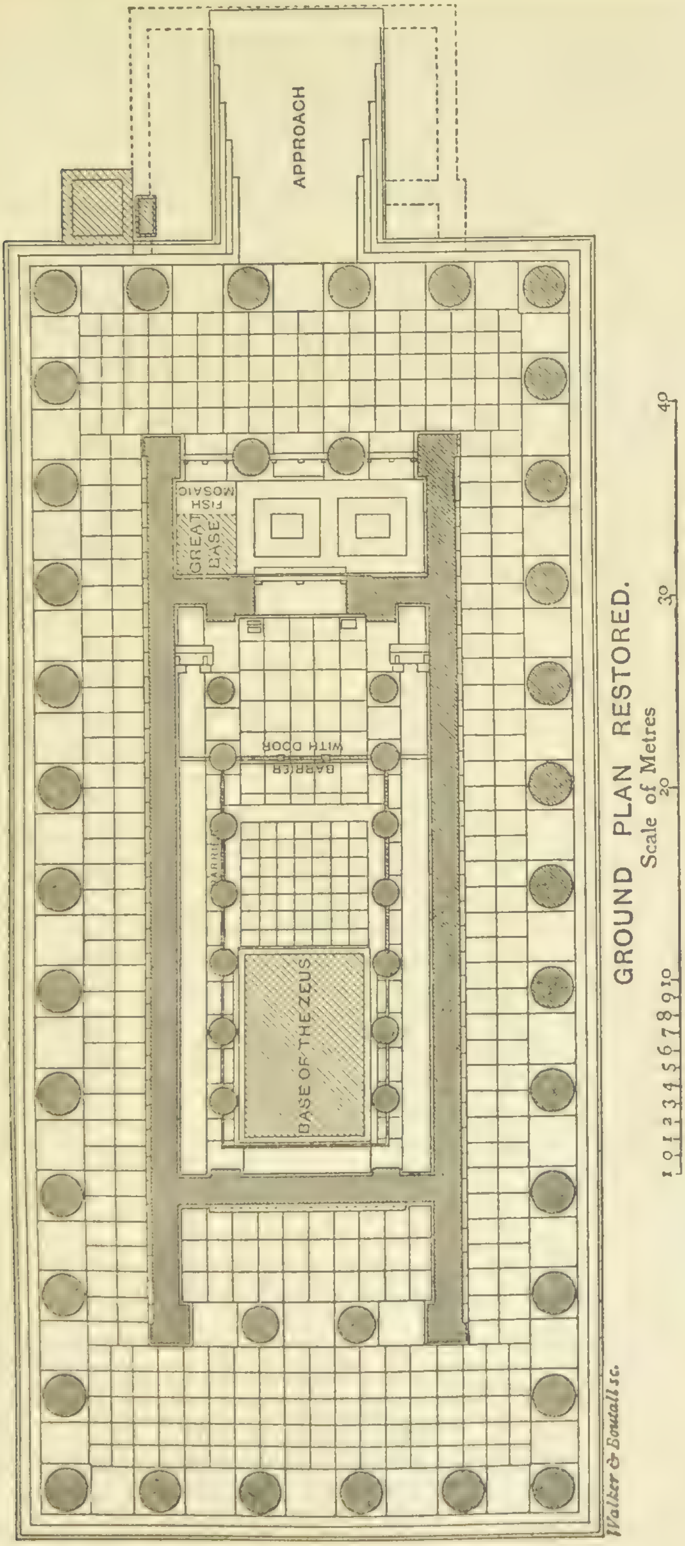


FIG. 57.—TEMPLE OF ZEUS AT OLYMPIA.

this respect an intermediate stage between the bulging capitals of the Heraeum at Olympia and the almost straight capitals of the Parthenon at Athens. The capitals which most nearly resemble them are those of the old Pre-Persian temple on the Acropolis at Athens and the temple at Aegina. The diameters of the columns vary somewhat. At the gable ends the lower diameter is 2.25 metres and the upper diameter 1.72 metres; on the long sides the lower diameter is 2.21 metres and the upper diameter 1.68 metres.

Fragments of all the members of the entablature lie scattered on the ground. The architrave, which was 2 metres broad and 1.75 to 1.77 metres high, was composed of three blocks placed side by side and fastened together with ⊢⊣ shaped iron clamps. The triglyphs and metopes are constructed of the same coarse conglomerate as the walls and columns; they were coated with white stucco but were not painted nor sculptured. The twenty-one shields dedicated by Mummius (Paus. v. 10. 5) were attached, not to the architrave, but to the metopes, as appears from the dowel-holes and other marks on the metopes. These marks prove that ten of the shields were fastened to the metopes of the east front and the remaining eleven to the most easterly of the metopes on the south side. Each shield seems to have measured 1.05 metres in diameter.

The *geison* projected .84 metre. It was quite plain, as in most old temples. The mutules have regularly 18 *guttae* apiece, which are generally carved out of the same block as the *geison*. The height of the gables was apparently 3.30 metres (*Olympia: Ergebnisse*. Textband 3. p. 116).

The temple was roofed with marble tiles, of which a great many have been preserved and are now collected at the Pelopium. These tiles are of various dates and of different marbles. The original tiles are of Parian or some other coarse-grained marble brought from the islands of the Aegean. Dr. Dörpfeld thinks that the marble is Parian. Dr. Lepsius is of opinion that it more resembles Naxian marble (Lepsius, *Griechische Marmorstudien*, p. 128). But a great part of the roof was in later times repaired and covered with tiles of Pentelic marble, of which many have been found. That these tiles of Pentelic marble are later than those of Parian marble is proved not only by the style of the workmanship but also by the masons' marks on some of them and by the different style of the lions' heads which projected from the *sima* or overhanging edge of the roof and served as water-spouts or gargoyles. Of these lion-heads the earlier and better carved are of Parian marble; the later and ruder are of Pentelic marble. From the very different styles of the existing lion-heads (thirty-nine of them survive out of an original total of 102) it appears that the roof, or at all events the *sima* with its water-spouts, was repaired at four different times, and that three of these repairs fell within the Roman period. The tiles with which the roof was covered are of two different shapes. One sort consists of large flat tiles with raised edges or flanges at two sides. These tiles were laid in rows side by side, and the raised edges of each contiguous pair of flat tiles were covered by a tile of the

other sort, shaped like a tiny gable-roof. In the lower face of each covering tile, at the upper end, were pegs which fitted into corresponding holes in the flat tiles, thus holding the tiles firmly together and preventing them from slipping.

The colonnade which surrounds the temple proper is broader at the east and west ends than on the long sides. At the east and west ends it is 6.22 metres broad, measured on the floor; on the long sides it is 3.24 metres broad. The colonnade is relatively broader than that of the Parthenon, but narrower than those of the Sicilian temples. Its floor is composed of large blocks of conglomerate, the upper surface of which is covered with a pavement formed of pebbles and mortar. The pebbles were not visible in the original pavement; nothing was seen on the top but the smooth surface of the mortar. In Roman times this simple pavement was replaced by a grand mosaic pavement formed of different coloured marbles, considerable portions of which have been found in the eastern part of the colonnade as well as in the fore-temple and the *cella*. The ceiling of the colonnade, like that of the temple proper, was of wood. Coffered ceilings of stone hardly occur at all in Olympia; the oldest building with a ceiling of this sort is the Philippeum (see v. 20. 9 note). A great many statues stood between the columns of the long south side. The marks which are still to be seen here on the pavement prove that the statues were of bronze and were placed immediately on the stylobate, without pedestals.

The outside of the temple was painted, for traces of colour have been detected on many of the architectural members. Thus red was found on the rings of the Doric capitals, on the upper part of the architrave, etc.; and blue was found on the triglyphs, on the *guttae* of the architrave, etc. Some painted decorations in the form of leaves and so on have been traced on the *geison* and *sima*.

A great ramp or inclined plane led up to the middle of the east front, forming the principal approach to the temple. Originally this ramp was no broader than the space between the central pair of columns; but in Roman times it was enlarged on both sides.

The dimensions of the temple given by Pausanias (height 68 feet, breadth 95 feet, length 230 feet) are tolerably correct, if we assume that the foot in which they are reckoned is the common Greek and Roman foot of .296 metre (see vol. 2. p. 13), and that in estimating the length of the temple Pausanias included the ramp at the east end. He probably put down the figures as he received them from his guides, who would be pretty sure, as Mr. A. Bötticher observes, to stretch the measures to the utmost in order to impress visitors with a sense of the grandeur of the temple. Converted into metres, his measurements are as follows: height of temple 20.13 metres (which, according to the best authority, Dr. Dörpfeld, is almost exact); breadth 28.12 metres (a little greater than the actual breadth of the stylobate measured on the top step, see above, p. 494); length 68.08 metres.

But from an examination of the buildings at Olympia, Dr. Dörpfeld deduces the conclusion that the foot employed in their construction was not the foot of .296, but a larger foot of .327 metre, which Dr.

Dörpfeld calls the Phidonian foot (cp. Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, 10). He points out that many important dimensions of the temple of Zeus, when reckoned in feet of .327 metre, are expressed in round numbers, thus:

	Phidonian feet.
Height of column	32
Intercolumniation on long sides . . .	16
Length of abacus of columns on long sides . .	8
Breadth of central aisle	20
Breadth of *cella* in interior	40
Breadth of *cella* on outside, with step . .	50
Depth of fore-temple and back-chamber . .	15

The same foot seems to have been employed in the construction of other buildings at Olympia; thus the Prytaneum, measured in feet of 0.327 metre, is exactly 100 feet square, and the Echo Colonnade is exactly 300 feet long. On the other hand, the Olympic foot of .321 metre (or, more exactly, .32045 metre; see note on vi. 20. 8) seems also to have been occasionally employed at Olympia: for the temple of Zeus is 200 Olympic feet long, and the length of the vaulted entry to the stadium is 100 Olympic feet. Dr. Dörpfeld suggests that the Olympic foot was a sacred measure, but that in practice the larger Phidonian foot was employed by architects and masons.

The temple proper (*naos*), in other words the core of the building, as distinguished from the colonnade which surrounded it, consisted of three compartments, a fore-temple (*pronaos*) at the east end, a great hall (*cella*) in the middle, and a back-chamber (*opisthodomos*) at the west end. It is raised on a low step above the level of the surrounding colonnade. Its length, measured on this step, is 46.84 metres, and its breadth 16.39 metres; this latter measure corresponds exactly to 50 Aeginetan feet. In size and plan the fore-temple and back-chamber are exactly alike; each had on its front two Doric columns between *antae*. The only difference between them was that the fore-temple was closed with doors, whereas the back-chamber was open to the public, and being furnished with a long stone bench served as a place of meeting and conversation (Lucian, *Herodotus*, 1; *id.*, *Fugitivi*, 7; *id.*, *De morte Peregrini*, 22).

The walls of the temple consisted, in their lowest part, of tall slabs set up edgeways, of which some are still in their original places. Above these slabs were laid courses of squared blocks of the common shape. Very few remains of these blocks have been found, but they suffice to show that the blocks were 1.28 metres long by 0.49 metre high.

The bronze doors which Pausanias mentions (v. 10. 5) have left their traces on the threshold of the fore-temple. There were three of these doors, a large one in the middle between the two central columns, and two smaller ones at the sides. Each door was double, that is, consisted of two folding pieces. Traces of the three thresholds can be

seen, each with its sockets in which the hinges revolved and the central bolt was shot.

Over the columns and *antae* of the fore-temple and back-chamber was a Doric entablature, consisting of an architrave, a triglyph frieze, and probably a cornice. The architrave and triglyph frieze were confined to the two short ends of the temple proper, but the cornice ran all round it. The triglyphs of the frieze are of the ordinary conglomerate stone (*poros*); but the metopes are of marble and are adorned with sculptures representing the deeds of Hercules, as Pausanias has described them (v. 10. 9 note). There were six of these sculptured metopes over the fore-temple, and the same number over the back-chamber. The way in which the metopes are fitted into the triglyphs (by means of a groove which does not reach to the top of the triglyph) proves that these sculptured metopes were made and inserted in their places at the time when the temple was built, and not at a later time. For since the groove in the triglyph into which the metope fitted is not carried up to the top of the triglyph block, the metope could only have been pushed into it from the side, not slipped down into it from above. This observation, which is due to Dr. Dörpfeld, is of some importance for the history of the temple-sculptures. (But might not the faces of the metopes have been sculptured after the blocks were fitted into their places?) The floor of the fore-temple contains the remains of a Greek mosaic, composed of rough round pebbles from the river imbedded in hard mortar and arranged so as to represent Tritons and Sirens within a border of palmettes and meandering lines. See Blouet, *Expéd. Scientif. de Morée: Architecture*, 1. pl. 63 and 64; *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. p. 180 *sq.*; *id.*, Tafelband 2. pl. cv. This mosaic is of special interest as being perhaps the only extant specimen of an ancient Greek pavement in a mosaic pattern. It is certainly later than the temple, but nevertheless dates from Greek not Roman times. It is now covered up in order to preserve it.

Of the great door which led into the *cella* or great central hall of the temple very few traces survive on the threshold, enough however to show that its breadth was about 5 metres. The *cella* itself measured 28.74 metres in length by 13.26 metres in breadth, and was divided longitudinally by two rows of Doric columns into three aisles, namely a central aisle or nave 6.50 metres wide, and two narrower side aisles. Each row of columns comprised seven columns and two pilasters. Their height is unknown. The lowest drums of the columns are still standing in their places. The ceiling was doubtless of wood, but its height and structure are not known. Above the side aisles, to judge from Pausanias's description (v. 10. 10), there seem to have been galleries, which may have been constructed for the special purpose of allowing visitors to approach the great image. No other Greek temple is known to have had such galleries.

The inner arrangement of the *cella* can still be made out with certainty. The side aisles were partitioned off from the central nave by screens which extended between the columns. Only the spaces

between the first pair of columns on each side were open to allow of access to the side aisles. In the third to the fifth intercolumniation the screens were formed of slabs of conglomerate, of which portions still remain. From the fifth to the eighth intercolumniation the screens were of some other material, probably of metal; traces of them may be seen on the floor as well as the holes in the columns in which they were fastened. Each side aisle was closed at the end by a door placed between the second column and the wall.

The central nave was divided from east to west into four sections. The first or most easterly section was about 7.50 metres long and was divided from the next by a screen or barrier. Its floor, at the time of the excavations, showed some scanty traces of a Roman mosaic pavement resembling the one which still exists in the fore-temple; but these traces seem now to have vanished entirely; the present writer looked in vain for them. This first section of the central nave was clearly open to the public. Not so the second section, which, as we have seen, was shut off from the first by a screen or barrier. This second section is about 9.50 metres long and extended up to the basis of the great image of Zeus. The floor is composed of two parts. The first part, comprising about a third of the whole, is paved with slabs of conglomerate. The rest was paved with flags of black Eleusinian limestone, many pieces of which were found lying about in the *cella*. Round about this square pavement of black limestone ran a raised border or ledge of white Pentelic marble. Some of the stones of this ledge were discovered in their original places; others, which had been removed, were found and replaced. They may now be seen extending between and in front of some of the columns. From the way in which the black limestone pavement with its white marble border was fitted into its place Dr. Dörpfeld concludes that it formed no part of the original plan and must have been put in at some time after the temple was finished. Further, since the pedestal of the great image was made of the same black Eleusinian stone as the pavement (see below), and since the pavement must have been constructed at the same time that the image was set up, it follows that the temple must have been finished some time (how long we cannot say) before Phidias erected his great image of Zeus in it, and that in doing so he made some changes in the internal arrangement of the *cella*. The black pavement with its raised edge of white marble answers well to Pausanias's description of it: the only mistake he has made is in saying that the white marble is Parian, whereas in fact it is Pentelic.

In the second section of the central nave, which has just been described, probably stood the altar mentioned by Pausanias (v. 14. 4). For in the foundations which underlie the pavement of black limestone there are many holes which were obviously made for fastening the bases of statues, altars, or the like. On three sides (north, east, and south) the section was enclosed by screens or barriers; on the fourth side (the west) it was bounded by the base of the great image. The screens were made of stone, and extended from pillar to pillar. Portions of them can still be seen. Their thickness is exactly the

width of a flute of the columns. Their original height is not known. In the middle of the eastern barrier there was probably a double folding door. But this eastern barrier has disappeared, leaving only scanty marks on the pavement beside the columns. On the inner sides of the stone screens or barriers which enclosed this second section of the nave were perhaps painted the pictures of Panaenus (see Paus. v. 11. 5 *sq.*) No vestige of these paintings, however, is left, and the theory that they were painted on these stone screens is open to grave objections (see below, p. 536 *sqq.*)

The third section or compartment of the central nave was completely occupied by the base of the great image of Zeus. The base was 6.65 metres broad, and 9.93 metres long, as appears from the marks on the floor. It was constructed of bluish-black Eleusinian limestone; some of the blocks have been found, but the golden reliefs which once decorated the base (Paus. v. 11. 8) have, of course, disappeared. From the dimensions of the existing blocks, Dr. Dörpfeld infers that the pedestal was 1.09 metres high.

"Thus from the existing remains we are able to form a fairly clear conception of the base and its surroundings. Let us suppose that we have entered the *cella* and advanced to the first barrier. We see before us first of all a pavement composed of bluish-black flags, and surrounded by a raised border of white Pentelic marble. Above this border rise on both sides the Doric columns of the interior, the intervals between them being filled with the screens on which are the many-coloured paintings of Panaenus. Straight in front of us stands the huge base of the image, its blue-black stone showing up well against the border of white marble. Still finer is the effect of the golden reliefs and the golden ornaments on the dark Eleusinian stone. And now if in imagination we set upon this base the mighty image fashioned of gold, ivory, and ebony, and adorned with precious stones, we can understand that the splendour of the colours alone must have made a deep impression on the beholder" (Dörpfeld).

Behind the image was a narrow space, making the fourth section or compartment of the central nave, and forming a passage which united the side aisles at the back of the image. It is 1.74 metres wide, and in construction matches the side aisles exactly. Thus it was possible to walk round the image by going down one of the side aisles, along the passage at the back of the image, and then returning by the other aisle.

Finally, before quitting the *cella*, we may notice at its eastern end the remains of what is supposed to have been the staircase which Pausanias mentions (v. 10. 10) as leading up to the roof. The remains consist of foundations built of squared blocks with holes let into their upper surface for the reception of strong posts or pillars. They are to be seen on either side of the *cella*, between the wall of the fore-temple and the first column in the *cella*. It would thus appear that there were two staircases leading up to the galleries and so to the roof.

With regard to the lighting of the temple, Dr. Dörpfeld holds that there was no opening in the roof, and that the *cella* was lit from the door only. It is true that some fragments of tiles with oval apertures

in the middle for the admission of light have been found at Olympia. But these apertures, it seems, served only to light the large empty space between the sloping roof and the ceiling. Tiles with similar apertures have been found in houses at Pompeii as well as on the Acropolis of Athens and in the temples at Bassae and Tegea.

See W. Dörpfeld, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. pp. 5-19, with the Appendix by G. Treu, pp. 22-27; *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Tafelband 1. plates viii.-xvii.; *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, Nos. 669, 681, 682; *Die Funde von Olympia*, p. 32, with plates xxxi.-xxxiii.; Curtius und Adler, *Olympia und Umgegend*, p. 38 *sq.*; Flasch, 'Olympia' (in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*), p. 1101 *sq.*; Ad. Bötticher, *Olympia*,[2] p. 255 *sqq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 339 *sq.*

Though no trace of an earlier temple has yet been found under the existing temple, there is abundant evidence that the site had been sacred long before the temple was built. Two layers of black earth or ashes were discovered extending round the temple on the south-west, north, and north-east sides, and in these layers was a multitude of archaic bronze objects, which had seemingly been deposited as votive offerings at altars; for remains of one or two altars were found here under the soil. Among the bronzes discovered here were a great many figures of animals; rude human figures; several groups of women dancing in a circle; small waggons; large kettles; pieces of cymbals; pieces of large tripods; bands decorated with geometrical patterns; clasps; needles; olive leaves from wreaths; nails; arrow-heads; spearheads; remains of decorated rims of shields; pieces of helmets and greaves; wheels; spiral rings; sacrificial cups; small tripods; many fragments of vessels made of sheet-bronze; armlets; pieces of necklaces; and remains of kettles adorned with griffins. To the south-west of the temple was found a large plate of bronze adorned with interesting archaic reliefs, which are arranged in four horizontal bands. In the uppermost band are represented some birds; in the second, two griffins are facing each other; in the third, Hercules is shooting an arrow at a Centaur; in the lowest a winged goddess is holding a lion head downwards in each hand. See Furtwängler, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 4. p. 4 *sq.*; *Die Ausgrabungen von Olympia*, 3 (1877-1878), pl. xxiii.; *Die Funde von Olympia*, pl. xxvi. As to the large bronze relief, see E. Curtius, 'Das archaische Bronze-relief aus Olympia,' *Abhandlungen* of the Royal Academy of Berlin, 1879; *id.*, *Gesamm. Abhandlungen*, 2. pp. 244-270.

10. 2. **It is made of native conglomerate.** As already observed, the stone of which the temple of Zeus (as well as most of the buildings at Olympia) is built is a coarse shell-conglomerate or shell-limestone, to which here and in vi. 19. 1 Pausanias gives the name of *poros* (πῶρος). It is quarried near the sacred precinct, on the opposite side of the Alpheus (*Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. p. 6). The ancients seem not to have been consistent in their use of the term *poros*; for Theophrastus (*De lapidibus*, i. 7) describes *poros* as a stone resembling Parian marble in its colour and the closeness of its grain, but not so heavy, "whence," proceeds Theophrastus, "the Egyptians make a band of it in their fine buildings." Now, no stone could be more unlike

the glistering white Parian marble with its crystalline structure than the coarse, gritty, dull-coloured conglomerate to which Pausanias gives the name of *poros*. Pliny's description of *poros* is borrowed from Theophrastus (*Nat. hist.* xxxvi. 132). Pollux mentions *poros* stone, but does not describe it (vii. 123; x. 173). Herodotus contrasts *poros* with Parian marble, the latter being the finer stone (Herod. v. 62). Herodotus and Pausanias would probably have applied the name *poros* to any common building-stone except marble. In this loose sense the name *poros* is commonly used by modern archaeologists. Mr. H. S. Washington remarks: "There is great lack of definiteness in the use of the word *poros*, which is made to include almost all soft, light-coloured stones, not palpably marble or hard limestone. In the majority of cases it is a sort of travertine, again a shell-conglomerate, and occasionally a sandstone or some decomposed rock, containing serpentine or other hydrated minerals . . . Some proper understanding should be arrived at on the subject, and the different kinds better discriminated, as in some cases the differences are important" (*American Journal of Archaeology*, 7 (1891), p. 395, note 1). Mr. Philippson defines *poros* as "a coarse, granular, calcareous sandstone, of a grey or yellowish colour, easily wrought, and quarried in large blocks, much used as building material both in antiquity and at the present day" (Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 408, cp. p. 416). The French geologists of the *Expédition de Morée* understood by *poros* a limestone, which forms the uppermost section of a tertiary formation that encircles the whole of Peloponnese, appearing almost everywhere where the land is but little raised above sea-level. This limestone is of fine grain, and whitish or yellowish colour; it seldom contains any fossils, and forms an excellent building material. Ancient Corinth seems to have been entirely built of this stone; there are immense quarries of it on the roads from Corinth to Cenchreae and Megara. There is also a very large deposit of it between Nauplia and Epidaurus, in a valley enclosed by the high chain of Mt. Arachnaeus and a parallel range of hills. Here it is bedded in thick and regular layers of whitish or yellowish colour and a fine close grain. See *Expédition scientifique de Morée*, vol. 2. part 2, 'Geologie et Mineralogie,' pp. 216-230.

10. 3. **The tiles are —— of Pentelic marble.** Many of these tiles have been found. See above, p. 496 *sq.* The roof, as we have seen, was originally covered with tiles of Parian marble, for which at a later time, apparently in the Roman period, tiles of Pentelic marble were substituted. This is one among many proofs that Pausanias described Olympia as it was in his own day, not as it was in the time of Polemo (about 200 B.C.), as some of his modern critics maintain.

10. 3. **this was a contrivance of Byzes, a Naxian.** Mr. Richard Lepsius, a geologist who has made a special study of Greek marbles, has found that the roof-tiles of some of the older Greek temples are of Naxian marble. This, combined with Pausanias's statement that the inventor of roof-tiles was a Naxian, goes to show that the manufacture of these tiles was at one time a regular industry in Naxos. See G. R. Lepsius, *Griechische Marmorstudien* (Berlin, 1890), pp. 123, 128;

American Journal of Archaeology, 7 (1891, p. 460). On marble-cutting in Naxos, see B. Sauer, 'Altnaxische Marmorkunst,' *Mitth. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 17 (1892), pp. 37-79.

10. 4. The inscription on the shield etc. A fragment of the inscription quoted by Pausanias has been found at Olympia engraved on three broken pieces of a marble block, which from its shape appears to have been placed on the apex of the gable, thus :—



The recovered fragment runs thus :—

ν ἔχει, ἐκ δὲ
μαχία τ' ἀν
ναίων καὶ
εκα τοῦ πο

Thus so far as it goes the inscription agrees exactly with the copy of it given by Pausanias, except that in the fourth line the stone has the ordinary genitive form τοῦ, where Pausanias gives the Doric form τῶ. From this use of the ordinary (not the Doric) genitive, and from the occurrence of X (= ch) in the inscription, it would seem that the inscription was cut by a Corinthian, not a Laconian, stone-mason. Dr. Purgold conjectures that the metal shield itself was made at Corinth, which was famed for its metal work. This conjecture is confirmed by the occurrence of the letters KOP on the stone underneath the metrical inscription. It is to be noted that the inscription was engraved, not (as we should infer from Pausanias) upon the shield itself, but upon the marble block which supported the shield. Dr. Purgold has pointed out that elsewhere (vi. 1. 4 and 7 ; vi. 10. 7 ; vi. 12. 7, etc.) Pausanias speaks of inscriptions *upon* statues, where the inscriptions were really upon the bases which supported the statues. In such expressions Pausanias appears to treat statue and base as a single indivisible whole.

See *Olympia : Ergebnisse*, Textband 5. *Die Inschriften*, No. 253 ; Purgold, in *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 40 (1882), pp. 179-190 ; Roehl, *I. G. A.* No. 26a, p. 171 ; Roberts, *Greek Epigraphy*, No. 93. On the custom of dedicating arms in temples, see W. Greenwell, 'Votive armour and arms,' *Journ. of Hell. Stud.* 2 (1881), pp. 65-82.

10. 4. The temple hath a golden shield. The Greek word here translated 'shield' is φιάλη, which properly means 'a broad flat bowl,' but is sometimes used poetically in the sense of 'shield.' Cp. Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, iii. 4. 4, iii. 11. 11 and 13 ; *id.*, *Poetics*, 21.

10. 4. I mentioned this battle etc. See i. 29. 9.

10. 5. On the outside of the frieze —— are one-and-twenty gilded shields. The marks of attachment of these shields can still be discerned on the metopes. See above, p. 496.

10. 6. in the front gable there is represented the chariot-race between Pelops and Oenomaus about to begin etc. The legend of

Plate IX.



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THE GABLES OF THE TEMPLE OF ZEUS AT OLYMPIA (RESTORED BY G. TREU).

the chariot-race between Pelops and Oenomaus was as follows. Oenomaus, king of Elis and Pisa, had a fair daughter Hippodamia, whom he was unwilling to give in marriage, either because he loved her so fondly that he was loath to part from her, or because he had been informed by an oracle that he would perish at the hands of his son-in-law. So when many wooers came courting his daughter, he offered to give her in marriage to any of them who would run a chariot-race with him and win the race. The race was run from the Cladeus at Olympia to the altar of Poseidon on the Isthmus of Corinth. The suitor was allowed to start first, taking with him the princess Hippodamia in his chariot. Meantime Oenomaus sacrificed a ram to Zeus, and then started in pursuit, brandishing a spear, while his charioteer Myrtilus guided the horses. If he overtook the suitor he ran him through with his spear, and in this way he slew thirteen of his daughter's suitors, and fastened their heads over the door of his palace. But Pelops, when he came a-wooing, bribed Myrtilus to leave out the pins of Oenomaus's chariot-wheels or to put waxen instead of bronze pins into the axles. So in the race the chariot of Oenomaus came to the ground, and the king himself was killed. Thus Pelops won the hand of the princess and the kingdom to boot. See Diodorus, iv. 73; Schol. on Pindar, *Ol.* i. 114; Schol. on Apollonius Rhodius, i. 752; Schol. on Euripides, *Orestes*, 990; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 156; Hyginus, *Fab.* 84; Servius on Virgil, *Georg.* iii. 7.

Pausanias tells us that in the front or eastern gable of the temple of Zeus there were sculptures representing Oenomaus and Pelops preparing for the chariot-race, and he has described thirteen human figures, as well as the horses of the two chariots, all of which stood in the gable. These thirteen figures, together with the eight horses (four horses for each chariot), were found by the German archaeologists at Olympia: and since, when arranged in the gable, they are seen to have occupied the whole of it, leaving no room for any other figures, we may feel sure that Pausanias has described and that we possess all the figures that ever stood in this gable. It is true that the figures are more or less mutilated, but enough remains to allow us to restore them with tolerable certainty. The figures are one half larger than life size, and are wrought in the round, though at the back they are left rough. The only exception is presented by six of the horses, three in each team, which are worked in moderate relief, while the remaining two horses (the outside horse in each team) are carved out of separate blocks, and were attached to the other horses only by dowels. The marble of all the figures is Parian.

The disposition of the figures in the gable has given rise to much discussion, and many different arrangements have been suggested. A special study of the subject has been made for many years by Prof. G. Treu, and the arrangement which, after various changes, he has adopted may be regarded as the best which has yet been proposed. It has been accepted by Prof. Overbeck, and is likely in time to be recognised as final. It is here reproduced (Plate ix. A). For convenience of reference the figures are lettered from left to right (south to north) A B C, etc.



FIG. [illegible].—CENTRAL FIGURES FROM THE EAST GABLE OF THE TEMPLE OF ZEUS.

In Fig. 58 a view is given of the central figures of the gable, as they are arranged in the Museum at Olympia. But that arrangement differs in some particulars from that of Prof. Treu. See below.

The three figures, as to the position of which there is no room for question, are the colossal standing figure of Zeus in the middle, and the two reclining figures at the extremities, which Pausanias calls Alpheus and Cladeus. With regard to the figure of Zeus, though Pausanias calls it an image, the sculptor would rather seem to have intended to represent Zeus as witnessing the scene in person, though probably invisible to the human actors in it; at least his free and dignified bearing is suggestive



FIG. 59.—ZEUS, PELOPS, AND OENOMAUS (FROM THE EASTERN GABLE OF THE TEMPLE OF ZEUS).

of the god himself rather than a mere image. Next to him on either side stand the two men who are about to race, Pelops and Oenomaus. It has, indeed, been proposed by Messrs. Brunn, Sauer, and Six to place the two women Hippodamia and Sterope next to Zeus; but this contradicts the description of Pausanias, and considerations of space have, on a careful examination, proved it to be impossible. The bearded elderly man is of course Oenomaus; the younger beardless man is Pelops. Pelops stands on the right (the lucky side) of Zeus, and the god's head is turned towards him but away from Oenomaus, thus indicating that Pelops, by the favour of Zeus, is to win the race. This arrangement of Pelops and Oenomaus to the right and left of Zeus is at first sight contradicted by

Pausanias, who says that Oenomaus was to the right, and Pelops to the left, of Zeus. But here as elsewhere (*e.g.* v. 13. 1) Pausanias uses the terms 'right' and 'left' in the sense of the spectator's right and left; so that in the present passage 'right' means north, and left means south. This is confirmed by the consideration that, thus interpreted, Pausanias assigns the river gods Cladeus and Alpheus appropriately to the northern and southern extremities of the gable respectively. The fact that Pelops and Oenomaus are both turning their backs to Zeus seems to prove that the god is supposed to be invisible to them. Next to Oenomaus in the northern half of the gable stands his wife Sterope, and next to Pelops in the southern half of the gable stands his love, Hippodamia (Fig. 60). These two female figures were formerly transposed, Sterope (K*) being placed in the southern half of the gable beside Pelops and denominated Hippodamia, while Hippodamia (F*) was placed in the northern half of the gable beside Oenomaus and denominated Sterope. The correction is due to Prof. Studniczka, who pointed out that F*, draped in the light attire of a Spartan maiden, must be Hippodamia, and cannot possibly represent the matronly and queenly Sterope, who, as K*, is marked out by her richer costume and more dignified bearing. The new arrangement is decisively confirmed by technical considerations of space; it would be impossible, for example, to bring the spear of Pelops past the left arm of K*, whereas the left shoulder of F* appears to have been made lower than was natural on purpose to make room for the right arm of Pelops. Sterope is supposed by Prof. Treu to have been holding a sacrificial bowl or basket in her right hand—a hint of the sacrifice which, according to the legend, Oenomaus used to offer before starting. (Note that in Fig. 58 the old arrangement of Sterope and Hippodamia is followed, the illustration being from a photograph of the sculptures in the Museum at Olympia, where the new arrangement has not yet been adopted.)



FIG. 60.—HIPPODAMIA (FROM THE EAST GABLE OF THE TEMPLE OF ZEUS).

Next after Sterope and Hippodamia there is on each side of the gable a man seated in front of the chariot and horses, in accordance with the description of Pausanias, though, to be exact, the seated figure in front of the horses of Pelops appears to be a lad rather than a man. The man seated in front of the chariot of Oenomaus is the traitor Myrtilus, as we learn from Pausanias. As for the chariots, they are not

mentioned by Pausanias, who speaks only of the horses. But since, in referring to the chariot-race at Olympia, he constantly speaks of horses only, when he means chariots and horses, this silence on his part does not prove that the chariots were not represented in the gable. It is true that the chariots have not been found nor any fragment of them;



FIG. 61.—OLD MAN (FROM THE EAST GABLE OF THE TEMPLE OF ZEUS).

but that they figured in the gable is demonstrated by the marks of attachment on the horses. For example, in Pelops's team there is a leaden dowel for fastening the yoke, and in the hind legs of the middle horses there are square holes in which the poles of the chariots were inserted.

Behind the chariot of Oenomaus is seated a stately old man (N) in a musing attitude, with his head resting on his right hand, and a far-away expression on his face (Fig. 61). He seems plunged in melancholy thought. It has been suggested that he is a seer who foresees and deplores his master's approaching doom. Corresponding to him on the other (southern) side of the gable is a man (C) kneeling behind the chariot of Pelops. From the marks of attachment of the horses' reins it appears that they were carried backwards, not grasped by the lad who is seated in front of the horses. Probably therefore they were held by the man who is kneeling behind the chariot. If this was so, it follows that this kneeling man (C) is Cillas, the charioteer of Pelops, and that Pausanias is wrong in identifying as Cillas the lad seated in front of the chariot. Behind the musing greybeard (N) on the north side of the gable is a kneeling maiden (O), whom Pausanias clearly mistook for a man; for he says that behind the chariot of Oenomaus were two men, who seemed to be in charge of the horses. The kneeling damsel is probably a handmaid of Sterope, but what exactly she is supposed to be doing has not

been made out. Corresponding to her on the other (southern) side of the gable is a young man (B) kneeling and apparently assisting Cillas in holding the reins. He is one of the two grooms mentioned by Pausanias. It thus appears that while Myrtilus, the charioteer of Oenomaus, was represented sitting quietly in front of the horses, the charioteer of Pelops was represented kneeling behind the chariot and handling the reins as if preparing to start. This difference in the attitude of the two charioteers is plausibly explained by Prof. Treu. He reminds us that in the legend the suitors were allowed to start before Oenomaus; and that Pelops, as one of them, would enjoy this privilege. Hence by the difference between the attitudes of the two charioteers—the nonchalance of Myrtilus on the one side and the alertness of Cillas on the other—the sculptor may well have intended to hint that the chariot of Pelops was to be off first.

Lastly, at the two extremities of the gables are the two reclining male figures (A and P) which Pausanias interpreted as the river gods Alpheus and Cladeus respectively. This interpretation was formerly supposed to be confirmed by the reclining figures in the extremities of the western gable, which were believed to represent local nymphs. Now, however, that these latter figures are more plausibly explained as Lapith women (see below, p. 522), it seems probable that the reclining male figures in the eastern gable are not gods but merely human spectators of the scene which is taking place in the centre.



FIG. 62.—RECLINING FIGURE, PERHAPS THE RIVER-GOD CLADEUS (FROM THE EAST GAELE OF THE TEMPLE OF ZEUS).

Thus it will be observed that the figures on each side of the central figure of Zeus fall into pairs, each figure on the one side being matched by a figure on the other side which corresponds to it in position and attitude. Thus Pelops is matched by Oenomaus, Hippodamia by Sterope, and so on through all the rest. The responsion is more exact in Prof. Treu's arrangement of the figures than in any other, and this is a strong argument in favour of adopting it.

A few traces of colour have been discovered on the sculptures of the eastern gable, making it probable that originally they were all painted.

The vestiges in question were detected on the lips of the musing old man (N) and the tails of the horses.

On the sculptures of the eastern gable, their technique, arrangement, etc., see G. Treu in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 3. pp. 44-69, 114-130; *id.*, 'Technik und Bemalung der olympischen Giebelgruppen,' *Jahrbuch d. arch. Inst.* 10 (1895), pp. 1-35; *id.*, 'Die Anordnung der Statuen im Ostgiebel des Zeustempels,' *Archäologische Zeitung*, 40 (1882), pp. 215-248; *id.*, 'Die Anordnung des Ostgiebels,' etc., in *Jahrbuch d. archaeolog. Instituts*, 4 (1889), pp. 266-311; *id.*, 'Zum olympischen Ostgiebel,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 14 (1889), pp. 287-300; *id.*, in *Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 1889, pp. 1573-1575; *id.*, 'Die neueste Versuche zur Anordnung des olympischen Ostgiebels,' *Jahrbuch d. archäol. Inst.* 6 (1891), pp. 63-65; *id.*, 'Nochmals die olympischen Giebel,' *ib.* pp. 98-105; *id.*, in *Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 1892, p. 1186 *sq.*; E. Curtius, in *Die Funde von Olympia*, p. 11 *sqq.*; *id.*, 'Die Giebelgruppen des Zeustempels in Olympia und die rothfigurigen Vasen,' *Archäologische Zeitung*, 41 (1883), pp. 347-360 (reprinted in the writer's *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 2. pp. 304-314); *id.*, 'Studien über die Tempelgiebel von Olympia,' *Sitzungsberichte* of the Prussian Academy, Berlin, 1883, No. 33; *id.*, in *Archäologische Zeitung*, 42 (1884), pp. 220-222; *id.*, 'Die Tempelgiebel von Olympia,' *Abhandlungen* of the Prussian Academy, Berlin, 1891 (reprinted in *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 2. pp. 338-358); L. Urlichs, *Bemerkungen über den olympischen Tempel und seine Bildwerke* (Würzburg, 1877); Fr. Studniczka, 'Zum Ostgiebel des Zeustempels in Olympia,' *Archäologische Zeitung*, 42 (1884), pp. 281-286; C. Waldstein, 'The eastern pediment of the tempel of Zeus,' *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 5 (1884), pp. 195-204; R. Kekulé, 'Die Anordnung der Figuren im Ostgiebel des Zeustempels zu Olympia,' *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 39 (1884), pp. 481-490; *id.*, *Rhein. Museum*, N.F. 40 (1885), p. 308 *sq.*: Graef, 'Zu den Skulpturen von Olympia,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 13 (1888), pp. 402-407; G. Loeschcke, *Die oestliche Giebelgruppe am Zeustempel zu Olympia* (Dorpat, 1885); H. Brunn, 'Ueber Giebelgruppen,' *Sitzungsberichte d. k. bayer. Akad. d. Wissen.*, Philos.-philolog. Classe, 1888, pp. 182-187; P. Weizsäcker, 'Zur östlichen Giebelgruppe des Zeustempels zu Olympia,' *Korresp. Bl. f. d. Gel. und Realsch.* 1887, pp. 1-8; J. Six, 'On the composition of the eastern pediment,' etc., *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 10 (1889), pp. 98-116; P. Monceaux and V. Laloux, 'Restauration des frontons d'Olympie,' *Revue Archéologique*, 3rd series, 14 (1889), pp. 55-58; Friederichs-Wolters, *Gipsabgüsse*, p. 123 *sqq.*; A. S. Murray, *History of Greek Sculpture*, 2. p. 157 *sqq.*; Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. pp. 309-317; Lucy M. Mitchell, *Ancient Sculpture*, 261-266; Ad. Bötticher, *Olympia*,[2] pp. 261-277; Flasch, 'Olympia,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, pp. 1104X-1104DD; Baedeker,[3] p. 350 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 356 *sq.*; G. Körte, 'Der Ostgiebel des Zeustempels in Olympia,' *Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 12 (1892), pp. 983-989; Furtwängler, *ib.* p. 1282 *sqq.*; Br. Sauer, 'Der Ostgiebel des olympischen Zeustempels,' *Jahrbuch d. archäolog. Instituts*, 6 (1891), pp. 9-42; Collignon, *Histoire de la Sculpture Grecque*, 1. pp. 436-444.

10. 7. Sphaerus —— Cillas. As to Sphaerus, see ii. 33. 1. The charioteer of Pelops is called Cillas by Eustathius (on Homer, *Il.* i. 38), but Cillus by Strabo (xiii. p. 613), a scholiast on Homer (*Il.* ii. 38), and a scholiast on Euripides (*Orestes*, 990). According to the scholiast on Homer (*l.c.*), Cillus died in Lesbos, and his ghost appeared in a dream to Pelops, who gave him a splendid funeral, heaped a barrow over his ashes, and founded a sanctuary of Cillaean Apollo beside the barrow. Strabo (*l.c.*) describes the tomb of Cillus (Cillas) as a great mound beside the sanctuary of Cillaean Apollo in the territory of Adramyttium. Prof. C. Robert sees in this connexion of Cillas with Lesbos a proof that in the original version of the legend Oenomaus and Hippodamia belonged not to Olympia but to Lesbos (*Bild und Lied*, p. 187 note).

10. 8. The figures in the front gable are by Paeonius —— the figures in the back gable are by Alcamenes. Few statements of Pausanias have given rise to so much divergence of opinion as this. The views of archaeologists on the subject seem almost to exhaust the possibilities of difference. Messrs. Brunn, Curtius, Loeschcke, and W. Gurlitt take it on Pausanias's authority that the sculptures of the eastern (front) gable were by Paeonius, those of the western (back) gable by Alcamenes. Mr. Murray (*History of Greek Sculpture*, 2. p. 160 *sqq.*) formerly accepted this view; but he afterwards expressed an opinion (*Academy*, 2nd October 1886) that the sculptures of both gables are by Paeonius. Mr. Six, on the contrary, and Dr. Puchstein think that both are by Alcamenes. Professors Kekulé, Furtwängler, and Reisch, and Messrs. R. Förster and Collignon think that neither Paeonius nor Alcamenes had any hand in either the one or the other of the gables. Overbeck formerly held that the sculptures of the east and west gables respectively were designed by Paeonius and Alcamenes, but that the execution of them was carried out by the local stone-masons. He afterwards modified his view, and inclined to agree with those who consider that neither Paeonius nor Alcamenes had any share in the work. To discuss fully the grounds for these various opinions would be out of place here; it must suffice to indicate briefly some of the chief considerations which have weighed with archaeologists.

First, as to Paeonius. He executed for the Messenians of Naupactus a statue of Victory which was set up at Olympia. This statue has been found. It stood on a lofty pedestal facing the eastern front of the temple of Zeus. (See v. 26. 1 note.) The inscription on the pedestal declares that the statue is a tithe-offering presented to Zeus by the Messenians and Naupactians from the spoil taken by them from their enemies; further, that the statue was made by Paeonius of Mende, who "was also victorious in making the *akroteria* to be placed upon the temple." Those who deny that Paeonius can have executed the sculptures in the eastern gable urge (1) that the style of the statue of Victory by Paeonius is so wholly unlike that of the gable sculptures that it is impossible that they can have been executed by the same artist; (2) that in the inscription in question, the word *akroteria*, in accordance with its usual sense, must refer to the sculptures placed, not within the gable, but upon the roof at the three angles of the gable; in fact to the statues of Victory and the gilded vases mentioned by Pausanias in § 4 of this chapter. Hence it is argued that Paeonius cannot have made the sculptures in the gables, else he would have referred to them in the inscription on the statue of Victory rather than to the less important *akroteria*: for the inscribed statue of Victory which has been found is undoubtedly later than the sculptures in the gables.

Those who accept Pausanias's statement that Paeonius made the sculptures in the eastern gable endeavour to meet these difficulties thus: (1) They hold that the statue of Victory, though different in style from, and superior to, the gable sculptures, may be a later work of the same artist, executed at a time when he had attained a fuller mastery of his art; (2) they think that *akroteria* may possibly have meant 'the figures

in the gable,' though they admit that the regular use of the word is against this interpretation. They refer to Plutarch, *Caesar*, 63, and Plato, *Critias*, 116 D. But these passages certainly do not bear out their interpretation.

With regard to Alcamenes, it is argued that he cannot have made the sculptures in the west gable, because (1) he was a pupil of Phidias (Pliny, *Nat. hist.* xxxiv. 72, xxxvi. 16), and the sculptures in question show no trace of the Phidian school. (2) He is known to have been at work as late as 403 or 402 B.C. (see ix. 11. 6); therefore he can hardly have executed the gable sculptures for the temple of Zeus, which was finished probably not later than 450 and perhaps as early as 457 B.C.

In reply to the first of these difficulties, Brunn, who admitted that the sculptures of the west pediment show no trace of Phidian influence, suggested that they may have been executed by Alcamenes as a young man and that later in life he followed Phidias to Athens and, after an attempt to rival him (cp. Pliny, *N. H.* xxxiv. 49 and Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, § 810), submitted to the superior genius of Phidias and became his pupil. Prof. Overbeck, on the contrary, held that the sculptures of the west gable contain undoubted reminiscences of the Parthenon sculptures and hence must be later than they are. Mr. Six, admitting the resemblance, inverts the inference, supposing that one of the pupils of Phidias who executed the Parthenon sculptures under the direction of the master must at some earlier time have seen and studied the gable sculptures at Olympia.

As to the second difficulty, it is replied that though the temple itself may have been finished in 457 B.C. or even earlier, the sculptures in the gables need not have been made for some years afterwards; Brunn supposed that they were made about Ol. 84-85 (444-437 B.C.)

A third difficulty arises in connexion with Alcamenes from the fact that he is said to have made an image of Hera for a temple near Phalerum which was burnt by the Persians and was still in ruins in Pausanias's time (i. 1. 5 note). Hence, as we cannot suppose the statue to have been placed in the temple after the destruction of the building, the statue must have been executed before 480 B.C. But it is impossible that the artistic career of Alcamenes can have lasted from before 480 B.C. to 403 or 402 B.C. To meet this difficulty Prof. Loeschcke and Mr. Six suppose that there were two sculptors of the name of Alcamenes, an elder sculptor who made the image of Hera in the burnt temple and the sculptures of the west gable at Olympia, and a younger artist who executed the statues of Athena and Hercules (Paus. ix. 11. 6) in 403 or 402 B.C. The elder Alcamenes, they hold, was a native of Lemnos and a rival of Phidias (Suidas, *s.v.* Ἀλκαμένης; Pliny, *N. H.* xxxiv. 49; Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, § 810); the younger Alcamenes was an Athenian and a pupil of Phidias (Pliny, *N. H.* xxxvi. 16).

Although the design and composition of the sculptures in the two gables are as unlike as possible (the repose and order of the figures in the east gable contrasting with the wild tumult and disorder of the figures in the west gable), yet the artistic style of the two sets of sculpture is so

similar that on the strength of it some critics (as Mr. Murray, Mr. Six, and Dr. Puchstein) have supposed that they must be by the same artist. Those who hold that the sculptures are by two different artists are obliged to admit either that the two artists must have belonged to the same school or, as Prof. Overbeck formerly thought, that the sculptures were executed by the same set of stone-masons, though the designs were furnished by different sculptors. Brunn's view was that both Paeonius and Alcamenes belonged to what Brunn called the North Greek school of art. Evidence of the existence of such a school is supplied, he thought, by a few sculptures which have been found in Thasos, Macedonia, etc., as well as by the coins of northern Greece, particularly those of Thasos. The leading characteristics of this school, according to Brunn, were realism or naturalism and picturesqueness. Its works are marked neither by the rigid formalism and statuesque correctness of the Peloponnesian and specially Argive school of art, nor by the idealism of the Attic school. What the artist aimed at was a broad pictorial effect; in pursuing this object he took his models from real life and neglected the canons appropriate to statuary. The style of the school, in fact, was pictorial rather than statuesque, and had been largely influenced by a school of painting, above all by the paintings of Polygnotus. Brunn held that the greatness of Phidias and the Attic school of sculpture was due to the fact that Phidias was able to combine and fuse the technical correctness of the Peloponnesian school with the picturesqueness of the North Greek school. This latter element Phidias acquired (according to this theory) through the paintings of Polygnotus. Brunn's theory appears to be on the whole accepted by Prof. E. Curtius and Mr. Gurlitt; and it was formerly accepted by Mr. A. S. Murray in his *History of Greek Sculpture*. It is, however, rejected by Prof. Flasch, Prof. Kekulé, and Dr. Wolters. Prof. Flasch accounts for the resemblance in style between the sculptures of the two gables by holding that both Paeonius and Alcamenes belonged to the Attic school of Phidias, and that the general idea of the sculptures was furnished by the master but carried out by the pupils. He regards the Olympian sculptures as a necessary phase in the development of Greek sculpture, without which the sculptures of the Parthenon could never have come into existence. Prof. Kekulé and Dr. Wolters disagree both with Brunn and Prof. Flasch. They think that the Olympian sculptures resemble the sculptured metopes of Selinus so closely that the same artists may have executed both, or at all events that the art which created the sculptures in the temple of Zeus at Olympia was closely related to the art of Sicily. Prof. Furtwängler believes that the sculptures both of the gables and of the metopes were produced by a school of Parian sculptors. His grounds for this belief are briefly these. In Phoenicia and on the sites of Phoenician colonies in Cyprus, Sicily, and perhaps Corsica there have been found a number of sarcophaguses of Parian marble, the lids of which are adorned with heads in high relief obviously carved by Greek artists of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. As the sarcophaguses are of Parian marble, Prof. Furtwängler holds that they were probably made by Parian sculptors or masons who accompanied the blocks of marble in

Phoenician ships to their destination, executed their commissions on the spot, and then returned to their native island. And since the heads carved on the oldest of these sarcophaguses closely resemble the heads in the gable sculptures at Olympia, Prof. Furtwängler concludes that the latter sculptures also were, together with the metopes, executed by Parian artists who came with the marble to Olympia.

In opposition to the opinion of Brunn and Prof. Furtwängler, both of whom seek the origin of the sculptures outside of Peloponnese, the view is gaining ground among archaeologists that the sculptures in question are probably the work of a native Peloponnesian school, which had its chief seats in Sicyon and Argos. Among the advocates of this view are K. Lange and Professors Treu, Studniczka, Overbeck, and Collignon. Overbeck suggested that the sculptors perhaps belonged to a native Elean school of art, which may, however, have received its impulse from the school of Sicyon and Argos.

The theory formerly advocated by Overbeck that the sculptures of both gables were executed by local stone-masons on models furnished by sculptors of distinction has proved to be untenable. For from a careful examination of the figures Prof. Treu concludes that in making them the original design was modified in many important respects. Such alterations, it is obvious, must have been made by the artist himself; they could not have originated with simple masons. The result of Prof. Treu's minute and careful investigations is to confirm Brunn's opinion that the sculptures were designed and executed by the same hands.

If I may venture to state my own impressions side by side with the views of far more competent judges, I should say that (1) the reasons against assigning either group of gable sculptures to Paeonius or Alcamenes are so strong as to be almost conclusive; (2) the style of the two gable groups is so alike that they were probably executed, if not by the same sculptor, at least by sculptors of the same school working in conjunction; and (3) the style of these groups is so unlike that of the Parthenon sculptures that it is difficult to believe that the sculptors of the Olympian pediments either influenced or were influenced by the art of Phidias.

See on the whole subject Brunn, 'Paeonios und die nordgriechische Kunst,' *Sitzungsberichte d. philos.-philolog. u. histor. Classe der k. b. Akad. d. Wissen. zu München*, 1876, 1. pp. 315-342; *id.*, 'Die Sculpturen von Olympia,' *ib.* 1877, pp. 1-28, and 1878, 1. pp. 442-471; C. T. Newton, *Essays on art and archaeology*, p. 364 *sq.*; W. Gurlitt, 'Paionios und der Ostgiebel des Zeustempels in Olympia,' in *Historische u. philologische Aufsätze Ernst Curtius gewidmet*, pp. 259-285; G. Treu, in *Archäologische Zeitung*, 39 (1881), p. 78 Anm.; A. Furtwängler, in *Arch. Zeitung*, 40 (1882), p. 362; E. Curtius, 'Studien über die Tempelgiebel von Olympia,' in *Sitzungsberichte d. kön. preuss. Akad. d. Wissen. zu Berlin*, 1883; *id.*, in *Archäologische Zeitung*, 41 (1883), pp. 347-360 (reprinted in Curtius's *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 2. pp. 304-314); *id.*, 'Zur Paioniosinschrift,' *Gesam. Abhandl.* 2. pp. 440-442; R. Förster, 'Alkamenes und die Giebelcomposition des Zeustempels in Olympia,' *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F., 38 (1883), pp. 421-449; R. Kekulé, 'Ueber einige mit den Sculpturen von Olympia verwandte Werke,' *Archäologische Zeitung*, 41 (1883), pp. 229-248; *id.*, in Baedeker's *Griechenland*,[3] p. lxxvii. *sq.*; K. Lange, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, (1882), p. 206 *sqq.*; Friederichs-Wolters, *Gipsabgüsse*, pp. 134-136; Murray, *History of Greek Sculpture*, 2. p. 143 *sqq.*; *id.*, in *Academy*, 2nd October

1886, p. 230 (review of Collignon's *Phidias*); Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] I. pp. 323-331; Lucy M. Mitchell, *Ancient Sculpture*, pp. 270-273; Loeschcke, *Die westliche Giebelgruppe am Zeustempel zu Olympia* (Dorpat, 1887), pp. 5-8; Studniczka, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 12 (1887), p. 374 *sq.*; *id.*, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst.*, Römische Abtheilung, 2 (1887), pp. 53-57; J. Six, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 10 (1889), pp. [illegible]-113; O. Puchstein, in *Jahrbuch d. arch. Instituts*, 5 (1890), p. 97 *sq.*; A. Bötticher, *Olympia*,[2] p. 297 *sqq.*; Flasch, 'Olympia,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, pp. [illegible] GG—1104 LL; C. Robert, *Archäologische Märchen*, pp. 41-44; A. Furtwängler, 'Zu den olympischen Skulpturen,' *Archäologische Studien H. Brunn dargebracht* (Berlin, 1893), pp. 69-88; E. Reisch, in *Eranos Vindobonensis* (Wien, 1893), pp. 13-17; Collignon, *Histoire de la Sculpture Grecque*, I. pp. 453-461; P. Gardner, *New chapters in Greek History*, p. 280.

Regarded from the purely artistic point of view the sculptures of both gables are certainly disappointing. "It is true that some of the groups which represent Centaurs struggling with their prey are of great force of design, and that some of the standing and reclining figures are by no means devoid of a certain largeness and nobility of treatment. But it is agreed that the whole effect, more especially of the Oenomaus group, is poor; that the drapery of the figures is rendered in a small and feeble manner; that the faults of execution are numberless. Indeed, an ordinary student of art will find, in an hour's study of these figures, faults which in our day an inferior sculptor would not commit. And, what is still worse to a modern eye, the figures are not only faulty, but often displeasing, and the heads have a heaviness which sometimes seems to amount to brutality, and are repellent, if not absolutely repulsive" (P. Gardner, *New chapters in Greek History*, p. 279 *sq.*)

10. 8. **the battle of the Lapiths with the Centaurs at the wedding of Pirithous.** Pirithous, king of the Lapiths in Thessaly, was said to be a son of Zeus (Homer, *Il.* ii. 741). Being about to wed Hippodamia he invited the Centaurs and his friend Theseus to the marriage. They came, but at the wedding feast the Centaurs, flown with wine, attempted to do violence to the women. One of them in particular, Eurytion, or Eurytus (as Ovid calls him), even essayed to carry off the bride Hippodamia. But the Lapiths, led by Pirithous and Theseus, defended the woman, slew many of the Centaurs, and drove the rest away. See Homer, *Il.* ii. 741 *sqq.*; *Od.* xxi. 295 *sqq.*; Diodorus, iv. 70 *sqq.*; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 30; Ovid, *Metam.* xii. 210 *sqq.* Plutarch (*l.c.*) calls the bride Deidamia, not Hippodamia.

This battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs at the wedding of Pirithous and Hippodamia formed the subject of the sculptures which occupied the west gable of the temple of Zeus. Of these sculptures twenty-one figures, some of them very fragmentary, have been found, and that there were no more is proved by the fact that when restored and arranged they fill, and even crowd, the gable. The sculptures have been studied by Prof. Treu with conscientious care, and the arrangement which he has finally adopted (Plate ix. B) may be accepted as the true and definitive one. (Note that in Figs. 63-65, reproduced from photographs of the sculptures as they are arranged in the museum at Olympia, the arrangement of the figures is not the one that has been finally adopted by Prof. Treu.) At first sight, the sculptures of the



FIG. 63.—CENTRAL FIGURES FROM THE WEST GABLE OF THE TEMPLE OF ZEUS.

western gable, in marked contrast to the stiff formality and repose of the sculptures in the eastern gable, appear to be disposed without order, presenting nothing but the confusion and tumult of battle. But an attentive examination of them shows that in spite of this apparent confusion they are most carefully arranged about the central figure in such a way that each group and each figure on one side of the gable has its counterpart on the other.

The central figure towers above all the others. It is that of a man in the prime of life, and of a spare athletic frame. He is standing drawn up to his full height, and is looking towards his right, and stretching out his right arm from the shoulder in the same direction with an air of command. The face, which is beardless, is calm, indeed somewhat cold and expressionless. He is nude except for some light drapery thrown negligently over his right shoulder and lower left arm. This left arm hangs straight by his side; in the hand there are marks which seem to show that it grasped a bow.

On the right of this central figure (the spectator's left) a man is raising his arm to attack a Centaur who is clutching a woman in his arms, while she thrusts her elbow in his face and struggles to wrench his hands away. The man is believed to have held a sword in his right hand and perhaps the sheath in his left. On the left side of the central figure (the spectator's right) there is a corresponding group of three—a man is assailing a Centaur, who has his hoofs twined round a woman, while she with her hands pressed against his head is thrusting him away with all her force. The man is believed to have been heaving up an axe in both hands. On the right side of the central figure (the spectator's left) the next group represents a Centaur trying to carry off a boy, probably a cup-bearer. This group is mentioned by Pausanias. It is matched on the opposite side of the gable by a Lapith kneeling and throttling a Centaur. The Lapith has

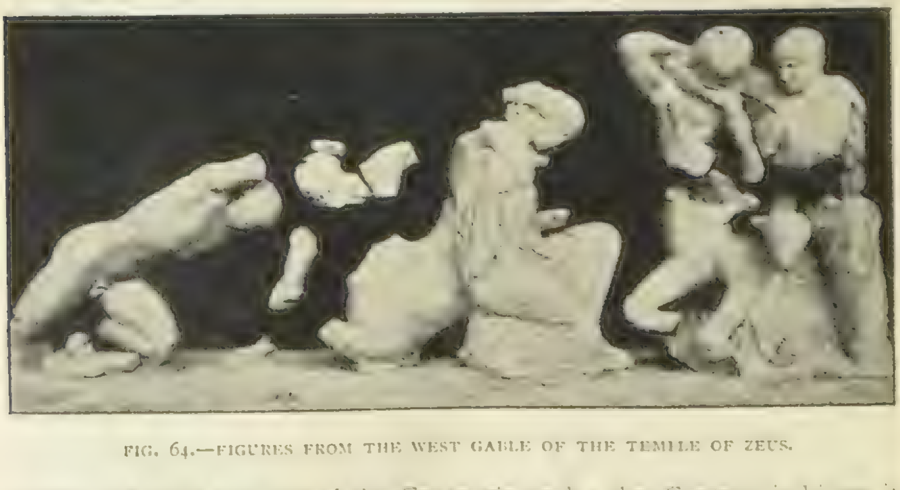


FIG. 64.—FIGURES FROM THE WEST GABLE OF THE TEMPLE OF ZEUS.

twined his right arm round the Centaur's neck: the Centaur is biting it savagely, and the pain of the bite is reflected in the drawn and grinning features of the Lapith. On the right of the central figure (the

spectator's left) the next group consists of three figures. A Centaur has been brought to the ground by a Lapith, who is kneeling and with



FIG. 65.—FIGURES FROM THE WEST GABLE OF THE TEMPLE OF ZEUS.

his hands clasped round the Centaur's head is dragging him to the earth. But the fierce brute is still clinging with hoof and hand to a woman, gripping her hair with his left hand, while he thrusts his left hind hoof into her lap. This group of three is matched on the opposite side of the gable (the spectator's right) by a corresponding group of



FIG. 66.—OLD WOMAN FROM THE WEST GABLE OF THE TEMPLE OF ZEUS.

three. A kneeling Lapith is thrusting a knife through the breast of a Centaur, who is striving to lift a woman on his back. Lastly, each of

the ends of the gable is occupied by two women reclining and gazing at the fight which is going on in the middle. The two inner figures (B on the one side of the gable and U on the other) are old women with wrinkled faces; they are raised on what seem to be cushions, and are propping themselves on their knees and elbows. The one on the spectator's left (B) was apparently represented in the act of tearing her hair; her face wears an expression of anxiety and terror (Fig. 66). The two outer figures (A and V), in the very extremities of the gable.



FIG. 67.—YOUNG WOMAN FROM THE WEST GABLE OF THE TEMPLE OF ZEUS

are young and comely women; their garments have slipped or been torn down so as to leave the breast and part of the upper body bare (Fig. 67).

All the figures in this gable are of Parian marble, except the two old women (B and U), the young woman in the left (north) corner of the gable (A), and the arm of the other reclining young woman (V), all of which are of Pentelic marble. These figures of Pentelic marble differ from the rest not only in material but in technical execution, though not in their general design and composition. The difference in execution is especially observable in the eyes and hair, but it may also be traced in the treatment of the drapery and of the nude. So great is this difference that Prof. Treu is of opinion that the figures of Pentelic marble cannot belong to the fifth century B.C., but must have been made at a time long subsequent to it, probably in the Roman period. He conjectures that the original sculptures were thrown down by the fall of the projecting edge (*sima*) of the gable, and were replaced by the existing figures, executed in the style of art of the day but modelled on the originals.

On comparing Pausanias's description of these sculptures with the

existing remains we see that he has not enumerated all the figures in the gable, as he did with the figures in the eastern gable. He has confined his attention to the central groups, and even in interpreting these he has made at least one serious mistake. For the great central figure cannot, as Pausanias supposed, be Pirithous. Its colossal size, far exceeding that of the human actors in the scene, its commanding gesture, and its unruffled serenity amid the wild hurly-burly of the fight, clearly mark it out as a god. Can we suppose that Pirithous would have been represented thus calm and unmoved while his bride was being ravished by a brutal Centaur? The beardless face and muscular figure of the god mark him out as Apollo, and this is confirmed by the traces of a bow in his left hand. His presence is very appropriate, since he was the ancestor of the Lapiths, being the father of Lapithes by Stilbe, a daughter of the Peneus (Schol. on Homer, *Il.* ii. 266; Schol. on Apollonius Rhodius, i. 41; Diodorus, v. 61). He may be supposed to have hastened to the help of his descendants. Similarly in the frieze of the temple at Bassae he is represented shooting at the Centaurs (see note on viii. 41. 7). Hence the interpretation of the central figure as Pirithous may be dismissed as false, though it has been defended in modern times by H. Brunn and Mr. Bruno Sauer.

The two men to the right and left of Apollo (K and M) are doubtless the two friends Pirithous and Theseus. Pausanias has preserved the tradition that they figured in the gable, though he was wrong in his identification of one of them. They are distinguished from the other Lapiths by their longer hair (a mark of higher rank) as well as by their conspicuous position. Pirithous is probably the one on Apollo's right hand (K), and the woman whom he is rescuing from the clutches of the Centaur is probably his bride Hippodamia. For it is natural to suppose that the god, who is turned to the right, is looking towards Pirithous and Hippodamia, the persons chiefly concerned. Moreover, the figure K is distinguished from all the other men by wearing sandals. Pausanias interpreted this figure as Caeneus, one of the leaders of the Lapiths in the battle with the Centaurs (Homer, *Il.* i. 264), who had received from Poseidon the gift of invulnerability, but in the battle with the Centaurs was overwhelmed under the trunks of pine-trees and oaks, and thus driven by main force into the ground. He had irritated Zeus by setting up his spear in the middle of the market-place and commanding the people to worship it. See Schol. on Apollonius Rhodius, i. 57; Schol. on Homer, *Il.* i. 264. In ancient art Caeneus is regularly represented in the act of being crushed into the earth under the weight of rocks and tree-trunks, which the Centaurs are heaping upon him. He figures thus in the west frieze of the so-called Theseum at Athens and in the frieze of the temple of Apollo at Bassae (Roscher's *Lexikon*, 2. p. 894 *sqq.*) As no such incident is represented in the west gable of the temple of Zeus, it seems tolerably certain that Caeneus does not appear in it at all. Thus if H and K are rightly identified as Hippodamia and Pirithous, it follows that J (the Centaur who is carrying off Hippodamia) is Eurytion.

The man on Apollo's left (M) is probably Theseus. From Pausanias

we learn that he was represented wielding an axe, probably a sacrificial axe, since the affray took place at a wedding, and the Lapiths, with the possible exception of Pirithous, are represented without warlike weapons. The knife with which one of them is stabbing a Centaur is supposed to be a sacrificial knife. In vase-paintings Theseus is depicted wielding an axe (*e.g. Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 2 (1881), pl. x.) Cp. Paus. i. 27. 7. The woman (O), whom Theseus is rescuing from the Centaur, is probably the mother or attendant of the bride : her more ample garments seem to indicate that she is a matron.

The two old women lying, or rather crouching on hands and knees, on the cushions and watching the fight with anxiety and fear are probably slave-women—nurses, stewardesses, or the like, who have been thrown down on the banqueting couches in the tumult of the fight. Prof. Loeschcke, indeed, interprets the old dames as wood-nymphs, lamenting over the defeat of the Centaurs, their sons. But this interpretation has not found much favour. It has been pointed out that wood-nymphs would scarcely be provided with cushions on which to repose.

Lastly, the two comely damsels in the two extremities of the gable (A and V) used commonly to be interpreted as local nymphs. But they are dressed in exactly the same way as the Lapith women E, H, and R, and their breasts are exposed in the same way. Probably, therefore, as Prof. Treu now holds, they too are Lapith women who have been roughly handled by the Centaurs. They seem to be holding together their torn garments at the shoulder.

The figures in the west gable appear to have been painted as well as those in the east gable ; for a piece of the mantle of Apollo was found bearing considerable and undoubted traces of red paint.

On the sculptures in the west gable, their technique, arrangement, etc., see G. Treu, in *Die Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, 3 (1877-1878), pp. 16-22, with pl. xxvi.-xxviii.; *id.*, 'Die Anordnung des Westgiebels am olympischen Zeustempel,' *Jahrbuch d. arch. Inst.* 3 (1888), pp. 175-188 ; *id.*, 'Nochmals die olympischen Giebel,' *ib.* 6 (1891), pp. 98-109 ; *id.*, 'Technik und Bemalung der olympischen Giebelgruppen,' *ib.* 10 (1895), p. 1 *sqq.* ; *id.*, in *Olympia : Ergebnisse*, Textband 3. pp. 69-95, 130-137 ; E. Curtius, in *Die Funde von Olympia*, pp. 13-15 ; *id.*, 'Studien über die Tempelgiebel von Olympia,' *Sitzungsberichte* of the Prussian Academy (Berlin), 1883, No. 33 ; *id.*, 'Die Giebelgruppen des Zeustempels in Olympia und die rothfigurigen Vasen,' *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 41 (1883), pp. 347-360 (reprinted in the writer's *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 2. pp. 304-314) ; *id.*, 'Die Tempelgiebel des Zeustempels in Olympia,' *Abhandlungen* of the Royal Academy of Berlin, 1894, Philosoph.-histor. Cl., Abh. ii. p. 23 (*Gesamm. Abhandl.* 2. p. 358) ; B. Förster, *Olympia*, p. 14 *sqq.* ; G. Loeschcke, *Die westliche Giebelgruppe am Zeustempel zu Olympia* (Dorpat, 1887) ; H. Brunn, 'Ueber Giebelgruppen,' *Sitzungsberichte* of the Bavarian Academy (Munich), 1888, Philosoph.-philolog. Cl., pp. 187-197 ; Flasch, 'Olympia,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, pp. 1104 DD-1104 GG ; Ad. Botticher, *Olympia*,[2] pp. 277-282 ; Friederichs-Wolters, *Gipsabgüsse*, pp. 128-131 ; P. Wolters, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 12 (1887), p. 276 ; Fr. Studniczka, 'Zur Anordnung des Westgiebels am olympischen Zeustempel,' *Jahrbuch d. arch. Inst.* 4 (1889), pp. 166-168 ; Bruno Sauer, 'Pausanias und der Westgiebel von Olympia,' *ib.* pp. 163-166 ; *id.*, 'Nachträgliches zum olympischen Westgiebel,' *Jahrbuch d. arch. Inst.* 6 (1891), pp. 88-97 ; Lucy M. Mitchell, *History of Ancient Sculpture*, pp. 266-270 ; A. S. Murray, *Hist. of Greek Sculpture*, 2. pp. 145-152 ; Collignon, *Hist. de la Sculpture Grecque*, 1. pp. 446-453 ; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. pp. 317-323.

10. 9. **Most of the labours of Hercules are also represented at Olympia** etc. The twelve labours of Hercules were sculptured in relief on twelve metopes which were arranged in two friezes, six metopes in each frieze, over the columns of the fore-temple (*pronaos*) and back-chamber (*opisthodomos*) respectively. This arrangement was unusual. Generally, as in the Parthenon, the sculptured reliefs were placed in the metopes of the outer frieze, over the columns of the peristyle. Pausanias has described the position of these reliefs briefly but correctly when he says that they were "above the doors of the temple" and "above the doors of the back-chamber." Fragments of all twelve metopes have been discovered. Some important pieces were found by the French archaeologists in 1829, and are now in the Louvre (see above, p. 490). The rest were found by the Germans and are now in the Museum at Olympia. Each slab measured originally 1.60 metres in height by 1.50 metres in breadth, so that the figures are not much under life size.

Pausanias has enumerated the metopes from south to north at both ends of the temple. But it will be observed that in his text, as we have it, eleven metopes only are described. The missing metope represented Hercules dragging up Cerberus. It was one of the metopes at the east end of the temple. From the place in which it was found lying on the ground, Prof. Curtius infers, with great probability, that its place was second from the north, between the Augean metope on the north and the Atlas metope on the south. See E. Curtius, in *Abhandlungen* of the Academy of Berlin, 1891, Philos.-histor. Cl., Abh. ii. p. 4 *sq.* (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 2. p. 339 *sq.*) It seems likely that Pausanias noticed this metope, but that the mention of it has dropped out of his text. See Critical Note on the present passage, vol. 1. p. 584.

The twelve metopes, taken in the order in which Pausanias mentions them, that is, beginning on the east side and going from south to north, are as follows:

(1) *The Erymanthian boar.* Hercules was represented carrying the boar on his shoulders. Eurystheus, in terror, had crept into a huge jar, half buried in the ground, and was holding up his hands imploringly to Hercules, who was about to tumble the boar down on the top of him. The fragments of this metope are scanty; but the head and bust of Hercules, the boar's snout, and the figure of Eurystheus in his jar are preserved. The jar was painted red. The same theme is represented in many vase-paintings, notably in a fine one by the celebrated vase-painter Euphronius, now in the British Museum. See W. Klein, *Euphronios*,[2] p. 86 *sqq.*

(2) *The horses of Diomede.* Only one horse seems to have been represented. It was galloping to the right, and Hercules, striding in the opposite direction, was stopping it by seizing the bridle with both hands. The head, torso, and left arm of Hercules are preserved.

(3) *Geryon.* The triple-bodied Geryon occupied the right side of the metope. He has sunk on his knees, and one of his helmeted heads is drooping forward. With two of his bodies he seems to be still fighting, for on his arms he bears two of his shields. His third body

seems to be already slain by Hercules, for the head lies on the ground. Hercules has planted his left foot on Geryon's leg, and is apparently heaving up his club to deal the monster another blow. Preserved are the sinking figure of Geryon, the head of his slain body, and the left lower leg, head, and bust of Hercules.

(4) *Atlas.* This is one of the best preserved and most beautiful of the metopes (Fig. 68). In the centre stands Hercules bearing up the



FIG. 68.—HERCULES AND ATLAS (METOPE OF THE TEMPLE OF ZEUS).

sky on his shoulders. The sky is not represented but is supposed to rest on the cushion which Hercules carries on his shoulders, while with bowed head and raised arms he supports the heavy burden. In front of him, to the spectator's right, stands Atlas holding out to Hercules the golden apples, three in each hand. Hercules is looking down at them with a half-humorous expression. Both Atlas and Hercules are nude. Behind Hercules stands a fair and compassionate maiden, perhaps one of the Hesperides; with her raised left arm she is helping Hercules to uphold his burden. Both in composition and in technical execution this relief is admirable. The figures of Hercules and Atlas are at once strong and shapely; the pose of Atlas in particular is remarkable for its easy grace.

The story which this metope illustrates was told by the historian Pherecydes. It ran thus. Hercules was ordered by Eurystheus to fetch the golden apples of the Hesperides, which were guarded by a dreadful dragon with a hundred heads, far away in the west or north,

in the land where Atlas held up the sky on his back. On his way thither Hercules slew the eagle that preyed on the liver of Prometheus, who out of gratitude gave Hercules a piece of advice. "When you come to your journey's end," said he, "be careful not to pluck the apples yourself, but ask Atlas to do so for you, and offer to hold up the sky in his stead while he goes on your errand." Hercules took the hint, and Atlas, nothing loth to be rid of his burden, went and fetched the golden apples, while Hercules held up the sky. But when he had got the apples, Atlas said that he would take them himself to Eurystheus, and that Hercules might support the sky till he came back. To this the crafty Hercules replied, "Very well. But before you go, just hold up the sky for a minute, while I put a pad on my shoulders. I shall then be able to bear it quite comfortably." Atlas, thinking this only reasonable, laid down the apples on the ground, and relieved Hercules of his load. Then Hercules picked up the apples, bade Atlas farewell, and departed. See Apollodorus, ii. 5. 11; Schol. on Apollonius Rhodius, iv. 1396; cp. [Eratosthenes,] *Catasterismi*, 3.

Pausanias misinterpreted this metope. He says that it represented "Hercules about to take the burden of Atlas on himself." Clearly he mistook Atlas for Hercules, and Hercules for Atlas.

(5) *Cerberus*. Hercules is striding to the left, dragging after him



FIG. 69.—HERCULES SWEEPING THE AUGEAN STABLE (METOPE OF THE TEMPLE OF ZEUS).

Cerberus by a rope, which he holds in both hands. The hell-hound is not seen in full, only his head and paws appeared out of the abyss.

This metope, which Pausanias does not mention (see above, p. 523), was the most difficult of all to restore. The figure of Hercules had to be pieced together out of more than forty fragments. The upper left arm and the left thigh of Hercules are missing; otherwise the figure is fairly complete. His face, gazing back intently at the hound, is noble and expressive. Of Cerberus little is left but the snout and a paw.

(6) *The Augean stable.* Hercules is vigorously sweeping or pitchforking the dung out of the stable (Fig. 69). In his hands, which are heaved up behind him, he held a besom or pitchfork. Beside him, on the spectator's right, stands Athena watching and directing the operation. With her right hand she is pointing at the filth; her left hand rests on the rim of her shield, which stands edgewise on the ground. The goddess wears a crested helmet. Her tranquil pose and dignified bearing contrast well with the hero's energetic action. The figure of Athena is almost entire. Of Hercules the head, bust, arms, and the greater part of the legs are preserved.

The foregoing metopes were all at the east end of the temple. The following were at the west end. In describing them we go from south to north, following Pausanias.

(7) *The Amazon's girdle.* Of this metope nothing is left but the



FIG. 70.—HERCULES AND THE CRETAN BULL (METOPE OF THE TEMPLE OF ZEUS).

head of the Amazon queen. The expression of the face shows that she had received the fatal stroke; there is death in her eyes.

(8) *The Cerynean deer.* Very few fragments of this metope have

been found. The deer seems to have been lying on the ground, while Hercules pressed it down with his knee and grasped it by the horns.

(9) *The Cretan bull.* This is one of the finest and best preserved of the metopes (Fig. 70). In the background is the bull, moving to the right. In front of it is Hercules, leaning with all his might in the opposite direction. His left arm was directed towards the bull's muzzle, his right was raised; but as the arms are broken off very short, it is impossible to say with certainty what he was doing to the bull. It is conjectured that with the left hand he was pulling at a cord fastened to the beast's muzzle, while with the right he was preparing to throw a lasso over its horns. The hero's powerful body, with its straining muscles, is finely rendered.

(10) *The Stymphalian birds.* Hercules, standing on the spectator's right, is holding out something (probably one of the birds) to Athena,



FIG. 71.—HERCULES AND THE STYMPHALIAN BIRDS (METOPE OF THE TEMPLE OF ZEUS).

who, wearing the aegis on her breast, is seated on a rock (Fig. 71). Her body is turned away from Hercules, but her face is looking towards what he is offering to her. Her right hand is held across her body, perhaps to receive the bird. With her left hand she is leaning on the rock. The metope is well preserved, but the hands and considerable pieces of the legs of Hercules are wanting.

(11) *The hydra.* The remains of this metope are very fragmentary.

The hydra was represented as a monster with a thick trunk and a great many serpents growing out of it. How Hercules was combating it we do not know.

(12) *The Nemean lion.* In this metope the fight is represented as over. The lion lies dead on the ground, its tongue lolling from its mouth, its head resting on its paw. Hercules, spent with the struggle, has planted his right foot on the beast's shoulder and rests his head wearily on his hand in a pensive attitude. Beside him, to the spectator's left, stood a woman looking at the victorious hero. Her head and right arm are all that remain. The head is beautiful. Hercules himself is in a very dilapidated state. His head, right hand, right shoulder, left arm, and right leg from the knee downwards are, however, preserved.

The metopes were certainly painted, for vestiges of colour have been found on several of them. Thus the hair and eyes of Hercules in the Lion metope showed traces of red paint; the body of the bull was painted red, and the background bright blue; in the Hydra metope the background was red. This discovery of colour explains one of the striking features of these metopes, namely their want of elaboration in detail. The hair and beards of the figures are simply blocked out, and some parts of the garments are not clearly distinguished from each other. Plainly the sculptor trusted to the use of colour to supply the details which he did not put in with the chisel.

All the figures of the metopes have holes bored perpendicularly in the tops of their heads, shoulders, arms, hands, and in short all exposed extremities. Probably some pieces of mechanism were fastened into these holes for the purpose of preventing birds from taking up their quarters and building their nests among the sculptures. With this intention three-pronged forks were fastened into some of the external ornaments (the antefixes) of Italian temples; one such fork has been found in an antefix at Caere. Golden spikes were fastened on the roof of the temple at Jerusalem to prevent birds perching on it (Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* v. 5. 6); and with a like intention discs were attached to the heads of Greek statues (Hesychius, *s.v.* *μηνίσκοι*; Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* *μηνίσκους*). Euripides has described an attendant scaring away the birds from the temple at Delphi (*Ion*, 154 *sqq.*) See E. Petersen, 'Vogelabwehr,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 14 (1889), pp. 233-239.

Pausanias does not name the artist or artists who sculptured the metopes. The general opinion, held by Professors Overbeck and Collignon, and Messrs. A. S. Murray and Ad. Bötticher, is that in point of style the metopes resemble each other and the gable sculptures so closely that they must have been executed by the same sculptors. With all deference to such distinguished authorities, I find it difficult to share this view. To me it seems that the metopes have a softness and grace which are wholly wanting in the sculptures of the gables. They are pleasing, while the gable sculptures are hard and repellent. Some of the faces and figures in the metopes are beautiful; but is there a single figure in either of the gables that deserves to be called beautiful?

On the other hand the uniformity of style between the metopes themselves is so great that they were probably executed by the same sculptor, or at least by sculptors of the same school working in harmony. The late H. Brunn, indeed, whose fine taste and wide knowledge entitle his opinions to be received with great respect, believed that he could detect a difference of style between the eastern and western metopes; indeed so marked, in his opinion, is this difference that he assigned the two series not only to different sculptors but to different schools. The western metopes, he thought, are the work of Paeonius, an artist of what Brunn called the North Greek School; the eastern metopes are the work of native Peloponnesian sculptors. The Atlas metope in particular was described by Brunn as the finest specimen of Peloponnesian sculpture before the time of Polyclitus; its style, according to him, is diametrically opposed to that of the gables. This last assertion is, in my opinion, well founded.

We have seen (p. 499) that the metopes were rabetted into the triglyph blocks in such a way as to prove that they must have been placed in position when the temple was building, say about 460 B.C. From this it has been inferred that the sculptured reliefs on the metopes were executed at the same time. The inference is probable but not necessary, for it seems possible that the metope blocks may have been carved after they had been placed in position.

On the metopes, see Blouet, *Expéd. Scientifique de Morée: Sculpture*, 1. p. 62 *sq.*, with pl. 74-76; *Die Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, 4. p. 11 *sq.*, with pl. xii. and xiii.; *Die Funde von Olympia*, p. 15 *sq.*, with pl. xx. and xxi.; G. Treu, in *Archäologische Zeitung*, 39 (1881), p. 319 *sq.*; H. Brunn, in *Sitzungsberichte* of the Bavarian Academy (Munich), Philos.-philol. Cl., 1876, p. 318 *sqq.*; *ib.*, 1877, p. 13 *sqq.*; Lucy M. Mitchell, *History of Ancient Sculpture*, pp. 256-261; Friederichs-Wolters, *Gipsabgüsse*, p. 131 *sqq.*; Ad. Bötticher, *Olympia*,[2] p. 282 *sqq.*; Flasch, 'Olympia,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, pp. 1098, 1104 W *sq.*; A. S. Murray, *History of Greek Sculpture*, 2. p. 152 *sqq.*; Collignon, *Hist. de la Sculpture Grecque*, 1. pp. 429-435; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. pp. 332-339; P. Gardner, *New Chapters in Greek History*, p. 281.

10. 9. **cleansing the land of the Eleans** etc. There is a parallel to the Augean stable in the Norse tale of 'The Mastermaid' (Dasent's *Popular Tales from the Norse*, p. 62 *sqq.*) A prince, who is out on his travels, comes to a giant's house, and is ordered by the giant to clean his stables. The prince sets to work with a pitchfork, but for every pitchforkfull that he tosses out ten more come in. But a princess, who lived in the giant's house, tells him to turn the pitchfork upside down and toss with the handle. He does so, and in a trice the stable was clean as if it had been scoured. Is it possible that in one version of the Greek story Athena may have similarly helped Hercules? In the metope Athena is standing beside the hero and pointing with her hand at the heap of dung (see above, p. 525).

10. 9. **the deer.** The deer which Hercules had to bring to his taskmaster Eurystheus was said to be a hind with golden horns (Pindar, *Olymp.* iii. 50 *sqq.*; Euripides, *Hercules Furens*, 375 *sq.*) Now, the only species of deer in which the hind has antlers is the reindeer, and as Hercules is said to have gone to the far north in search

of the hind with the golden horns (Pindar, *l.c.*), it is not improbable that in this legend we have a report which had reached Greece of the existence of the reindeer. This explanation of the legend is due to Prof. W. Ridgeway. See *American Journal of Archaeology*, 9 (1894), p. 571 *sq.*

10. 10. **As you enter the bronze doors** etc. As to the interior of the temple see above, p. 498 *sqq.*

10. 10. **Iphitus being crowned by —— Ecechiria.** Cp. v. 26. 2.

11. 1. **The god is seated on a throne** etc. This colossal image of Zeus by Phidias was the most famous statue of antiquity. But of the many ancient writers who mention it, Pausanias alone attempted to describe it in detail. The traditions as to the dimensions of the image are very discrepant. See note on v. 11. 9. Strabo tells us (viii. p. 353) that the image, though seated, almost touched the roof with its head, giving the spectator an impression that if it stood up it would lift off the roof of the temple. He also informs us (viii. p. 354) that Phidias was assisted in the work by his nephew, the painter Panaenus, who helped to paint the image, especially the drapery. It is said that Panaenus asked Phidias what model he proposed to follow in making the image, and that Phidias replied that he intended to follow the description which Homer gives of the god in the *Iliad* (i. 527 *sqq.*):

> The son of Cronus spake and nodded with his dark brow,
> And the ambrosial locks waved from the king's
> Immortal head, and he shook great Olympus.

This story is told by several ancient writers (Strabo, viii. p. 353; Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* xii., vol. 1. p. 220, ed. Dindorf; Eustathius, on Homer, *Il.* i. 529, p. 145; Valerius Maximus, iii. 7. Ext. 4; Macrobius, *Sat.* v. 13. 23). The workshop in which Phidias made the statue was within the Altis and was shown to visitors down to the time of Pausanias (v. 15. 1 note). An inscription under the feet of the image set forth that Phidias was the sculptor (Paus. v. 10. 2). On the finger of the image Phidias carved the name of his friend Pantarces (Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* iv. 53, p. 47, ed. Potter; Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* Ῥαμνουσία Νέμεσις).

The testimony of antiquity to the extraordinary beauty and majesty of the image is very strong. The Roman general Paulus Aemilius was deeply moved by the sight of it: he felt as if in the presence of the god himself, and declared that Phidias alone had succeeded in embodying the Homeric conception of Zeus (Livy, xlv. 28; Plutarch, *Aemilius Paulus*, 28; Polybius, quoted by Suidas, *s.v.* Φειδίας). Cicero says that Phidias fashioned the image, not after any living model, but after that ideal beauty which he saw with the inward eye alone (*Orator*, ii. 8). Quintilian asserts that the beauty of the image served to strengthen religion, the majesty of the image equalling the majesty of the god (*Inst. Orat.* xii. 10. 9). A poet declared that either the god must have come from heaven to earth to show Phidias his image, or that Phidias must have gone to heaven to behold it (*Anthol. Palat.*, Appendix

Planudea, iv. 81). The statue was reckoned one of the seven wonders of the world (Hyginus, *Fab.* 223), and to die without having seen it was deemed a misfortune (Epictetus, *Dissert.* 1. 6. 23). The rhetorician Dio Chrysostom, a man of fine taste, extolled it in one of his speeches (*Or.* xii.) He calls it "the most beautiful image on earth, and the dearest to the gods" (vol. 1. p. 220, ed. Dindorf). He represents Phidias speaking of his "peaceful and gentle Zeus, the overseer, as it were, of united and harmonious Greece, whom by the help of my art and of the wise and good city of Elis I set up, mild and august in an unconstrained attitude, the giver of life and breath and all good things, the common father and saviour of mankind" (vol. 1. p. 236 *sq.*) And again in a fine passage he says: "Methinks that if one who is heavy laden in mind, who has drained the cup of misfortune and sorrow in life, and whom sweet sleep visits no more, were to stand before this image, he would forget all the griefs and troubles that are incident to the life of man" (vol. 1. p. 229 *sq.*)

The office of cleansing the image was hereditary in the family of Phidias (Paus. v. 14. 5). Oil was applied to it to prevent the ivory from splitting (v. 11. 10); and when, in spite of these precautions, the ivory cracked, it was fitted together again by the sculptor Damophon (iv. 31. 6). In the time of Julius Caesar the image was struck by lightning (Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* iv. 2. 9). The emperor Caligula meditated transporting the image to Rome, and replacing the head of Zeus with his own; but it is said that the ship which was built to convey the image perished by lightning, and that as often as the emperor's agents approached to lay hands on the image, it burst into a loud peal of laughter (Suetonius, *Caligula*, 22; Dio Cassius, lix. 28. 3 *sq.*; Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xix. 1). The image may have perished in the fire which consumed the temple of Zeus in the time of Theodosius II., who began to reign in 408 A.D. (Schol. on Lucian, *Rhetor. praecept.* 10, vol. 4. p. 221, ed. Jacobitz). But the Byzantine historian Cedrenus tells us that at a later time it stood in the palace of Lausus at Constantinople (*Histor. Compend.* vol. 1. p. 564, ed. Bekker; Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, § 754). That palace was burnt down in 475 A.D., and the image of Zeus may have perished with it (Overbeck, *l.c.*)

Strange as it may seem, no statues have come down to us which can with any probability be identified as copies of this most famous of all ancient statues. It used to be thought that the bust of Zeus which was found at Otricoli and is now in the Vatican was copied from the Olympian Zeus of Phidias, and represented it fairly well. The type of head is leonine, with high pointed forehead, broad nose, and great masses of matted hair, like a lion's mane. But this view is now abandoned. Stephani combated it strongly, maintaining that the bust in question represents a later and somewhat degenerate type. The only well authenticated copies of the statue are on coins of Elis; the best are on two coins of Hadrian's reign. One of them, now in Florence, represents the whole statue (Fig. 72); the other, now in Paris, represents the head only (Fig. 73). On the former of these coins (Fig. 72) we see the god seated on his throne, which has the form of an armchair with

a high back; on his extended right hand he supports the winged image of Victory mentioned by Pausanias; in his raised left hand he holds upright a long sceptre; his feet rest on a foot-stool. His mantle is brought over his left shoulder and drapes the upper part of his left arm. Whether he wore a tunic under the mantle, or whether the upper part of his body was left bare, the coin does not enable us to determine, since it exhibits the statue only in profile. But on another coin of Elis, now in Berlin, which shows the statue at full length, the upper part of the body seems to be naked. On the head of Zeus, as represented by the Paris coin (Fig. 73), we observe the crown of olive mentioned by Pausanias; the god's long hair falls in tresses down the back of the neck; his beard is long; his features massive, with an expression of mild gravity and dignity.



FIG. 72.—IMAGE OF ZEUS (COIN OF ELIS).



FIG. 73.—HEAD OF ZEUS (COIN OF ELIS).

To these copies of the statue may now perhaps be added a fresco which was discovered on the wall of a building at Eleusis a few years ago. The building seems to have been a public one; it is situated to the south-west of the great portal (see vol. 2. p. 506), and is believed to date from the time of Hadrian. In this painting the god is portrayed seated on his throne or high-backed armchair. On his extended right hand he holds a winged image of Victory, who in her turn is holding a wreath in her hands. In his raised left hand the god holds upright a long sceptre, the lower end of which rests on the ground. Unfortunately the upper part of the sceptre and the whole of the god's head, with the exception of a piece of the beard, have been effaced. The arms and the body are bare and are painted a ruddy colour; the lower limbs are draped in a violet mantle with a green border, the end of which is brought over the left shoulder. The feet are shod in sandals and rest on a square four-legged stool. This painting, if it is indeed a copy of Phidias's great statue, is of some interest, since it confirms Pausanias's evidence as to the sandals on the god's feet. See Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1888, p. 77 *sqq.*, with pl. 5.

The questions as to the exact type of the statue and the manner in which the throne, described by Pausanias in the present chapter, should be restored, have given rise to a good deal of speculation. But in the absence of sufficient materials to enable us to form a judgment on these questions, the discussion of them is somewhat barren.

Those who wish to go into the subject should consult Quatremère-de-Quincy, *Le Jupiter Olympien* (Paris, 1815); Schubart, 'Zur Beschreibung des olympischen Jupiter bei Pausanias 5. 10. 11,' *Zeitschrift fur Alterthumswissenschaft*, 7 (1840), pp. 385-413; Brunn, in *Annali dell' Instituto*, 23 (1851), pp. 108-117; *id.*, *Gesch.*

der griech. Künstler, 1. p. 168 *sqq.*; Overbeck, 'Ueber den Kopf des phidias'schen Zeus,' *Berichte über die Verhandlungen d. kön. sächs. Gesell. d. Wissen. zu Leipzig*, Philolog.-histor. Classe, 18 (1866), pp. 173-190; *id.*, *Kunstmythologie*, 2. pp. 34-45; *id.*, *Griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. pp. 356-362; E. Petersen, *Die Kunst bei Phidias*, pp. 342-418; Friedländer, 'Der Zeus des Phidias auf den Münzen von Elis,' *Monatsberichte d. kön. preuss. Akad. d. Wissen. zu Berlin*, 1874, pp. 498-501; *id.*, in *Archäologische Zeitung*, 34 (1876), p. 34; Stephani, in *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg), 1875, pp. 161-198; Murray, *History of Greek Sculpture*, 2. pp. 123-131; Lucy M. Mitchell, *History of Ancient Sculpture*, pp. 301-306; Collignon, *Phidias*, pp. 105-113; *id.*, *Histoire de la Sculpture Grecque*, 1. pp. 526-533; Waldstein, 'Phidias,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, pp. 1316-1319; Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 71 *sq.*, with pl. P xx. xxi. xxii. xxiii; Bötticher, *Olympia*,[2] pp. 312-317; Adler, reported in *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift*, 11 (1891), p. 1184.

The question has been much debated whether Phidias made his statue of Zeus at Olympia before or after his statue of the Virgin Athena at Athens. The only direct evidence which we have on the subject is a statement of the historian Philochorus (quoted by a scholiast on Aristophanes, *Peace*, 605) that after dedicating the statue of Virgin Athena at Athens in Ol. 85. 3 (438 B.C.) Phidias was brought to trial on a charge of having embezzled some of the ivory provided for the statue, and that thereupon he fled to Elis, made the image of Zeus in Olympia, and after completing it died or was put to death by the Eleans. This scholium has itself been the theme of much discussion, but the able investigations of Prof. Schöll of Munich leave no reasonable ground for doubt that the whole account of the trial and subsequent fortunes of Phidias contained in the scholium is a quotation from Philochorus. As Philochorus is known to have been a careful and well-informed historian, living in the fourth and third centuries B.C., and as his statement as to the Zeus being a later work than the Virgin Athena is contradicted by no ancient authority, his testimony is not to be rejected without grave cause. Three chief reasons have been adduced to show that Philochorus, or at all events the scholiast who cites him, was mistaken, and that Phidias made the Zeus before the Virgin Athena.

(1) It is said that the scholiast's account is irreconcilable with Plutarch's narrative of the trial and death of Phidias, and that the testimony of Plutarch is to be preferred to that of the scholiast. For in explaining the causes which led to the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war Plutarch says that Phidias was brought to trial at Athens on a charge of having embezzled some of the gold provided for the image of Athena, and of having introduced portraits of himself and Pericles into the shield of the goddess, in consequence of which Phidias was thrown into prison, where he died or was poisoned (Plutarch, *Pericles*, 31). Thus Plutarch apparently believed that the trial of Phidias took place, not in 438 B.C. (the date assigned to it by Philochorus), but very shortly before the Peloponnesian war, in 432 or 431 B.C. If he was right in this belief, then it is quite possible that Phidias, on the completion of his statue of Virgin Athena at Athens in 438 B.C., went to Elis, and after making the statue of Zeus at Olympia returned to Athens, was brought to trial there, and died in prison. This view has been held by some scholars. But it is more probable that Plutarch or his authority was misled by a passage

of Aristophanes (*Peace*, 605 *sqq.*) into bringing the trial of Phidias down to the time immediately before the Peloponnesian war, and that his account of the death of Phidias in prison is nothing but a conjectural explanation of a vague reference in Aristophanes to the 'misfortune' of Phidias. For a comparison of Plutarch's narrative with that of Diodorus (xii. 38-41) seems to show that Plutarch tacitly, as Diodorus avowedly, followed Ephorus, and that Ephorus had blundered seriously by accepting as grave history Aristophanes's comic account of the origin of the Peloponnesian war. The untrustworthiness of Plutarch's narrative is further suggested by the nature of the charges which, according to him, were brought against Phidias. His account of the charge of embezzlement and its triumphant refutation was probably made up from a passage of Thucydides (ii. 13. 4) which has really nothing to do with the trial of Phidias; and the absurd charge about the portraits of Pericles and Phidias has all the appearance of being a late rhetorical invention, which is far from being substantiated by the supposed copies of the shield that have come down to us (vol. 2. pp. 156 *sq.*, 317).

(2) It is urged that if the image of Zeus was not begun until 438 B.C., the temple, which was finished about 456 B.C., remained without an image for nearly twenty years, and that this is improbable. To this it may be answered that many causes of which we are now ignorant may have prevented the Eleans from having the image made sooner. For example, their treasury may have been drained by the expense of building the temple.

(3) Pliny dates Phidias in Ol. 83 (448 B.C.), and it has been suggested that he did so because Phidias's chief work, the great image of Zeus at Olympia, was dedicated in that year. But this is a mere conjecture. Pliny may well have dated Phidias in the eighty-third Olympiad because the Parthenon was begun in the second year (447 B.C.) of that Olympiad.

On the whole, then, the arguments for rejecting the evidence of Philochorus and dating the Zeus before the Virgin Athena are insufficient. On the other hand, the later date of the Zeus, affirmed by Philochorus, is corroborated by other considerations.

(1) Phidias is said to have had an affection for Pantarces, an Elean, who won an Olympic victory in the boys' wrestling match in Ol. 86 (436 B.C.) (Paus. v. 11. 3, vi. 10. 6 note). This agrees excellently with the view that Phidias was working at Olympia from 438 B.C. onward.

(2) The descendants of Phidias remained settled in Elis for centuries (Paus. v. 14. 5). This was natural enough if Phidias spent the last part of his life in Elis and died there, as Philochorus says he did: but it is much less intelligible if Phidias's connexion with Elis terminated with the dedication of the statue of Zeus in 448 B.C., many years before his death.

(3) No very decided argument either way can be deduced from a comparison of the *cella* of the temple of Zeus with the *cella* of the Parthenon, but on the whole the balance of the architectural evidence inclines, in Dr. Dörpfeld's opinion, in favour of the later date of the Zeus. The small square pavement of black Eleusinian stone in front of the image

of Zeus appears to Dr. Dörpfeld a conscious imitation of the larger square pavement in front of the image of Virgin Athena. "Besides," he adds, "it is more probable that in settling the great dimensions of his gold-and-ivory images Phidias was guided by the dimensions of the broad *cella* of the Parthenon, and that afterwards, at the wish of the Eleans, he retained them in his Olympian Zeus, although in fact they were much too large for the size of the building" (*Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. p. 16). The use of black Eleusinian stone side by side with white marble in the Olympian temple also favours the later date of the Zeus; for at Athens this combination of black and white occurs only in buildings which are later than the Parthenon, as in the Propylaea and Erechtheum (*op. cit.* p. 20).

Thus the image of Zeus was probably begun in 438 B.C. How long it was in making is not recorded and we cannot guess, since the date of Phidias's death is unknown. Until recently, indeed, it was inferred from the scholium on Aristophanes (*Peace*, 605), to which reference has already been made, that Phidias died or was put to death in Ol. 87 (432 B.C.) But Sauppe and Prof. Schöll have proved conclusively that this date is assigned by the scholiast, not to the death of Phidias, but to the protest of the Megarians against their exclusion from the Athenian marts.

One more point may here be mentioned, though it does not directly bear on the question of the relative dates of the Zeus and the Virgin Athena. The statement that Phidias was put to death by the Eleans, though it apparently rests on the authority of Philochorus, as quoted by the scholiast on Aristophanes, is generally and with justice rejected by modern scholars. Another scholiast on the same passage of Aristophanes (*Peace*, 605) adds the further detail that the charge on which he was executed by the Eleans was one of embezzlement. Now it is hardly credible that the sculptor should have been tried and punished for embezzlement by both the states on which he shed immortal glory by the two greatest of his works, especially as the ancients themselves inform us that at Athens the accusation was trumped up by a political party for no other purpose than to discredit Pericles, the artist's patron and friend. In all probability, the story of the trial and execution of Phidias at Elis is merely a rhetorical embellishment tacked on the artist's biography by some foolish writer who wished to point the moral of the world's ingratitude to its great men. It is strongly discountenanced by the honours which the descendants of Phidias enjoyed at Olympia for centuries after his death (Paus. v. 14. 5). If the artist had been executed as a criminal, is it likely that his descendants would have been allowed to inherit the honourable office of Burnishers of the image?

See H. Sauppe, 'Der Tod des Pheidias,' *Göttinger Nachrichten d. k. Gesell. d. Wissen.* 1867, No. 10, pp. 173-194; E. Petersen, 'Das Ende des Pheidias,' *Archäologische Zeitung*, 25 (1867), pp. 22-25; A. Michaelis, 'Phidias Tod,' *Archäol. Zeitung*, 34 (1876), pp. 158-161; E. Curtius, 'Phidias Tod und Philochoros,' *Archaol. Zeitung*, 35 (1877), pp. 134-136; *id.*, *Griech. Geschichte*,[6] 2. p. 851 *sq.*; H. Brunn, in *Sitzungsberichte* of the Bavarian Academy (Munich), Philosoph.-philolog. Cl., 1878, vol. 1. pp. 460-464; H. Müller-Strübing, 'Die Legenden vom Tode des Pheidias,' *Fleckeisen's Jahrbucher*, 28 (1882), pp. 289-340; G. Loeschcke,

'Phidias Tod und die Chronologie des olympischen Zeus,' in *Historische Untersuchungen A. Schäfer gewidmet* (Bonn, 1882), pp. 25-46; *id.*, 'Nochmals Phidias' Tod und die Chronologie des olympischen Zeus,' *Festschrift zum fünfzigjährigen Jubiläum des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande* (Bonn, 1891), pp. 16-22; Schöll, 'Der Prozess des Phidias,' *Sitzungsberichte* of the Bavarian Academy (Munich), Philosoph.-philolog. Cl., 1888, vol. 1. pp. 1-53; Murray, *Hist. of Greek Sculpture*, 2. p. 104 *sqq.*; Collignon, *Hist. de la Sculpture Grecque*, 1. p. 525 *sq.*; Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, pp. 58-69.

11. 1. she wears a ribbon etc. On the ancient custom of adorning persons, animals, and lifeless objects with ribbons, see Stephani, in *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg), 1874, p. 137 *sqq.*

11. 1. the bird perched on the sceptre is the eagle. On the eagle as a symbol of Zeus see K. Sittl, 'Der Adler als Attribut des Zeus,' *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, Supplem. 14 (1885), pp. 3-42.

11. 1. On the robe are wrought —— the lily flowers. Mr. Farnell, from a comparison of a passage of Athenaeus (xv. p. 682 e), has suggested that the lilies may have been symbols of immortality (*Classical Review*, 4 (1890), p. 68 *sq.*) See the Critical Note on this passage, vol. 1. p. 584.

11. 2. Apollo and Artemis are shooting down the children of Niobe. Prof. Furtwängler thinks that copies of this group have come down to us in some fine reliefs of Roman date (*Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, p. 68 *sq.*)

11. 3. the contests for boys were not yet instituted etc. See Critical Note on this passage, vol. 1. p. 584.

11. 3. a likeness of Pantarces etc. See vi. 10. 6 note.

11. 5. these barriers —— exhibit paintings by Panaenus etc. Difference of opinion has existed as to where these barriers were placed and how the paintings were arranged on them. The most obvious inference from the words of Pausanias is that the barriers extended between the legs of the throne, that the paintings of Panaenus were arranged on the barriers at the two sides and the back of the throne, while the barrier in front of the throne, facing the door, was painted plain blue, probably because it was in great part hidden by the legs and drapery of Zeus. This was, in outline, the view taken by archaeologists such as Preller (see *Zeitschrift f. die Alterthumswissenschaft*, 7 (1849), p. 396 *sq.*), H. Brunn (*Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. pp. 171-173), and Prof. E. Petersen (*Die Kunst des Pheidias*, pp. 352, 359 *sqq.*), before the complete excavation of the temple of Zeus. But when the German excavations had established the fact that the pedestal of the image and a square space in front of it were enclosed by screens or barriers which extended from pillar to pillar (see above, p. 499 *sq.*), these screens or barriers were not unnaturally identified with the barriers mentioned by Pausanias, and archaeologists accordingly concluded that on these barriers, which extended, not between the legs of the throne, but between the pillars of the *cella*, were placed the paintings of Panaenus. Proceeding on this assumption, Mr. A. S. Murray proposed an arrangement of the pictures, which has been accepted by Dr. Dörpfeld (*Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. p. 13) and Prof. Overbeck (*Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. p. 360 *sq.*) The

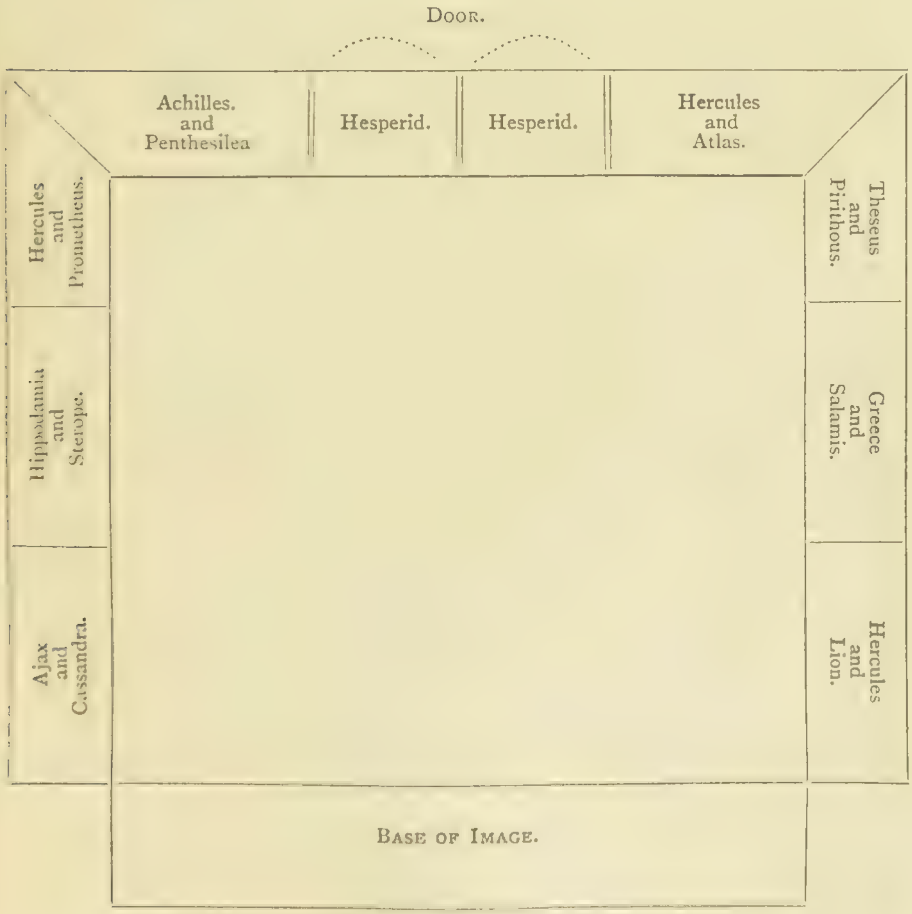
subjects of the pictures, as described by Pausanias, appear at first sight to be nine, as follows :—

1. Hercules and Atlas.
2. Theseus and Pirithous.
3. Greece and Salamis.

4. Hercules and the Nemean lion.
5. Ajax and Cassandra.
6. Hippodamia and her mother (Sterope).

7. Hercules and Prometheus.
8. Achilles and Penthesilea.
9. Two Hesperids.

Mr. Murray supposes that these paintings were placed on the inner sides of the marble screens or barriers which enclosed the black Eleusinian pavement in front of the image, and that they were distributed thus :—



Thus the two Hesperids occupied the inner sides of the two folding-doors, which seem to have been placed in the middle of the barrier which faced the door of the *cella*.

On this arrangement Mr. Murray remarks: "I have obtained a series of three compositions, in each of which the central place is occupied by two female figures in attitudes of repose, while around them is chiefly contest, and I venture to think that this yields an important artistic advantage. . . . Under my arrangement we can understand also why Pausanias mentioned Achilles and Penthesileia as the 'last' group, and yet immediately adds 'and two Hesperids,' these latter having been on the door and not noticed at first, or at all events treated as a separate item." Mr. Murray's arrangement has the further advantage, as he points out, of bringing together the closely allied subjects of Hercules and the Hesperids. The outer sides of all three barriers were, in Mr. Murray's opinion, painted blue. As Pausanias mentions only that the eastern barrier, facing the door, was painted blue, Mr. Murray infers that our author was not admitted to the side aisles, from which alone the outer sides of the northern and southern barriers were visible. He thinks that the paintings of Panaenus would not be placed on the outer sides of the barriers because "these side aisles were so narrow that pictures facing them could not have been appreciated, even if fairly lighted." See A. S. Murray, 'The barrier of the throne of Zeus at Olympia,' *Mittheilungen d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 7 (1882), pp. 274-276; *id.*, *History of Greek Sculpture*, 2. pp. 125-127.

Plausible as Mr. Murray's arrangement is, there are objections to it which seem almost insurmountable. These objections have been raised by Mr. E. A. Gardner. Amongst the most formidable of them are the following. If Pausanias meant to say that the outer side of the barrier was painted plain blue, and that on the inner sides were the paintings of Panaenus, he has expressed himself very ill in saying that "the part of these barriers[1] which faces the door is painted blue only: the rest exhibit paintings of Panaenus." From this description we certainly should not gather, what Mr. Murray assumes, that one and the same barrier was painted blue on the one side and decorated with pictures by Panaenus on the other.

Again, Pausanias says that the effect of these painted barriers was to render it impossible to go under the throne. But the barriers between the columns, on which Mr. Murray supposes the paintings to have been placed, could not effect this purpose; they could only prevent people from entering the enclosed space in front of the pedestal. The great throne would still, in the absence of other barriers, be open between the legs and the supporting columns; and any one who entered through the door on which Mr. Murray places the pictures of the Hesperids would have been quite free to pass under the throne from side to side.

Again, the order in which Pausanias mentions the barriers and the paintings on them tells very strongly against the view that these barriers were no part of the throne itself, but merely enclosed the space in front

[1] This is a more exact rendering than I have given above (vol. 1. p. 252).

of the pedestal. It is to be remembered that the throne did not stand on the floor of the temple, but was elevated on a pedestal of black stone about three feet high. Now in describing the throne itself Pausanias begins with the feet and goes upwards. After mentioning the legs, the cross-bars, and the supporting pillars, he describes the painted barriers which prevented any one from passing under the throne; then he moves upward and completes his description of the throne by enumerating the figures carved on the highest part of it. Having finished his account of the throne, he describes the footstool; then, still descending, he describes the pedestal on which the throne stood; and finally, reaching the level of the ground, he describes the pavement of black stone in front of the pedestal. It is plain that the systematic order of this description is entirely interrupted if we suppose that after describing the legs, cross-bars, and supports of the throne, Pausanias suddenly breaks off, and gets down (so to speak) from the pedestal to describe the barriers which enclosed the black pavement in front of it; then mounts the pedestal again and proceeds with his interrupted description of the throne, completes it, adds an account of the footstool and pedestal, and winds up with a description of the black pavement in front of the pedestal. If the paintings had really been on the barriers which enclosed this pavement, surely Pausanias would have mentioned them along with the pavement, and not in the middle of his description of the throne.

On these grounds it seems we must reject Mr. Murray's arrangement of the pictures, and revert to the old view that the painted barriers formed an integral part of the throne itself, and were placed between its legs. On this view the barrier between the two front legs of the throne was painted blue; the barriers at the two sides and the back of the throne were adorned with the paintings of Panaenus.

But how were the paintings arranged on these three barriers?

As the subjects of the paintings seem at first sight to be nine in number (see above, p. 537), it is natural to divide them into three sets of three each, and to place a set of three pictures on each of the three sides, in such a way that each picture had a panel to itself. To this, however, it has been objected that the arrangement would be unsymmetrical; the first two pictures on each side would comprise two figures in close dramatic relation (Hercules and Atlas, Theseus and Pirithous, etc.), while the third would consist merely of two female figures juxtaposed (Greece and Salamis, Hippodamia and Sterope, etc.) To obviate this objection Mr. E. A. Gardner has suggested that the pictures on each barrier were arranged not in three but in four panels, and that these panels were placed not in a single horizontal row, but in two rows, one above the other, thus:

Hercules and Atlas	Theseus and Pirithous	Hercules and Nemean lion	Ajax and Cassandra	Hercules and Prometheus	Achilles and Penthesilea
Greece	Salamis	Hippodamia	Sterope	Hesperid	Hesperid
Left side		Back		Right side	

This arrangement fits well with the cross-bars and central pillars which were placed in the intervals between the legs of the throne: for thus the pictures in the upper and lower rows would be divided from each other by the cross-bars, while the pictures in the same row would be divided from each other by the central pillar. "The square, metope-like groups find their natural place above the cross-bar, divided by a central pillar. On each side of this central pillar, below the cross-bar, stands a simple female figure, almost like a Caryatid, to help the appearance of strength and solidity which, for the lower part of the structure, is so desirable." Thus too the picture of Achilles and Penthesilea, described by Pausanias as the last of the pictures, becomes really the last, being placed at the extreme end of the whole series: for the two Hesperids, mentioned afterwards by Pausanias, are not beyond it but below it. Finally, barriers or screens of this sort extending between the legs of the throne were structurally a great advantage, since they made it possible to set up inside the throne whatever supports were necessary for the great statue seated upon it. "When we remember the great weight and complicated structure of the framework necessary to a colossal statue, we see that it would have been extremely difficult, if not impossible, to make such a statue seated upon an ordinary chair, of which the seat was supported only at the sides. And, even apart from extra supports, the eight legs or pillars and the cross-bars, as described by Pausanias, would have been unsightly if one could have seen right through from one side to the other, and would have made the whole, as has been suggested, more like a scaffolding than a stately throne. If, on the other hand, each side was completely filled with a screen, then the pillar and the cross-bar would divide the field it offered into four panels admirably adapted for the subjects which were painted upon them by Panaenus." See E. A. Gardner, 'The paintings of Panaenus on the throne of the Olympian Zeus,' *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 14 (1894), pp. 233-241. For a discussion of the older views as to the barriers and the arrangement of the paintings on them, see Schubart, in *Zeitschrift f. die Alterthums-wissenschaft*, 7 (1849), pp. 396-405.

11. 5. **Atlas upholding heaven and earth.** Cp. v. 18. 4. The original form of the myth was that Atlas held up the sky only. Homer

says of Atlas (*Odyss.* i. 52 *sqq.*) that "he holds the tall pillars which keep earth and sky asunder." Hesiod (*Theog.* 517 *sqq.*, 746 *sq.*) speaks of Atlas upholding the sky (but not the earth) on his head and arms. Cp. Paus. vi. 19. 8. In art Atlas is represented supporting a globe on which are depicted the signs of the Zodiac or the moon and stars. See Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, 2. pl. lxiv. No. 822; *Abhandlungen* of the Prussian Academy (Berlin), Philolog.-histor. Class, 1841, plate ii. Cp. Welcker, *Griechische Götterlehre*, 1. p. 746 *sqq.*; Gottf. Hermann, 'De Atlante,' *Opuscula*, 7. pp. 241-259.

It is a very common idea among primitive peoples, especially in the Pacific, that the sky used to lie flat down on the earth, till it was pushed up by some strong man or wonderful animal or plant. For example, the natives of Tracey Island, South Pacific, say that the sky used to lie flat on the coral rocks which form their island. But vapour from the rocks caused the sky to ascend a little. Then one man went to the north and pushed up the sky as far as his arms would reach; and his brother went to the south and did the same; but being a shorter man he had to get on the top of a hillock to raise the sky to the same level as his brother had raised it to in the north. See Turner, *Samoa*, p. 283. The natives of Peru, one of the Gilbert Islands, South Pacific, say that the god Naleu separated the sky from the earth, and pushed it up with long poles (*ib.* p. 297). The Samoans tell how the giant god Ti'iti'i shoved up the sky, and in the rock where he stood there are hollow places nearly six feet long which are shown as his footprints (*ib.* p. 198). Cp. *ib.* pp. 279 *sq.*, 285, 292, 293, 299, 300; Andrew Lang, *Custom and Myth*, p. 45 *sq.*; *id.*, *Myth, ritual and religion*, 2. p. 29 *sq.*

11. 5. **Greece.** As to the personified representation of Greece on the famous 'Persian' vase, see Heydemann in *Annali dell' Instituto*, 45 (1873), pp. 20-52; and on the personification of countries in ancient art and poetry see Ad. Gerber, in *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, Supplem. 13, pp. 246-257.

11. 6. **the outrage offered by Ajax to Cassandra.** Cp. i. 15. 2; v. 19. 5 note; x. 26. 3.

11. 6. **Hercules —— killed the eagle that was torturing Prometheus on the Caucasus.** This scene is depicted on archaic Greek vases. Prometheus is seen impaled, in front of him is the eagle, behind him is Hercules shooting at the bird. See O. Jahn, in *Archäologische Zeitung*, 16 (1858), pp. 165-170, Tafel cxiv. The release of Prometheus by Hercules was the subject of a sculptured group in the temple of Athena at Pergamus; fragments of the group were discovered in the German excavations of 1880. See A. Milchhoefer, *Die Befreiung des Prometheus, ein Fund aus Pergamon* (Berlin, 1882). On other representations of the same subject in ancient art see O. Jahn, *Archäologische Beiträge*, p. 226 *sqq.*

Stories of giants who are chained on mountains are still current in the Caucasus. Thus in the district of Kabarda, on the northern slope of the Caucasus, a story goes that a giant is chained to the rock on Mt. Elburz for having tried to hurl down God. Seldom has it been given

to mortal men to see him; but no man may see him twice. He lies in a sort of swoon, but from time to time he wakes up and asks his guards if the rushes still grow on earth and the sheep still drop their young. When they say 'Yes,' he falls into a fury and clanks his chains; that makes thunder. He rages and howls; that makes storms. At last he weeps in helpless fury; that makes the rain and swells the torrents that come rushing down from the high hills and tell the world of his woes.

The Georgians say that a giant called Amiran lies chained in a cave upon Mt. Elburz. But he has two black dogs that lick his fetters: so the fetters grow thinner and thinner, till every year on Good Friday they are as thin as a leaf, and next day they would snap in two, if it were not that on the Friday evening or the Saturday morning all the smiths in Georgia give some swingeing blows on their anvils; that rivets the giant's chains once more. And this they do to this day. See *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 14 (1882), p. 86 *sq.* A recent traveller in Georgia says: "As is well known, Mkhinvari is generally identified with the story of Prometheus, although the mountain does not correspond with the description given by Aeschylus. Early travellers even went so far as to assert that they had seen the very chains with which the hero was bound, and there is a local legend to the effect that a giant still lies there in fetters. When I approached the mountain from Kobi I could not help being reminded of Prometheus. I saw a gigantic black space of irregular form with snow all around it: an imaginative mind found in this irregular tract a considerable resemblance to a human shape" (Oliver Wardrop, *The Kingdom of Georgia* (London, 1888), p. 60). Cp. Haxthausen, *Transkaukasia*, 1. p. vii.

11. 6. Penthesilea —— Achilles. In the Trojan war Achilles slew Penthesilea, queen of the Amazons, who fought on the Trojan side. But no sooner had he slain her than, struck by her beauty, he mourned her death. See Dictys Cretensis, *Bell. Troj.* iv. 3; Schol. on Homer, *Il.* ii. 220.

11. 6. two Hesperids bearing the apples etc. To fetch a golden apple from the Tree of Life which grew at the end of the world is a task set the hero in a German folk-tale (Grimm's *Household Tales*, No. 17). In a Chaldean myth Izdhubar, after long wanderings, arrives at the gates of Ocean, where he finds a forest, the trees of which bear fruits of emerald and crystal, and wondrous birds lodge in the branches. Izdhubar plucks one of the fruits and smites one of the birds. He is pursued by a nymph Sidouri, who dwells in the forest. The scene is represented on a Babylonian cylinder found at Curium in Cyprus. Mr. C. W. Mansell compares the story with that of Hercules and the apples of the Hesperides. See *Gazette Archéologique*, 5 (1879), pp. 114-119. "Among the Chinese a tradition is preserved concerning a mysterious garden, where grew a tree, bearing apples of immortality, guarded by a winged serpent, called a dragon" (E. R. Emerson, *Indian Myths*, p. 136).

11. 6. Panaenus was a brother of Phidias. Strabo (viii. p. 354) calls Panaenus a nephew (ἀδελφιδοῦς) of Phidias. Pliny, like Pausanias,

calls him the brother of Phidias (*N. H.* xxxv. 54 and 57, xxxvi. 177). Brunn agreed with Strabo (though he translated ἀδελφιδοῦς by *Vetter*). Prof. W. Klein, on the other hand, agrees with Pausanias and Pliny. See Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 2. p. 47; W. Klein, in *Archaeolog. epigraph. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn*, 12 (1888), p. 98 *sq.* Panaenus flourished Ol. 83 (448-445 B.C.), according to Pliny (*N. H.* xxxv. 54). Cp. Brunn, *l.c.*

11. 7. **in the Iliad Homer says** etc. See *Iliad*, v. 749 *sqq.*

11. 7. **The footstool —— has golden lions.** It is not clear from Pausanias's words whether these golden lions were wrought in relief on the footstool, like the battle of Theseus with the Amazons, or whether they were modelled in the round and attached to some part of the footstool. The general and most probable view is that they supported the stool at its four corners, serving instead of feet. See Schubart, in *Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft*, 7 (1849), p. 405 *sq.*; Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 174; Murray, *Hist. of Greek Sculpture*, 2. p. 127; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. p. 360; Adler, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. p. 16 note.

11. 8. **On the pedestal —— there are figures of gold** etc. It is a probable conjecture that the central scene of this composition was the birth of Aphrodite from the sea, round which were grouped six pairs of deities, three pairs on each side, the whole composition being terminated on one side by the Sun in his chariot, and on the other side by the Moon on horseback. The arrangement would accordingly be as follows:

The Sun	Zeus and Hera	(Hephaestus) and a Grace	Hermes and Hestia	Aphrodite Love and Persuasion	Apollo and Artemis	Hercules and Athena	Poseidon and Amphitrite	The Moon

The name of one of the male deities has clearly dropped out of the text of Pausanias; it was probably Hephaestus, who had one of the Graces to wife (Paus. ix. 35. 4). A composition so strictly symmetrical could hardly, as Brunn justly observed, be distributed round the four sides of the pedestal; it probably occupied the front only. This is confirmed by Pausanias's remark that the figures of Poseidon, Amphitrite, and the Moon were "at the end of the pedestal." The idea which the composition as a whole was meant to illustrate is clearly that of the all-pervading power of the goddess of Love ("*Hominum divomque voluptas*") in the world of nature and of the gods.

Mr. Thomas Davidson considers that the central subject of the composition was the marriage of Zeus and Hera, round whom the other gods were grouped, with the Sun and Moon in the sky above them. But this view receives no support from the description of Pausanias.

See Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 174 *sq.*; E. Petersen, *Die Kunst des Pheidias*, pp. 372-374; Murray, *Hist. of Greek Sculpture*, 2. p. 127 *sq.*; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. p. 360; Thomas Davidson, in *American Journal of Philology*, 2 (1881), p. 352 *sq.*

11. 8. Love receiving Aphrodite as she rises from the sea. There is extant a small silver-gilt medallion on which Aphrodite is represented in relief, rising from the sea, while the winged Love (Eros) bends over her and receives her in his arms. Prof. Furtwängler considers it highly probable that this is a copy of the relief on the throne of Zeus. See *Gazette archéologique*, 5 (1879), plate 19, No. 2, with the remarks of De Witte. pp. 171-174; Murray, *Hist. of Greek Sculpture*, 2. p. 127; Roscher's *Lexikon*, 1. p. 1356; Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, p. 68. On the birth of Aphrodite from the sea, and the famous picture of Apelles representing it, see Stephani, in *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg), 1870-1, pp. 111-143, 221-223; *id.*, 1873, pp. 6 *sqq.*, 43 *sqq.*; O. Benndorf, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 1 (1876), pp. 50-66; G. Treu, 'Aphrodite Anadyomene,' *Archäologische Zeitung*, 33 (1876), pp. 39-45, with pl. 7 and 8. A terra-cotta found in a tomb on the peninsula of Taman, in South Russia, represents Aphrodite issuing from a two-valved cockle-shell. Stephani conjectured that she was so represented on the base of the image of Zeus, and that the terra-cotta may be a copy of that sculpture. Prof. Treu, however, disagrees with him, and so did Prof. Overbeck (*Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. p. 572).

11. 8. the Moon riding what seems to me a horse. In vase paintings and on coins the Moon is sometimes represented on horseback. It has been pointed out that "in most cases where we have in Greek art a female figure on horseback, the presumption is in favour of its identification with Selene [the Moon]. Riding figures are very rarely represented, except in the case of an Amazon." See Mr. Cecil Smith, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 9 (1888), p. 7 *sqq.*; Roscher, *Ueber Selene und Verwandtes* (Leipzig, 1890), p. 39 *sqq.*; K. D. Mylonas, in Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1893, pp. 218-222, with pl. 15. More commonly the Moon was portrayed riding in a chariot. See O. Jahn, *Archäologische Beiträge*, pp. 51 *sqq.*, 79 *sqq.* The "silly story" about the moon and the mule to which Pausanias alludes is probably the one mentioned by Festus, *s.v. mulus*, who says (p. 148, ed. Müller) that the moon was supposed to ride a mule because she was as barren as a mule; or because, just as a mule was not born of a mule but of a mare, so the moon shone not by her own light but by the light of the sun.

11. 9. the measurements —— of Zeus. The measurements of the image are very variously given by ancient writers. Hyginus speaks of it (*Fab.* 223) as 60 feet (high). Others speak of it as 100 feet or even 100 cubits high. See Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, §§ 732, 733, 734, 736-738; Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 175 *sq.* We have to remember that the total height of the temple was only 68 feet (Paus. v. 10. 3). From the dimensions of the temple and the statement of Strabo as to the size of the image (see above, p. 530), Prof. Adler has calculated that the statue was seven times the size of life (*Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. p. 15 note).

11. 10. The ground in front of the image is flagged —— with black stone etc. See above, p. 500.

11. 10. oil is good for the image etc. Various conjectures have been propounded as to the way in which the oil was applied so as to

preserve the image from the injurious effect of the marsh air. Methodius informs us that Phidias gave orders to pour out oil in front of the image "so as to keep it immortal as far as possible" (Photius, *Bibliotheca*, p. 293 b 1 *sqq.*, ed. Bekker). But it is hardly to be thought that the mere evaporation of the oil so poured out could avail to counteract the influence of the climate. The most probable explanation was suggested by Schubart. He pointed out that the wooden core of the statue would be much more likely than the ivory plates to suffer from the moisture of the air and the changes of temperature, and that if the ivory of the statue cracked, as we know it did (Paus. iv. 31. 6), this was probably an effect of the warping, shrinking, or swelling of the wooden framework on which the ivory plates were fastened. Accordingly he supposed that the oil was applied, not to the ivory, but to the wooden core by means of tubes or channels which ramified through the colossal image like veins in the human body. The oil, being poured into these tubes, would soak into the wood and keep it from warping and shrinking; and the excess would trickle out, by some secret outlet, into the basin of black and white stone in front of the image. The apertures of the tubes at their upper ends were doubtless hidden away in inconspicuous parts of the image, and were probably closed with ivory plugs. This explanation is confirmed by the similar treatment of the wooden image of Artemis at Ephesus; there were a great many holes in the image into which perfumed oil was poured to preserve the wood from splitting (Pliny, *N. H.* xvi. 213 *sq.*) The scented oil of Chaeronea, distilled from roses, lilies, and other flowers, was smeared on wooden images to keep them from rotting (Paus. ix. 41. 7). See Schubart, in *Zeitschrift f. die Alterthumswissenschaft*, 7 (1849), pp. 407-413. Schubart's explanation is accepted by Brunn (*Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 176 *sq.*) and Overbeck (*Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. p. 362). On ancient methods of preserving statues from the effects of weather and climate, see E. Kuhnert, 'De cura statuarum apud Graecos,' *Berliner Studien für classische Philologie*, 1 (1883), p. 331 *sqq.*

12. 1. **the things which project from an elephant's mouth** etc. Pausanias is wrong in arguing that an elephant's tusks are horns, not teeth; they are really a pair of upper incisor teeth (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 9th ed., 13. p. 520).

12. 1. **the elks —— the Ethiopian bulls.** See ix. 21. 2 *sq.*, with the notes.

12. 3. **they imported ivory from India and Ethiopia** etc. See Blümner, *Technologie*, 2. p. 362 *sq.* The best ivory is the African, and the finest of all is that which comes from near the equator. The tusks of the African elephants are also, as a rule, larger than those of the Indian elephants (*Encyc. Britann.* 9th ed., 13. pp. 520, 521).

12. 4. **a woollen curtain, a product of the gay Assyrian looms** etc. There are some grounds for believing that this Eastern curtain, presented to the temple of Zeus by Antiochus, had been originally the veil of the temple at Jerusalem. For Antiochus carried off the veil (I. Maccabees, i. 22; Josephus, *Antiquit. Jud.* xii. 5. 4), and after robbing and defiling the temple, attempted to reconsecrate it to Olym-

pian Zeus (II. Maccabees, vi. 2). It would, therefore, be very natural that Antiochus should dedicate to Zeus in the most famous of his sanctuaries the curtain which he had carried off from the temple at Jerusalem. See Clermont-Ganneau, in *Journal Asiatique*, 7me Série, 10 (1877), pp. 212-215; *id.*, in *Palestine Exploration Fund: Quarterly Statement for* 1878, p. 80 *sq.* It is not however certain, though it is highly probable, that the Antiochus who robbed the temple at Jerusalem of its veil was the same Antiochus who presented the curtain to the temple of Zeus. Josephus (*l.c.*) describes the veil or rather veils carried off by Antiochus as made of fine linen (*bussos*) and scarlet.

A Jewish Rabbi, a contemporary of Pausanias, asserted that he saw at Rome the curtain which had once hung in the temple at Jerusalem. The passage of the Talmud in which this statement occurs was pointed out to me by my friend Dr. S. Schechter, Reader of Talmudic in the University of Cambridge, who was so kind as to translate it for me. It runs thus: "Rabbi Eleazar, son of Rabbi Jose, said: 'I was in Rome, where I have seen the curtain, on which were still drops of blood from the sprinkling on the Day of Atonement'" (*Babylonian Talmud*, Yoma 57 A). This statement, if true (and there seems no reason to question it), is not inconsistent with the theory that the curtain in the temple of Zeus at Olympia was the one which Antiochus carried off from Jerusalem; for of course the lost curtain would be replaced by another, which in its turn may very well have been brought to Rome, along with the golden candlestick, by the conqueror Titus after the sack of Jerusalem.

When Pausanias speaks of "Assyrian" looms (more literally woven stuffs) he probably means no more than "Syrian," as when he says (i. 14. 7) that the Assyrians were the first to worship the Heavenly Aphrodite. On Syrian and Babylonian woven stuffs see Movers, *Die Phoenizier*, ii. 3, p. 258 *sqq.*; Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 2. pp. 769-776. Some fragments of ancient textile fabrics have survived to the present day, and are now in the Hermitage Museum at St. Petersburg. See *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg) for 1878-79, Atlas, pl. iii.-vi., with Stephani's remarks on the patterns used by ancient weavers, p. 40 *sqq.*

We are told that in Greek temples the curtains were drawn at noon, and a sign was put up on the door to warn people that they were not to enter, because the gods were journeying (Porphyry, *De antro nympharum*, 26 *sq.*) The noonday hour is regarded by many people with mystic awe. Cp. *The Golden Bough*, 1. p. 142 *sq.*

The mode of lowering the curtain in the temple of Zeus, instead of hauling it up to the roof, is the subject of an article by Kuhl ('Der Vorhang im Tempel zu Olympia,' *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 13 (1855), pp. 41-48).

12. 5. **the bronze horses of Cynisca** etc. The pedestal on which this group stood has been discovered at Olympia. Though broken off below, it is still about 3 feet high. It is of quadrangular shape and of white marble; on the top are three holes in which dowels for attaching the statue were fitted. The inscription on the pedestal runs: [Ἀπε]λλέας

Καλλικλέους [ἐποί]ησε, "Apelleas, son of Callicles, made (it)." We can restore the artist's name, because the same artist made a statue of Cynisca herself, of which the pedestal with the inscription has been found. See vi. 1. 6 note. The inscription clearly belongs to the first half of the fourth century B.C. See *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 5, *Die Inschriften*, No. 634; Furtwängler, in *Archäologische Zeitung*, 37 (1879), p. 152 *sq.*; Loewy, *Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer*, No. 100. It was formerly stated that the pedestal was found exactly in the position described by Pausanias, namely in the north-west corner of the fore-temple. But it appears that this is a mistake. There certainly was a pedestal in this corner of the fore-temple, as the marks on the pavement show; indeed the base itself was discovered by the French in their excavations. But this base was not, according to Dr. Dörpfeld, the one which supported the bronze horses of Cynisca. See *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. pp. 10, 18. As to Cynisca see iii. 8. 1; iii. 15. 1; vi. 1. 6.

12. 6. **the Achaean confederacy.** The Achaean League or confederacy, which had been dissolved after its overthrow by Mummius in 146 B.C., was reconstituted and extended by Augustus; the annual parliament or diet of the confederacy met in Argos. See Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, 5. p. 242 *sq.*

12. 6. **Trajan —— conquered the Getae.** As to Trajan's campaigns against the Getae or Dacians in what is now Hungary, see Dio Cassius, lxviii. 6-14, who describes (c. 13) the stone bridge on twenty piers which Trajan built over the Danube. The piers of the bridge are still visible, when the river is low, at the village of Severin, a little below the Iron Gate. See Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, 8. p. 36 *sq.*; Smith's *Dict. of Geogr.* 1. p. 744. The history of these Dacian campaigns is graphically represented on the sculptured reliefs of Trajan's column, which is still standing in Rome. The sculptures wind in spiral bands round the shaft of the column. "Though wanting in grace and refinement, they are full of dramatic vigour, and form a sort of encyclopaedia of Roman costume, arms, and military engineering, and methods of advance and attack by land and river, in open field, and against walled cities, with the most wonderful fertility of design and careful attention to detail" (J. H. Middleton, *The Remains of Ancient Rome*, 2. p. 31).

12. 6. **made war on —— the Parthians.** See Dio Cassius, lxviii. 17 *sqq.*

12. 6. **the baths called after him.** These baths, of which few or no remains are now visible, seem to have adjoined the baths of Titus. See J. H. Middleton, *The Remains of Ancient Rome*, 2. p. 157 *sq.*

12. 6. **a building for horse-races.** This perhaps refers to the alterations and improvements made by Trajan in the Circus Maximus at Rome. See Pliny, *Panegyricus*, 51. In his time this vast Circus "must have been a structure of extraordinary size and magnificence, wholly covered inside and out with white marble, relieved with gold and painting, brilliant mosaics, columns of coloured Oriental marbles, and statues of white marble and gilt bronze" (J. H. Middleton, *op. cit.* 2. p. 44).

12. 6. **the Forum at Rome.** See x. 5. 11; J. H. Middleton, *op. cit.* 2. pp. 24-38.

12. 7. **the round structures.** What exactly these round structures were we do not know. Schubart supposed they were niches, but this interpretation is not favoured by the expression (*κατασκευάσματα*), which Pausanias employs to designate them. The same word is used by him elsewhere (i. 20. 4, vi. 22. 1) as a general designation of a building or structure.

12. 7. **amber —— is found in the sands of the Eridanus.** Where was the Eridanus? The ancients themselves gave different answers, and modern opinion is still divided on the subject. Pausanias seems to have regarded it as a river that flowed into the northern ocean (see i. 4. 1). This view is mentioned by Herodotus (iii. 115): "Some think," he says, "that Eridanus is the name given by the barbarians to a river which falls into the northern sea, and from which the amber comes." But Herodotus himself rejects this view, and seems to regard the river as fabulous. Aeschylus identified the Eridanus with the Rhone (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxvii. 32). But the river which was generally held to be the Eridanus was the Po. Pherecydes, a contemporary of Herodotus, is said to have been the first who so identified it (Hyginus, *Fab.* 154). In modern times it has, perhaps, been generally believed that the true Eridanus was one of the rivers of northern Europe at the mouth of which amber is found, and it has been variously identified with the Rhine, the Vistula, and the Rhodaune, a small stream which flows by Danzig. As no amber is found on the Rhone or the Po, it has been conjectured that the reason why the Greeks so commonly regarded one or other of these rivers, especially the latter, as the amber-river, may have been that the amber was brought to them from the mouths of these rivers, whither it had been conveyed overland from the shores of the Baltic and the North Sea. See Bähr and Rawlinson on Herodotus, *l.c.*; Smith's *Dict. of Geogr. s.v.* 'Eridanus'; Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, 1. pp. 212-223, 473 *sqq.* Prof. G. F. Unger thinks that the Eridanus was a river of Venetia. See his paper, 'Der Eridanos in Venetian,' in *Sitzungsberichte* of the Bavarian Academy (Munich), Philos.-philolog. Cl. 1878, pp. 261-304. Mr. Oskar Schneider thinks that the Eridanus may have been a river of Sicily, because amber is found there. He identifies the Sicilian amber with the *lyncurium* of the ancients (see Pliny, *N. H.* xxxvii. 52 *sq.*) See Oskar Schneider, *Zur Bernsteinfrage, insbesondere über sicilianischen Bernstein und das Lynkurion der Alten* (Dresden, 1887). Amber has been discovered in the royal graves at Mycenae and in prehistoric sites in northern and central Italy: and by chemical analysis it has been shown to be Baltic amber. It thus appears that trade in amber must have been carried on between the north and the south of Europe in prehistoric times. The route was probably overland, as it was in Pliny's time (*N. H.* xxxvii. 43). But the Phoenicians may have conveyed it from the mouth of the Rhone and the head of the Adriatic to various parts of Greece and Italy. In Latium and Etruria amber has been found in nearly all the tombs which contain objects of Phoenician manufacture. On the other hand,

though it was so prized in the west, it seems to have been unknown in the great empires of the east. At least it has not been found in Egypt or Assyria.

See Schliemann, *Tiryns*, pp. 368-372; W. Helbig, *Die Italiker in der Poebene*, p. 21; *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 14 (1882), p. 71 *sq.*; Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 3. p. 854 *sq.* The *locus classicus* on amber is Pliny, *N. H.* xxxvii. 30-53.

12. 7. **the other electrum is an alloy of gold with silver.** "Electrum, although merely a mixture of gold and silver, was regarded by the ancients as a peculiar and somewhat less valuable variety of gold. And there is reason to believe that they estimated its value as tenfold that of silver, and three-fourths that of gold, this being in fact not far from the truth, as the better sort of electrum does contain about three-fourths of gold and one-fourth of silver" (Percy Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, p. 4). As a natural alloy it is found in the bed of the Pactolus and other rivers of Western Asia; the oldest Lydian coins were made of it. See Gardner, *op. cit.* p. 2; W. Ridgeway, *Origin of metallic Currency*, p. 204; Hultsch, *Griech. u. röm. Metrologie*,[2] p. 180 *sqq.* On *electrum* in Homer, cp. P. Gignet, 'Sur l'electrum d'Homère,' *Revue archéologique*, April-September, 1859, pp. 235-241.

12. 8. **the oath of alliance for a hundred years** etc. This treaty was concluded in 420 B.C. See Thucydides, v. 43-47. A fragment of it has been found engraved on stone at Athens (*C. I. A.* iv. p. 14, No. 46 b; Hicks, *Greek historical Inscriptions*, No. 52).

13. 1. **a precinct set apart for Pelops.** Pausanias has exactly described the situation of this precinct, which occupied a low hillock, rising 3 to 6 feet above the level of the surrounding ground, to the north of the temple of Zeus. It had the form of an irregular pentagon with a Doric portal (propylaeum) on the south-west. Only the foundations of the portal are standing; the columns and entablature were used to build the east Byzantine wall. The portal had three doorways, a broad one in the centre, and two narrow ones at the sides. A ramp, constructed of masonry of which some remains exist, led up to it. There seems to have been an older portal on the same site; Dr. Dörpfeld considers that two existing columns and a wall belong to it. The materials of which the two portals were built are different; in both of them the stone is a shell-limestone, but in the older portal the limestone is hard and the shells completely petrified; in the newer the limestone is softer, and the petrifaction incomplete. The columns of the older portal rested, not on a continuous stylobate, but on separate foundations; hence Dr. Dörpfeld conjectures that they were originally of wood. As to the date of this older portal we are completely in the dark. The newer portal seems to have been built about the end of the fifth or the beginning of the fourth century B.C., to judge from the architectural and technical style of the remains. In Roman times the portal received a coating of stucco. Of the enclosing wall of the sacred precinct a piece is still standing on the east side. It

is built of squared blocks of conglomerate; but whether it is contemporary with the older or the newer portal, we cannot say.

See *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Tafelband 1, pl. xlii.; W. Dörpfeld, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. p. 56 *sq.*; *Die Funde von Olympia*, p. 24; Curtius und Adler, *Olympia und Umgegend*, p. 36; Flasch, 'Olympia,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1066 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 341 *sq.*

Excavations made within the Pelopium led to the discovery of an immense quantity of archaic bronzes and terra-cottas. A great layer of ashes deep down in the western and north-western parts of the precinct was crowded with these objects, but they seem to have belonged, not to the Pelopium, but to a great altar situated between the Pelopium and the Heraeum (see note on v. 14. 8 'Olympian Hera'). The fact that the ashes and votive offerings of the altar were found under the Pelopium proves that the latter was of more recent date than the altar, which must have lost much of its sanctity before a new precinct could be constructed over its ashes. Large quantities of similar objects, however, were also discovered under the eastern and south-eastern slope of the hillock which is enclosed by the Pelopium; and it is probable that the objects here unearthed are votive offerings dedicated to Pelops. They include terra-cotta figures of men and animals: a quantity of bronze animals, including a ram; miniature kettles to be set on tripods; fragments of large tripods; a great many thin strips of bronze decorated with geometrical patterns, which had formed parts of diadems and girdles; clasps; pieces of necklaces; armlets: and needles. All these things are of very ancient pattern. Further, there were found plain rings of bronze in extraordinary numbers: also small spiral rings; cymbals; small double axes; leaf-shaped spearheads: arrowheads; fragments of armour; griffin-heads from kettles, and several small ointment pots, of old Corinthian style, belonging to the seventh century B.C.; and finally an engraved gem of the eighth or seventh century B.C. To the south-east, within the Pelopium but near the boundary wall, a hole filled with black earth and old votive offerings was discovered. It is conjectured to have been the pit in which sacrifices were offered to Pelops. See *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 4. p. 3.

13. 2. **Hercules also was a great grandson of Pelops** etc. That is, Hercules as well as Theseus was a great grandson of Pelops. Cp. v. 10. 8.

13. 2. **sacrificed into the pit —— the victim is a black ram.** The black colour of the victim and the fact that the sacrifice was performed in a trench or pit instead of upon an altar would suffice to show that Pelops was worshipped as a dead man or hero, not as a god. Cp. ix. 39. 6; and note on iv. 32. 3. The tomb of Pelops which Pindar mentions (*Olymp.* i. 149) was probably the mound or barrow within the precinct. It is said that once a year all the lads of Peloponnese lashed themselves on the grave of Pelops, till the blood streamed down their backs as a libation to the departed hero (Schol. on Pindar, *Olymp.* i. 146). We are also told that the competitors in the games sacrificed to

Pelops before they sacrificed to Zeus (Schol. on Pindar, *Ol.* i. 149). To the south of the Pelopium ashes and charred wood have been found. They may mark the spot where the sacrifices to Pelops were offered (Curtius, *Die Altäre von Olympia*, p. 26; *id.*, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 2. p. 61 *sq.*)

13. 2. **to give the neck —— to the woodman.** A sacrificial calendar of Cos, found inscribed upon stone, prescribes the shares of the victim which were to be allotted to various persons as their perquisites. The priest generally got the skin and a leg, but on the occasion of the sacrifice of a sheep and a pregnant ewe to Demeter he was to get the ears. Another official (whose title is lost) was, at the sacrifice of a choice ox to Zeus Polieus, to receive half of the liver and half of the paunch; the *thyaphoros* was to get part of the leg, a double slice of the back, some flesh from under the shoulders, and αἱματίου ὀβελὸς τρικώλιος (which seems to mean as much of the blood or black-pudding as could be got by plunging a three-pronged fork into it); to the family of the Nestorids was to be given a double slice of the back; and the physicians, flute-player, smiths, and potters were also to receive shares. At the sacrifice of three full-grown sheep and a choice ox to Zeus the Contriver (cp. Paus. ii. 22. 2) the family of the Phyleomachids were to get a hoof and the flat of a foot of the ox, and the breast and another piece of the flesh of each sheep. See *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 9 (1888), pp. 323-337; Paton and Hicks, *The Inscriptions of Cos*, No. 38, pp. 88-90. Elsewhere it was provided that the priest should have the tongue and a shoulder, or a leg and a shoulder, or the tongue, the loin, and the tail. See Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* Nos. 373, 376, 379; and in general P. Stengel, *Die griech. Sakralalterthümer*, § 67; Mr. Ward Fowler, article 'Sacrifice,' in Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiquities*,[3] 2. p. 585.

13. 3. **the white poplar.** See v. 14. 2; and cp. v. 5. 5. For the use of a special kind of wood to burn the flesh of the victims, cp. ii. 10. 5. In some sacrifices the use of the wood of the vine was forbidden, it not being a 'sober' wood (Schol. on Sophocles, *Oed. Col.* 100). On the ritualistic sense of 'sober' see note on v. 15. 10.

13. 3. **Whoever eats of the flesh —— may not enter the temple of Zeus.** The reason for this and the analogous prohibition at Pergamus, which Pausanias mentions, probably was that, Pelops being only a dead man or hero, his worshippers contracted a certain ceremonial defilement which they might not carry into the sanctuaries of the high gods. In the island of Ceos persons who had offered the annual sacrifices to their departed friends were unclean for two days afterwards, and might not enter a sanctuary. Mourners, too, were unclean after a funeral and had to wash before they became 'clean.' See Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* Nos. 468, 469. No one might enter the sanctuary of Men Tyrannus for ten days after being in contact with the dead (Dittenberger, *Syll. Ins. Graec.* No. 379).

13. 4. **a bone of Pelops.** Cp. vi. 22. 1 note. The same miraculous virtue was ascribed in antiquity to bones of heroes which is still attributed in Roman Catholic countries to the bones of saints. Cp. Index, *s.v.*

'Bone;' Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, p. 281 note u; and notes on i. 35. 5, and 7.

13. 7. **In my country there are still left signs** etc. This passage is important as proving that Pausanias was a Lydian; probably he was a native of Magnesia, at the northern foot of Mt. Sipylus. See Introduction. There is no place to which he is so fond of referring as Mt. Sipylus. Professor W. M. Ramsay, who has traversed the mountain in all directions and has probably seen more of it than any one but the wood-cutters, says: "One who reads over the passages in which Pausanias refers to Sipylos, Niobe, and Tantalus, cannot fail to be struck with the life-like and telling accuracy of his language; it is that of a loving eye-witness" (*Journ. Hellenic Studies*, 3 (1882), p. 62 note 3). It may be convenient to collect here the scattered references made by Pausanias to the natural features and antiquities of the mountain, and to indicate how far these have been identified in modern times.

Mount Sipylus is a short range of mountains stretching east and west between the gulf and plain of Smyrna on the south and the valley of the Hermus on the north. The range falls into three sections or groups, each of which now bears a special name. The highest and steepest is the eastern section, now called *Manissa-dagh*. It rises to the height of about 5000 feet, and is the true Sipylus; whether, indeed, the name Sipylus was applied to the whole range, is doubtful. The most westerly section is the lowest (about 2300 feet); it is called *Iamanlar-dagh*. The middle section, uniting the other two, is the *Sabandja-dagh*.

Two sets of ancient monuments have been discovered on the two opposite sides of the range; namely one set on the northern side of the *Manissa-dagh*, the other on the southern side of the *Iamanlar-dagh*. As these two sets of monuments are on opposite sides and at opposite ends of the steep and rugged chain, it is probable that the antiquities mentioned by Pausanias and other ancient writers are to be identified with one or other of these two sets of monuments. But with which? the southern or the northern? Archaeologists have been divided in their answer. Texier and others decided in favour of the southern set. But within the last few years the discovery of inscriptions on the north side seems to have finally decided the question in favour of the northern monuments. With these, then, we have exclusively to deal.

On the south side of the fertile valley of the Hermus, Mount Sipylus (*Manissa-dagh*) towers up abruptly, like an immense wall of rock. Its sides are very precipitous, indeed almost perpendicular. The city of Magnesia, the modern *Manissa*, lies immediately at its foot. About four miles east of Magnesia the mountain wall of rock is cleft, right down to the level of the Hermus valley, by a narrow ravine or cañon, which pierces deep into the bowels of the mountain. It is called by the Turks the *Yarik Kaya* or 'rifted rock.' The cañon is only about 100 feet wide; its sides are sheer walls of rock, about 500 feet high; there is a magnificent echo in it. A small stream flows through the bottom; it is probably the Achelous of Homer (*Iliad*, xxiv. 616). It is plain that the ravine has been scooped out in the course of ages by the stream wearing away the limestone rock; but it would naturally be

regarded by the ancients as the result of a great earthquake, such as are common in this district. On the western edge of the cañon, half-way up the mountain-wall of Sipylus, there shoots up a remarkable crag, which stands out by itself from the mountain-side. On one side it is possible from its summit to drop a stone 900 feet sheer into the cañon; on all other sides it rises with a perpendicular face 100 feet from the mountain. Even to reach the foot of this crag from the plain, stout limbs and a steady head are needful; for the ancient mule-path, partly hewn out of the rock, partly supported on walls on the edge of precipices, has mostly disappeared; and there is nothing for it but to cling as best you can to the bushes and the projections of the rock. In this way you at last reach the foot of the cliff, the sheer face of which seems to bar all further advance. However, on the western side of the crag there is a cleft or 'chimney' (*cheminée*), as they would call it in Switzerland, which leads up to the top, otherwise quite unapproachable, of the crag. In antiquity there seems to have been a staircase in the 'chimney.' The first few steps of it may be seen under the bushes with which the rocky fissure is overgrown. The upper surface of the crag, reached through this cleft, is nowhere level; on the contrary, it slopes like the roof of a house and is indeed so steep that to climb up it is difficult. There are, however, twenty or thirty foundations of houses cut in the rock and rising one above the other like the steps of an immense staircase. Also there are seven or eight bell-shaped cisterns.

The ancient settlement on the summit of this remarkable crag would seem to be that to which classical writers gave the name of Tantalis or the city of Tantalus. They affirmed, indeed, that the city had disappeared into a chasm produced by an earthquake; but probably the immense ravine beneath suggested the idea of the earthquake, and popular mythology completed the legend by asserting that the old city had been hurled down into its depths. See Pausanias, vii. 24. 13; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* ii. 205, v. 117; Aristides, *Orat.* xv. vol. 1. p. 371 *sq.*, ed. Dindorf; cp. Strabo, i. p. 58.

On the very topmost pinnacle of the crag there is a square cutting in the rock, resembling the seat of a large arm-chair, with back and sides complete. It is about 5 feet wide, 3 feet from front to back, and 3 feet high at the back. The back of the seat (as it may be called) is simply the top of the precipice, which falls straight down into the ravine, a sheer drop of 900 feet. Across the ravine soars the arid rocky wall of Sipylus. On the other side the eye ranges over the valley of the Hermus, stretched like a map at one's feet. There seems to be little doubt that this remarkable rock-cut seat, perched on the pinnacle of the dizzy crag, is no other than the 'throne of Pelops' mentioned by Pausanias in the present passage. What the original intention of the cutting may have been, is a different question. Professor W. M. Ramsay thinks it was probably an altar on which offerings were laid.

Half a mile to the west of the ravine, on the slope of the mountain about 300 feet above the plain, there is a large niche, half natural, half artificial, in the face of the cliff. It is visible from the plain below; a steep stony path leads up to it. The niche is about 25 feet high, and is

deeply cut into the rock. In the middle of it a colossal figure is carved in high relief. The work is extremely rude and the outlines are defaced by time; but observers are agreed that the figure is that of a woman seated on a throne with her hands on her breast. Small square holes in the face of the rock show that votive tablets were here fastened up, and that the place was therefore a sanctuary. Till recently this rude image was identified with the figure of Niobe described by Pausanias (i. 21. 3; viii. 2. 7). But clearly the Niobe of Pausanias was a natural rock which, viewed from a distance, looked like a woman, but seen close at hand was perceived to be merely a rock. Whereas the figure in the niche is certainly artificial, and its resemblance to a woman increases, instead of diminishes, as you approach it. Besides Pausanias says that the figure of Niobe was seen to weep in summer. This must mean that water trickled over it from the rocks above. But the image in the niche is so completely protected by the overhanging rock that not a drop of water wets even its knees in heavy rain; the rain-drops fall from the front of the niche quite clear of the figure. Professor W. M. Ramsay and Mr. Humann are therefore certainly right in identifying the figure, not with the Niobe, but with the Mother Plastene mentioned by Pausanias in the present passage. For the Mother Plastene was on the mountain below the chair of Pelops; and this answers to the position of the figure in the niche relatively to the 'throne of Pelops' on the top of the crag. Again, Pausanias tells us (iii. 22. 4) that the people of Magnesia, to the north of Sipylus, had a most ancient image of the Mother of the Gods upon the rock of Coddinus. This ancient image can be no other than the rude figure in the niche. Finally, the identity of this figure in the niche, first with the Mother Plastene of Pausanias, and secondly with the Mother of the Gods mentioned by the same writer, is put beyond a doubt by the inscription on a bronze statuette which was found not many years ago near the niche. The inscription is as follows:

Μητρὶ θεῶν Πλαστήνῃ
Καλβείσειος Ὀρφεὺς
ἀνέθηκεν,

i.e. 'Calvisius Orpheus dedicated (this statuette) to Plastene, Mother of the Gods.' Further, a marble statuette, which was also found near the niche, bears the following inscription: Μητροδώρα Ἀπολλᾶ μητρὶ Πλαστήνῃ εὐχήν, *i.e.* 'Metrodora, daughter of Apollas, dedicated (this statuette) to Mother Plastene in fulfilment of a vow.' This latter statuette represents Cybele or the Mother Plastene (the two were doubtless identical) seated on a throne, with a lion on each side of her; her hands rest on the heads of the lions.

Below the image of Mother Plastene there is a small lake of clear water, fed by countless springs that gush from the rocky foot of the mountain. The water is dammed up and turns a mill. Some forty or fifty years ago, before it was dammed up, the lake covered a much larger area. It is probably the Saloe of Pausanias (vii. 24. 13), the Sale of Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* v. 117).

If we now return to the mouth of the cañon and proceed eastward

from it for about three hundred yards we come to a very handsome tomb cut in a sloping rock at the foot of the mountain. A broad flight of steps leads up to a platform, from which the tomb is entered. It consists of two quadrangular chambers, one behind the other, connected with each other by a doorway exactly in the middle of the back wall of the outer chamber. The roofs of both chambers are slightly arched. There is no inscription, nor any trace of Greek work. The style of the tomb is very like that of the Phrygian tombs. Professor W. M. Ramsay and Mr. Humann are probably again right in identifying this remarkable rock-cut sepulchre with the tomb of Tantalus which is mentioned by Pausanias in the present passage and elsewhere (ii. 22. 3).

There are still two places on Mount Sipylus mentioned by Pausanias which have to be identified. These are the lake of Tantalus and the figure of Niobe. The lake of Tantalus is probably the *Kara Göl* ('the Black Lake'), a romantic pool deep in the heart of the mountains. Pausanias tells us (viii. 17. 3) that he had seen white eagles hovering over the lake; and the *Kara Göl* is the very place to look for eagles. The only other lake in the mountains is *Kyz Göl*, 'the Maiden's Lake.' But it is small and insignificant and seems to be partly artificial.

As to the figure of Niobe, Mr. Schweisthal believed that he had discovered it in a rock immediately to the east of the cañon of *Yarik Kaya*. The rock looked to him like a woman seated and lifting her arm in the air. But Mr. Humann, who examined the rock and photographed it, could see no resemblance to a woman. It seems obvious, indeed, that a rock of the kind described by Pausanias cannot be identified with any approach to certainty or even probability. It is very much a matter of individual fancy whether a particular rock resembles a woman or not.

As to the group of monuments on the southern slope of *Iamanlar-dagh* (the western section of Mt. Sipylus), they comprise an acropolis, a sanctuary, and a necropolis consisting of about forty tombs, all in the shape of conical masses of stones resting on circular substructions. The largest of these tombs has been generally called the tomb of Tantalus. It was considerably dilapidated by the excavations made in it by Texier in 1835.

The best accounts of the monuments on the northern side of Sipylus are those of Professor W. M. Ramsay, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 3 (1882), pp. 33-68, and Mr. Humann, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 13 (1888), pp. 22-41. See also Martin Schweisthal, 'L'image de Niobé et l'autel de Zeus Hypatos,' *Gazette archéologique*, 12 (1887), pp. 213-232. Mr. Schweisthal's results are summarised by Mr. S. Reinach, in *Revue archéologique*, 3me Série, 10 (1887), p. 97; *ib.* 11 (1888), p. 84. For the inscriptions quoted above, see the volumes of the *Revue archéologique* just referred to, p. 96 *sq.* and p. 83 *sq.* respectively. For other descriptions of the Mother Plastene (formerly called Niobe) and the monuments on the south side of Sipylus, see A. Martin, in *Revue archéologique*, 31 (1876), pp. 328-330; Hirschfeld, in Curtius's 'Beiträge zur Geschichte und Topographie Kleinasiens,' pp. 74-84, *Abhandlungen* of the Prussian Academy (Berlin), 1872; G. Weber, 'Tumulus et Hieron de Bélevi,' Μουσεῖον καὶ βιβλιοθήκη τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς σχολῆς (Smyrna), περίοδος τρίτη, 1878-79, 1879-80, pp. 89-119; K. B. Stark, *Nach dem griechischen Orient*, pp. 231-254; W. M. Ramsay,

'Newly-discovered sites near Smyrna,' *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1 (1880), pp. 63-74; Sayce, *ib.* pp. 88-91; *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 4 (1875), p. 93; Gollob and Krall, 'Zur "Niobe-statue" am Sipylos bei Magnesia,' *Wiener Studien*, 4 (1882), pp. 307-313. Good and full accounts of both sets of monuments, illustrated with woodcuts and plans, are given by Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 4. pp. 752-759; 5. pp. 39-67.

13. 8. **The altar of Olympian Zeus.** The very scanty remains of this altar may be seen to the east of the Pelopium, about equidistant from the temple of Zeus and the temple of Hera. Pausanias's statement that the altar was equidistant from the Pelopium and the temple of Hera is not strictly correct; it is nearer the Pelopium than the Heraeum. The altar occupied nearly the middle point of the Altis; its shape was elliptical, with the long axis directed north and south. The dimensions of the ellipse agree with Pausanias's statement as to the circumference of the *prothusis* or lowest stage of the altar. A foundation of undressed stones, which supported the altar, is now partly buried again. Indeed the site of the altar is marked at the present day, not by an elevation, but by an oval depression in the ground.

A thin layer of ashes was discovered in the soil round about the altar; but this layer was at a higher level than the foundations of the altar. It contained bones, cinders, and votive offerings resembling in kind, though vastly fewer in number than, the votive offerings which were found at the great altar between the Pelopium and the Heraeum (see above, p. 550). The offerings found at the altar of Zeus comprised some figures of animals in terra-cotta, and bronze objects of the following kinds: small tripod-kettles; bands decorated with geometrical patterns; pieces of necklaces; rings; clasps; nails; fragments of large tripods; heads of griffins; vessels of sheet-bronze, including a good many sacrificial cups; a considerable number of cymbals; and weapons, including the only bronze sword that was found at Olympia. Pieces of large iron tripods were also brought to light.

In recent years Mr. Wernicke and Dr. Puchstein have proposed to identify the great altar of Zeus, not with the remains which have been just described, but with the great altar between the Pelopium and the Heraeum (see note on v. 14. 8). But the situation of the latter altar does not answer to Pausanias's description, who says that the altar of Zeus was situated in front (*i.e.* to the east) of the Pelopium and Heraeum.

See *Die Funde von Olympia*, p. 23 *sq.*; Curtius und Adler, *Olympia und Umgegend*, p. 35; Flasch, 'Olympia,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1097; A. Bötticher, *Olympia*,[2] p. 190 *sqq.*; Curtius, *Die Altäre von Olympia*, p. 4 *sq.*; *id.*, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 2. p. 42 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 341; K. Wernicke, in *Jahrbuch d. arch. Inst.* 9 (1894), p. 93 *sq.*; Adler, in *Jahrbuch d. arch. Inst.* 9 (1894), Archäologischer Anzeiger, p. 85 *sq.*; *id.*, in *Jahrbuch d. arch. Inst.* 10 (1895), Archäolog. Anzeiger, p. 108 *sq.*; Puchstein, *ib.* p. 107; Furtwängler, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 4. p. 4.

13. 8. **the altar at Pergamus.** The only other ancient writer who speaks of this altar is Lucius Ampelius who says (*Liber Memorialis*, viii. 14): "At Pergamus there is a great marble altar, 40 feet high,

with very large sculptures; it comprises the battle with the giants." The foundations of this altar and large portions of the splendid sculptured frieze representing the battle of the giants, were discovered by the German excavators in recent years. The altar, though included in the market-place, stood high up on the slope of the acropolis, forming a conspicuous object even at a great distance. It occupied the middle of a platform which was supported on a colossal substruction about 100 feet square by about 18 feet high. A grand staircase, cutting into the substruction, led up to the platform. The projecting wings of the substruction on either side of the staircase, as well as the other sides of the substruction, were adorned with the frieze representing the battle of the giants in relief. The substruction was crowned with an Ionic colonnade, opening outward, which thus encircled the altar proper, except on the side facing the staircase. The back-wall of this colonnade was decorated with a smaller frieze, representing legends from the mythical history of Pergamus. See R. Bonn und A. Conze in *Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen zu Pergamon*, *Vorläufiger Bericht*, (Berlin, 1880), pp. 35-71; Urlichs, *Pergamon*, *Geschichte und Kunst*, p. 20 *sqq.*; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, pp. 1214 *sqq.*, 1249 *sqq.* For an elaborate discussion of the sculptures on the altar see H. Brunn, 'Ueber die kunstgeschichtliche Stellung der pergamenischen Gigantomachie,' in *Jahrbuch der kön. preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, 5. Heft iii. (Berlin, 1884). Before the excavations at Pergamus, Brunn had rightly conjectured that the statements of Pausanias and Ampelius about the altar at Pergamus were to be reconciled by supposing that the altar of ashes rested upon a substruction of stone. See *Bullettino dell' Instituto*, 1871, pp. 28-31. For other altars of ashes see below, v. 14. 8; v. 14. 10; v. 15. 9; ix. 11. 7. General Cesnola discovered in the centre of the temple of Golgoi, in Cyprus, a thick layer of ashes containing some large pieces of carbonised wood. The layer appeared to be 10 feet long by 7 feet wide. See Cesnola, *Cyprus*, p. 150. This layer of ashes doubtless marked the site of the altar, as Furtwängler (*Die Bronzefunde aus Olympia*, p. 30) and Holwerda (*Die alten Kyprier in Kunst und Cultus*, p. 2) observe.

13. 8. **sacrificial hearths.** The Greek word is ἐσχάραι. Porphyry tells us that while altars were used in the worship of the Olympic gods, sacrificial hearths were employed in the worship of chthonian beings and of heroes (*De antro nympharum*, 6). Cp. Stengel, *Die griech. Sakralaltertümer*, § 6.

13. 10. **when they are not excluded from Olympia.** Cp. v. 6. 7.

13. 11. **on the nineteenth day of the month Elaphius.** This month must have corresponded, in part at least, to our March, since the spring equinox fell in it. See vi. 20. 1. On the Elean calendar see E. Bischoff, *De fastis Graecorum antiquioribus*, p. 346 *sqq.*

13. 11. **kneading them with the water of the Alpheus** etc. This is mentioned also by Plutarch (*De defectu oraculorum*, 41) and a scholiast on Pindar (*Olymp.* xi. (x.) 58). Plutarch says the paste would not hold together when they tried to make it with any other water.

14. 1. The kites —— do not molest people etc. "They say that in Elis there are kites which snatch the meat from persons who are carrying it through the market-place, but do not touch the flesh offered in sacrifice" ([Aristotle,] *Mirab. Auscult.* 123, p. 43, ed. Westermann). Pliny says that kites snatched food neither from the trays set out upon graves (*ex funerum ferculis*) nor from the altar at Olympia (*N. H.* x. 28).

14. 1. the Eleans are said to sacrifice to Zeus Averter of Flies. This sacrifice is mentioned also by Clement of Alexandria (*Protrept.* ii. 38, p. 33, ed. Potter). Pliny says: "The Eleans invoke the fly-catching god, because the swarms of flies breed pestilence; and no sooner is the sacrifice offered to the god than the flies perish" (*Nat. Hist.* x. 75). Aelian affirms that during the Olympic festival the flies voluntarily retired to the opposite bank of the Alpheus and swarmed back when the festival was over (*Nat. An.* v. 17). Pausanias tells us (viii. 26. 7) that at Aliphera in Arcadia the festival of Athena was opened with sacrifice and prayer to the Fly-catcher; and that after the sacrifice the flies gave no more trouble. At the festival of Apollo in the island of Leucas an ox was sacrificed to the flies, which, glutted with the blood, thereupon disappeared. Aelian, who reports this (*Nat. An.* xi. 8), adds that the flies of Pisa (meaning Olympia) were more virtuous, because they did their duty, not for a consideration, but out of pure regard for the god. At the shrine of Hercules in the Ox-market at Rome flies were excluded, because when Hercules was handing the flesh to the priests he had prayed to the fly-catching god (Solinus, i. 11). Baal-zebub, the Philistine god of Ekron, whom the Jews represented as a prince of devils, was literally Lord Fly or Lord of the Flies. When Ahaziah was sick he sent to consult the Lord Fly's oracle (II. Kings i. 2, 3, 6, 16). Cp. Selden, *De dis Syris*, Syntagma ii. 6, p. 301 *sq.*; Lenormant, *La divination chez les Chaldéens*, p. 95 *sq.*; C. W. Mansell, in *Gazette archéologique*, 3 (1877), p. 76; W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*,[2] p. 94 n. 6. In the old Lithuanian translation of the Bible Baal-zebub is translated *Musiu birbìks*, *i.e.* 'fly-hummer.' Schleicher thought that the word is older than the translation of the Bible, remarking that in view of the swarms of insects which the short summer breeds in the damp climate of Lithuania it would not be surprising if the Lithuanians had had a Fly-god. See *Sitzungsberichte d. phil. histor. Classe d. k. Akad. d. Wissen.* (Vienna), 11 (1854), p. 101 *sq.* As for the flies at Olympia, the hot climate and the low damp situation still breed them in multitudes. I never saw such swarms of flies anywhere. In the house where I stayed they were a plague. If I had thought that a sacrifice to Zeus Averter of Flies would have rid me of them, I would gladly have offered it.

The Oetaeans of Trachis were said to worship a Locust Hercules, because Hercules had rid them of locusts; and the people of Erythrae revered Worm-killing Hercules, because he destroyed the worms which gnawed the vines (Strabo, xiii. p. 613; Eustathius, on Homer, *Iliad*, i. 39). Similarly, as Prof. Ridgeway has shown (*Classical Review*, 10 (1896), p. 21 *sqq.*), Dionysus Bassareus is probably nothing more than

Foxy Dionysus, the god who was invoked to keep the foxes from the vines. For *bassara* was a kind of fox (Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 771), and foxes were notoriously destructive to the vines (Theocritus, i. 45 *sqq.*; *Song of Solomon*, ii. 15).

We may conjecture that in these and similar cases the god or hero who is implored to keep off or destroy insects or vermin was originally conceived as himself a fly or locust or worm, etc., but as being at the same time the king of flies, locusts, worms, or what not, and as therefore able to protect mankind from the attacks of his subjects. To induce him to exert his power and stay the ravages of his fellow-vermin was probably the original intention of the sacrifices and prayers offered to these curious divinities. Simple folk in many parts of the world have sought to mollify and propitiate the vermin that infest their fields and houses (*The Golden Bough*, 2. pp. 129-132). Probably the worship of Mouse Apollo (Apollo Smintheus) was a case of this kind. See note on x. 12. 5.

The idea that each species of animals has its king is common in folk-lore. The king of serpents often occurs in folk-tales. In Syrian tales we hear of the king of flies, the king of mice, the king of serpents, the king of locusts, the emperor of ants, the prince of foxes, the prince of cats, etc. See Prym and Socin, *Syrische Sagen und Märchen*, Nos. 58-62 etc. Some of the North American Indians believed that each sort of animal had an elder brother, who was the origin of all animals of that sort and was besides very great and powerful (*Relations des Jésuites*, 1634, p. 13 of the Canadian reprint). Cp. *Lettres édifiantes*, 6. p. 334. A North American Indian is known to have fondled a dead mouse in order to appease "the genius of mice" (Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, 5. p. 443). The ancient Peruvians held that "of all beasts of the earth, there is one alone in heaven like unto them, that which hath care of their procreation and increase" (Acosta, *History of the Indies*, 2. p. 305, Hakluyt Society).

14. 2. **the white poplar.** See note on v. 5. 5.

14. 2. **the tree is called acherois by Homer.** See *Iliad*, xiii. 389, xvi. 482.

14. 3. **no reeds grow so tall as those in the Boeotian Asopus.** The bed of the Asopus is still overgrown with reeds (*Kanapitza*), which are woven into baskets (Ulrichs, *Reisen und Forschungen in Griechenland*, 2. p. 74).

14. 4. **all the altars in Olympia.** Besides the great altar of Zeus, the remains of some other altars were brought to light by the German excavations, but none of them can be certainly, and only a very few can be probably, identified with those mentioned by Pausanias. As our author distinctly and repeatedly tells us that he enumerates the altars, not in their topographical order, but in the order in which the Eleans sacrificed upon them, the list does not help us much towards clearing up doubtful points in the topography of the Altis. The question of the identification of the existing altars with those in Pausanias's list, and the further question of the source from which Pausanias derived his knowledge of the order in which sacrifices were offered on them, are,

in the total absence of epigraphical and literary evidence, necessarily insoluble. This want of evidence has not, however, deterred German scholars from grappling with the problem.

See E. Curtius, 'Die Altäre von Olympia,' *Abhandlungen* of the Prussian Academy for 1881, Philolog. histor. Cl. (reprinted in the author's *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 2. pp. 40-74); Flasch, 'Olympia,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1067 *sqq.*; A. Kalkmann, *Pausanias*, p. 95 *sqq.*; W. Gurlitt, *Pausanias*, pp. 346 *sqq.*, 399 *sqq.*; R. Heberdey, 'Die olympische Altarperiegese des Pausanias,' *Eranos Vindobonensis* (Wien, 1893), pp. 37-47; K. Wernicke, 'Die Altäre von Olympia,' *Jahrbuch d. arch. Inst.* 9 (1894), pp. 88-101.

14. 4. **They sacrifice, first, to Hestia** in the Prytaneum. See 15. 9.

14. 4. **the altar inside the temple.** Prof. E. Curtius (*Die Altäre von Olympia*, p. 11 *sq.*; *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 2. p. 48 *sq.*) seems to think that one or more altars had originally stood upon the ground afterwards occupied by the temple of Zeus, and that when the temple was built the altars were replaced in it on their old sites. It has been doubted whether there were altars inside Greek temples. Schubart refers to Pausanias ii. 11. 4, vi. 20. 3, and x. 24. 4 for other examples of altars so situated (*Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 18 (1872), p. 173). In the Coan inscription already referred to (note on v. 13. 2), it is directed that part of the flesh of the sacrifice shall be burnt "on the hearth inside the temple" (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 9 (1888), p. 328; Paton and Hicks, *The Inscriptions of Cos*, No. 38).

14. 4. **third, on one altar —— this sacrifice** etc. Apollodorus tells us that Hercules founded six altars to twelve Gods at Olympia (Apollodorus, ii. 7. 2, reading ἕξ for ἑξῆς with Arnald and R. Wagner); and a scholiast on Pindar (*Ol.* v. 8) has recorded the names of the pairs of deities to whom these so-called 'twin' altars were dedicated. They were (1) Zeus and Poseidon; (2) Hera and Athena; (3) Hermes and Apollo; (4) Dionysus and the Graces; (5) Artemis and Alpheus; (6) Cronus and Rhea. In his present list of altars Pausanias mentions three of these 'twin' altars, namely the altar to Hermes and Apollo (§ 8), that to Dionysus and the Graces (§ 10), and that to Artemis and Alpheus (§ 6). Later on (v. 24. 1) he mentions the altar of Zeus and Poseidon. It seems probable, therefore, that the mention of that altar has dropped out in the present passage. Thus we have in Pausanias mention of four out of the six 'twin' altars founded by Hercules. Scholars have endeavoured to restore the mention of the remaining two by means of conjecture. See E. Curtius, *Die Altäre von Olympia*, p. 8 (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 2. p. 46); K. Maurer, *De aris Graecorum pluribus deis in commune positis*, p. 6 *sqq.*; K. Wernicke, in *Jahrbuch d. arch. Inst.* 9 (1894), p. 91 *sq.*; and Critical Notes on this passage vol. 1. p. 585. The victors in the games offered sacrifices on all these 'twin' altars (Schol. on Pindar, *Ol.* v. 8).

14. 5. **The descendants of Phidias, called Burnishers.** The base of a statue of one of these officials has been found at Olympia. The inscription sets forth that "In recognition of his piety and goodwill to themselves, the Senate and people of Elis <have set up this statue of>

Titus Flavius Heraclitus, descendant of Phidias, Burnisher of Olympian Zeus." See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 466; *Arch. Zeitung* 35 (1877), p. 193, inscr. No. 100; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, No. 536. In Athens there was a Burnisher attached to the service of Demeter and Proserpine, and another to that of 'Olympian Zeus in the city' (*i.e.* of Zeus who was worshipped in the Olympieum). The latter official had a special seat set apart for him in the Dionysiac theatre, and so had the Burnisher from Olympia (φαιδυντὴς Διὸς Πείσης).

See *C. I. A.* iii. Nos. 5. 283. 291. 928. 1058. 3859; *Philologus*, 32 (1866), p. 212 *sq.*; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 387; *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, 1 (1882-83), pp. 169, 172; Aug. Mommsen, *Heortologie*, p. 236; J. Martha, *Les sacerdoces Athéniens*, p. 54; E. Kuhnert, 'De cura statuarum apud Graecos,' *Berliner Studien f. classische Philologie*, 1 (1884), p. 336 *sqq.*

14. 5. **rises gradually to a height.** Prof. E. Curtius (*Die Altäre von Olympia*, p. 6; *Gesamm. Abhandl.* 2. p. 43 *sq.*) understands this of a pyramidal altar. He also compares the temporary ramp which was made to lead up to the altar of Artemis Laphria at Patrae. See vii. 18. 11.

14. 6. **they sacrifice to Alpheus and Artemis on one altar.** See above, note on § 4. On the special reason for uniting Artemis and Alpheus at the same altar, see vi. 22. 8 *sqq.* Cp. C. Maurer, *De aris Graecorum pluribus deis in commune positis* (Darmstadt, 1885), p. 13 *sqq.*

14. 6. **Warlike Zeus.** Diodorus says (iv. 73) that Oenomaus sacrificed to Zeus before the race; Philostratus Junior says (*Imag.* 10) that he sacrificed to Ares. Their statements are to some extent reconciled by the Elean tradition, reported by Pausanias, that he sacrificed to Warlike (*Areios*) Zeus. Panofka has a long dissertation on Warlike Zeus (*Abhandlungen* of the Berlin Academy for 1853, Philolog. histor. Cl., pp. 32-42). His conclusions, so far as they relate to the figure of Zeus in the east gable of the temple of Zeus, have been refuted by the discovery of the statues. Fr. Lenormant thought that Warlike Zeus was identical with the Armed Jupiter of Virgil (*Aen.* viii. 639). See *Gazette Archéologique*, 3 (1877), p. 97. At a place called Passaron in Molossia the kings of Epirus used to sacrifice to Warlike Zeus, and to swear over the sacrifices that they would rule according to the laws (Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, 5). On a coin of Iasus in Caria the name of Warlike Zeus (ΖΕΥΣ ΑΡΕΙΟΣ) occurs, with a figure of the god armed with helmet and shield (Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, 2. pl. ii. No. 21; Welcker, *Griechische Götterlehre*, 2. p. 211).

14. 7. **the house of Oenomaus.** Cp. v. 20. 6.

14. 7. **Thunderbolt Zeus.** The name of Thunderbolt Zeus (ΔΙΟΣ ΚΕΡΑΥΝΟ) is engraved on a slab of limestone found in the territory of Mantinea. See P. Foucart, 'Le Zeus Kéraunos de Mantinée,' in *Monuments Grecs Publiées par l'association pour l'encouragement des études Grecques en France*, 1. No. 4, pp. 23-28; Roehl, *I. G. A.* No. 101. An inscription containing a dedication to Thunderbolt Zeus has been found at Pergamus (Fränkel, *Inschriften von Pergamon*, 1. No. 232). Cp. R. Weil, in *Revue Archéologique*, 32 (1876), p. 50 *sq.*;

M. Mayer, *Die Giganten und Titanen*, p. 109 *sq.* It is said that Seleucus sacrificed to Thunderbolt Zeus at Iopolis (Joannes Malala. viii. p. 199 ed. Bekker). At Athens there was a sacrificial hearth of Lightning Zeus, where some priestly officials watched for lightning at certain times of the year (see vol. 2. p. 190). The three months during which they kept their look-out were probably the summer months, for sheet-lightning is common at Athens about the time of the longest day, and it is oftenest seen in the direction of Mt. Parnes, to the north-west (Aug. Mommsen, *Heortologie*, p. 315 *sq.*) Cp. viii. 29. 1 note.

14. 8. **an altar of Unknown Gods.** Cp. i. 1. 4 note.

14. 8. **one of Olympian Hera.** This is probably the large altar which was discovered due east of the Heraeum and orientated in the same way as the temple. Here were found many archaic bronzes, especially a large number of figures of animals; and deeper excavations brought to light a multitude of terra-cottas representing animals, chariots, and human beings. See *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. p. 163; *id.*, 4. p. 4. Others incline to identify as the altar of Hera the great and very ancient altar situated between the Heraeum and the Pelopium, but nearer to the latter. To judge from the number of archaic votive offerings in bronze and terra-cotta which have been found in its neighbourhood, this altar must have been in very early times the chief altar of Olympia. Whether it was an altar of Hera or of Zeus and Hera together we do not know. Certainly the altar was older than both the Pelopium and the temple of Hera, since a layer of ashes containing many votive offerings which had certainly belonged to the altar was found under the boundary-wall of the Pelopium and the floor of the temple of Hera. The quantity of votive offerings discovered here was immense. Almost every stroke of the pickaxe turned up some of them. In a single week 700 little animals of bronze were found, not to mention a multitude of similar figures in terra-cotta. Two layers of ashes were distinguished. The lower of the two abounded especially in terra-cottas. Both these layers are older than the Pelopium, since the boundary-wall of that precinct was built over them; but only the lower of the two layers is older than the Heraeum. The ashes and votive offerings were found over a considerable area—under the southern and western colonnades of the Heraeum, and in the soil to the south of that temple and to the west of the Pelopium, as well as in the western and north-western parts of the Pelopium itself. To the east of the altar the layer of ashes and votive offerings seems to have extended as far as it did to the west. The objects found in these layers of ashes round about the altar fall under the following heads. Particularly characteristic, especially for the lowest layer, were the primitive terra-cotta figures of men and animals, which came to light here in crowds, whereas they were comparatively much rarer in the neighbourhood of the other altars at Olympia. Great numbers of bronze animals were also found, besides rude figures of human beings in bronze, though these latter were not nearly so common as the human figures in terra-cotta. Further, there were discovered small chariots, wheels, and tripod-kettles in great numbers, even in the lowest layer; also pieces of

larger tripods of iron; whereas fragments of bronze tripods, fashioned in a more artistic style, were found only in the upper layer of ashes, that is, in the layer which is posterior to the building of the Heraeum. In the lower layer, which is older than the Heraeum, were discovered remains of diadems decorated with geometrical patterns; plain rings; heads of nails; small double axes; a small votive sword; plain hammered handles with rivets; leaf-shaped spearheads of iron; potsherds; and a gold wire twisted in spiral form. But these objects were not so numerous as the figures of animals. There were also found, though apparently only in the upper layer of ashes, pieces of cymbals, fragments of large bronze tripods, clasps, portions of necklaces, and weapons. See *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. p. 163; *id.*, 4. pp. 1-3; cp. *Die Funde von Olympia*, p. 24; Curtius und Adler, *Olympia und Umgegend*, p. 36; Flasch, 'Olympia,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1069; Baedeker,[3] p. 342. On the archaic bronzes of Olympia in general see also Furtwängler, 'Die Bronzefunde aus Olympia und deren kunstgeschichtliche Bedeutung,' *Abhandlungen* of the Royal Academy of Berlin, 1879; Ad. Bötticher, *Olympia*,[2] p. 165 *sqq.*

14. 8. **an altar of Apollo and Hermes in common.** An altar dedicated to Hermes and Apollo in common by a certain Asclepiodorus has been found in Mysia (*C. I. G.* No. 3568 b). Cp. Maurer, *De aris Graecorum pluribus deis in commune positis*, p. 10 *sq.*

14. 9. **one of the Mother of the Gods.** This is probably the altar situated to the west of the Metroum or temple of the Mother of the Gods, with which it is obviously contemporary. Under the altar were found two distinct layers of ashes separated from each other by a layer of sand. These layers of ashes extended also to the north of the altar and still further to the south and south-west of the Metroum. In the lower of the two layers were found many archaic votive offerings of terra-cotta and bronze, resembling those which were found in and near the Heraeum (see above, p. 562 *sq.*) They include animals and men (charioteers) of terra-cotta; quantities of bronze animals; some rude bronze figures of human beings; a great many small tripods; bronze bands adorned with geometrical patterns; needles; armlets; pieces of necklaces; wheels; small rings; some cymbals; small double axes; arrowheads; leaf-shaped spearheads; and pieces of large tripods. All these objects are of bronze, except the terra-cotta animals and men. The occurrence of the cymbals among the votive offerings does not (as has been sometimes supposed) prove that the altar was that of the Mother of the Gods, since bronze cymbals were found buried in other parts of the Altis, particularly at the temple of Zeus, the great altar of Zeus, and the ancient altar between the Pelopium and the Heraeum. It is true that cymbals were specially used in the worship of the Mother of the Gods (Pindar, Frag. 48 ed. Böckh; cp. Catullus, lxiii. 21); but the discoveries at Olympia seem to show that she was not the only deity who was supposed to love the clash of cymbals. Indeed, amongst the objects found under her altar there is none that can be referred with certainty to her worship. Hence we have no evidence that she was worshipped at Olympia before the comparatively late time when the

Metroum was built in her honour. All that we can say is that the Metroum and its altar were erected on a spot which had previously been the site of a very ancient worship.

See *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. p. 164; Furtwängler, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 4. p. 4; *id.*, *Die Bronzefunde aus Olympia*, p. 35; Curtius, *Die Altäre von Olympia*, p. 11; *id.*, *Gesamm. Abhandlungen*, 2. p. 49; Flasch, 'Olympia,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1069.

14. 9. **Opportunity.** The personification and deification of Opportunity were no doubt late. There was a famous statue of him by Lysippus, who perhaps originated the type (Callistratus, *Descript.* 6; Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, §§ 1463-1467). On a gem Opportunity is represented as a boy with winged feet hurrying along and holding a pair of scales before him. In a relief at Turin he appears holding a pair of scales in his left hand, while with his right hand he makes the nearer scale to incline to his side. He has wings on his back and on his feet. The locks of his hair are long in front, but behind he is bald. In late and degenerate art he was represented standing on two spheres or wheels. See E. Curtius, 'Die Darstellungen des Kairos,' *Archäologische Zeitung*, 33 (1876), pp. 1-8; *id.*, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 2. pp. 187-201; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 771 *sq.*; Roscher's *Lexikon*, 2. p. 897 *sqq.*

14. 9. **Ion of Chios.** The marble base of a votive offering dedicated by Ion to Athena has been found on the Acropolis at Athens. The inscription, which is in the Ionic dialect, seems to date from soon after the middle of the fifth century B.C. See *C. I. A.* i. No. 395; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 8.

14. 9. **Near the treasury of the Sicyonians is an altar of Hercules.** This is probably the altar of which the foundations were discovered between the treasury of the Sicyonians and the Exedra of Herodes Atticus. It appears that the original form of the altar was round, which was afterwards changed into a square shape. The place where the sacrificer stood can still be seen; it is so situated that in sacrificing he must have faced east. Hence Prof. Curtius infers that the altar was dedicated to "the older Hercules, the Phoenician-Cretan god" (Hercules the Curete) rather than to Hercules the son of Alcmena. See Curtius, *Die Altäre von Olympia*, p. 35; *id.*, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 2. p. 70; Curtius und Adler, *Olympia und Umgegend*, p. 33; Flasch, 'Olympia,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1069.

14. 10. **the Gaeum (sanctuary of Earth).** It has been conjectured that the Gaeum was the small circular chamber to the west of the Altis in which an altar dedicated to a hero or heroes was discovered. See below, p. 579 *sq.* There was a sanctuary of Earth with the same name near Aegae in Achaia (vii. 25. 13). As to the oracle of Earth, cp. x. 5. 5 *sq.*; andon oracles of Earth in general, see Curtius, *Altäre von Olympia*, p. 14 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Gesamm. Abhandl.* 2. p. 52 *sqq.* In early times there was also an oracle of Zeus at Olympia; the soothsayers interpreted the god's utterances by means of the burnt sacrifices which they offered to him. But this oracle fell into disuse. See Pindar, *Ol.*

vi. 70; *id.*, viii. 1 *sqq.*, with the schol.; Strabo, viii. p. 353; Sophocles, *Oed. Rex*, 901; Herodotus, viii. 134; Xenophon, *Hellenica*, iii. 2. 22, iv. 7. 2; Plutarch, *Agis*, 11; Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la divination dans l'Antiquité*, 2. p. 332 *sqq.* It seems that divination by means of the lot was also practised at Olympia (Hesychius, *s.v.* φρυκτὸς δελφίς).

14. 10. Zeus the Descender. *I.e.* Zeus who comes down in the thunderbolt, like the Thunderbolt Zeus of § 7. The Greeks regularly fenced in the spots which had been struck by lightning. Such places were thenceforth called ἐνηλύσια or ἠλύσια, and might not be entered. See Pollux, ix. 41; Hesychius and Suidas, *s.v.* Ἠλύσια; *Etymolog. Magnum*, pp. 341. 8 *sqq.*, 428. 40. Altars, too, were erected within the enclosures, and sacrifices were offered on them (Artemidorus, *Onirocr.* ii. 9; cp. Polemo, Frag. 93, ed. L. Preller). At Athens there was one of these enclosures on the Acropolis, as we learn from an inscription (Διὸς κα[τ]αιβάτο[ν] ἄβατον) which was found there a few years ago (Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν, September 1890, p. 144). Another inscription, found on the north side of the Olympieum at Athens, seems to indicate that there was another of these enclosures there (Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1889, p. 61 *sq.*) The Etruscans also enclosed places which had been struck by lightning, and offered sacrifices at them. Such a spot was called a *bidental* or *puteal*. See K. O. Müller, *Die Etrusker*,[2] 2. p. 173 *sqq.*; Preller, *Römische Mythologie*,[3] 1. p. 193; Marquardt, *Sacralwesen*,[2] p. 263.

14. 10. an altar of Dionysus and the Graces. In the hymn to Dionysus which the Elean women sang, they invited the god to "come with the Graces to the holy temple of the Eleans" (Plutarch, *Quaest. Graec.* 36). Compare Pindar, *Olymp.* xiii. 25 *sq.*; Paus. ix. 38. 1; Maurer, *De aris Graecorum*, p. 12 *sq.*

15. 1. the workshop of Phidias. From Pausanias's description we infer that the workshop of Phidias was situated outside of the Altis, near its south-western corner, since immediately afterwards he mentions the Leonidaeum, which was the large building at the south-west corner of the Altis, outside the walls of the sacred precinct. Probably, therefore, the workshop of Phidias was one of the group of buildings of which the remains have been discovered between the Leonidaeum and the Palaestra (wrestling-school). Amongst these is a Byzantine church, which is orientated almost exactly east and west, and has the form of a basilica divided by rows of columns into three aisles. On the east it has a semicircular apse, and on the west a pillared vestibule (*narthex*). Three doors lead from the vestibule into the church, a large door in the middle, with a small one on each side. The side aisles were separated from the central aisle by walls .50 to .60 metre high. The central aisle or nave was paved with ancient marbles, comprising pieces of pedestals, architectural fragments, etc., among which many inscriptions were discovered. The marble columns which divided the nave from the side aisles are mostly of the Ionic order and Roman date; but one capital is Doric and of the Greek period. Perforated marble screens of Byzantine workmanship divide the eastern end of the nave from the rest of the church. The altar and the *ambo*

or pulpit (a small stone platform approached by three steps on two sides) are also of the Byzantine period. From the style of the architecture and of two early Christian inscriptions, it is inferred that the church dates from the first half of the fifth century A.D., and hence that it is one of the oldest of its kind in Greece.

This Byzantine church is substantially an ancient Greek building which was converted into a church by the addition of the apse and by some structural modifications in the interior. But the original Greek foundations and walls are still standing, and enable us to restore the plan of the edifice. It was a quadrangular edifice, 32.18 metres (100 Olympian feet) long by 14.50 metres (45 Olympian feet) broad, with a large single door (4.54 metres wide) in the east end. The walls are unusually thick and solid; their thickness is 1.12 metres. They consist of a lower portion or socle of masonry and an upper portion of brick. The socle is built of carefully-hewn blocks of conglomerate. The brickwork of the upper walls is of two dates: the first fourteen courses of bricks belong to the original Greek building; the remainder is of much later date, though still of the classical period.

The threshold of the ancient doorway at the east end is still preserved. It consists of two slabs placed side by side. Prof. Adler estimates the original height of the doorway at no less than 9 metres (30 feet).

Internally the building was divided into two compartments, an antechamber at the east end and a long inner hall on the west. The antechamber was nearly square; the inner hall was 18.47 metres long by 12.26 metres wide. The division between the two compartments was effected by two short projecting walls on the north and south sides. The space between these two projecting walls appears, from certain technical indications, to have been closed by a wooden partition which could be removed at pleasure so as to throw the two compartments into one great hall.

Both antechamber and hall were divided into three aisles by two rows of columns. In the antechamber there were two columns only in each row; in the hall there were four. Of the columns in the antechamber only the foundations exist; but of the columns in the hall many shafts have been found, and are now in their places. These columns were of the Doric order with unfluted shafts. Their height seems to have been about 7.05 or 7.10 metres.

In the antechamber a long narrow water-basin (6.15 metres long by 1.25 metres wide) was discovered under the pavement of the Byzantine church. It is enclosed by a raised border of brickwork, and was lined with marble slabs, of which two have been found.

This ancient building, which was afterwards converted into a Byzantine church, is identified by Professors Adler and Flasch with the Workshop of Phidias. From the style of the masonry, which closely resembles that of the temple of Zeus, Prof. Adler judges that the building belongs to the middle of the fifth century B.C.; and the singularity of its plan and arrangement seems to show that it was constructed to serve some very special purpose. Moreover the dimensions and internal

arrangement agree fairly with those of the *cella* of the temple of Zeus; so that in making his colossal image of Zeus in this building Phidias could judge of the effect which it would produce when transferred to the *cella* of the temple. The water-channel which runs round the building and is provided with many places for drawing off the water, would be very appropriate and useful for a workshop.

To this identification it is objected by Mr. Ad. Bötticher that the structure is far too solidly and massively built for a mere temporary workshop, and that the plan of the building, though suitable for judging of the general effect of the completed statue, was not suitable for its actual construction, which would rather have required a series of separate compartments. For the statue, it is to be remembered, was not carved out of a single great block of marble, but was fitted together out of a great many single pieces of wood, gold, and ivory, the preparation of which could best be carried on in separate rooms. If this edifice was really used by Phidias as his workshop, it cannot, Mr. Bötticher thinks, have been built for the purpose, but must have been merely fitted up as such as well as circumstances would allow. The long narrow ancient building immediately to the south of the Byzantine church is, in Mr. Bötticher's opinion, much better adapted for a workshop; it is about 57 metres long from east to west and is divided into a series of compartments about 7 metres (23 feet) deep. Prof. Adler holds that the rough work of smelting and hammering the metal, etc., was actually done in the rooms of this narrow building, while the colossal model was set up in the larger building which was afterwards converted into a Byzantine church.

Prof. Curtius identifies the ancient building which we have been discussing with the Theecoleon mentioned by Pausanias below (§ 8). He supposes that the hall served as the assembly-room and banqueting-house of the priests and other sacred officials. K. Lange held that the building in question was the Council House (as to which see Paus. v. 24. 9 note).

See *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Tafelband 1. plates lxvii.-lxx.; F. Adler, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. pp. 93-105; *id.*, in *Die Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, 3 (1877-1878), pp. 29-32, with pl. xxxvi.; *Die Funde von Olympia*, p. 18 *sq.*; Curtius und Adler, *Olympia und Umgegend*, p. 22; Flasch, 'Olympia,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, pp. 1070 *sq.*, 1104 M. *sqq.*; Ad. Botticher, *Olympia*,[2] p. 317 *sqq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 348 *sq.*; Curtius, *Die Altäre von Olympia*, p. 20; *id.*, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*. 2. p. 57 *sq.*; K. Lange, *Haus und Halle*, p. 113 *sqq.*

15. 1. **Having returned into the Altis, opposite to the Leonidaeum ——.** Pausanias was about to add, "You will come to an altar of Aphrodite." But having mentioned the Leonidaeum as a topographical clue to the situation of the altar, he stops to explain what the Leonidaeum was. He then resumes the thread of his discourse in § 3. Thus the whole of § 2 is parenthetical. It should be borne in mind that Pausanias is at present enumerating the altars of Olympia, and that he mentions other structures only incidentally in describing the situations of the altars. For example, in this section he speaks of the workshop of

Phidias, but he does so only because it contained an altar which he had to mention. Cp. C. Robert, in *Hermes*, 23 (1888), p. 433 note. Mr. R. Heberdey has shown some grounds for supposing that Pausanias has taken over the whole of his enumeration of the altars from an earlier work, only interposing here and there a parenthesis of his own. Such a parenthesis, in Mr. Heberdey's opinion, is the present brief account of the Leonidaeum. See R. Heberdey, in *Eranos Vindobonensis* (Wien, 1893), p. 39 *sqq.* This view may possibly be right. It would explain an apparent discrepancy in Pausanias's references to the processional entrance (see below, note on § 2 'the processional entrance into the Altis').

15. 2. the Leonidaeum. The identification of this building was one of the disputed points of Olympic topography until the winter of 1886-87, when the discovery of an inscription settled the question in favour of the large building outside the south-west corner of the Altis, which had been marked by the German excavators as the 'South-west building.' The inscription had to be laboriously pieced together from fragments. As restored, it runs thus:

Λ[ε]ω[ν]ίδ[η]ς Λεώτου [Ν]άξιος ἐποί[ησε

i.e. "Leonides, a Naxian, son of Leotes, made (it)." Fragments of two, possibly of three, copies of the inscription were found, all engraved on blocks which must have formed parts of the Ionic epistyle of the building. Thus the inscription was repeated in large letters on at least two, possibly on three or four sides, of the building. The fragments were all found built into the west Byzantine wall, to the north of the South Hall.

The inscription shows that Leonidas was a Naxian. Pausanias says he was a native, that is an Elean. As the inscription was found covered over with a fine plaster which appears to be ancient, it is possible that when the edifice was rebuilt (as it certainly was) in Roman times, the original inscription may have been purposely obliterated. It would therefore be invisible in Pausanias's time, and the local tradition would be glad to attribute the foundation of so grand a building to a native Elean. It has been suggested that Pausanias may have seen but misread the inscription, the letters ΝΑΞΙΟΣ being easily mistaken for ΗΛΕΙΟΣ, especially when seen at a distance, as they must have been by a spectator looking up at the epistyle from the ground. See G. Treu, 'Die Bauinschrift des Leonidaions zu Olympia,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 13 (1888), pp. 317-326; *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 651. Leonidas, the architect and founder of the Leonidaeum, is the same Leonidas whose statue Pausanias mentions elsewhere (vi. 16. 5 note).

As to the building itself, though more than a third of it is still unexcavated, its extent and general plan are certain. It is the largest building at Olympia except the Great Gymnasium, which also has not yet been fully excavated. It covers an area more than three times that of the temple of Zeus. The shape is square or rather oblong, the sides measuring 80.18 metres (262 feet 7 inches) by 74 metres (243 feet).

Though it was much altered in Roman times, the plan of the original Greek building can still be made out, for its walls, completely destroyed in some places, are standing in others to a height of one or two courses. The centre was formed by an open court, 29.67 metres (97 feet) square, surrounded by colonnades in the Doric style; the number of columns in the colonnades was forty-four. Rooms opened off the colonnades on the north, east, and south sides to a depth of about 10 metres (33 feet); but on the west side to a depth of about 15 metres (49 feet). The principal rooms were therefore on the west side; they consisted of a large central chamber, with two smaller rooms on the north and south. The whole building was surrounded on the outside by a colonnade of the Ionic style with 138 columns. The bases of the columns are still, with one exception, in their places all the way round, so far as the building is excavated. On some of the bases the lower drums of the columns were found standing. These Ionic columns have only twenty flutes. Their height is calculated to have been about 5.55 metres. The bases and capitals are of sandstone; the drums are of shell-limestone. But this difference of material was concealed by a coating of stucco.

When the edifice was altered in Roman times, the inner Doric and the outer Ionic colonnades were left, but the rooms between them were remodelled, and the open court in the centre was turned into a garden with ponds. There was an inner pond in the shape of a ring, with a circular island in the middle. The outer pond ran round the whole of the court, being separated from the inner pond by an island, the outer margin of which curved in and out in a regular pattern. The two islands were probably planted with trees and connected with each other by light wooden bridges. Ponds and islands are still in good preservation.

While the walls of the original Greek edifice are built of blocks of conglomerate carefully hewn and jointed, the walls of the Roman reconstruction are of concrete faced with bricks, but resting on a socle of masonry. At a still later time in the Roman period some further alterations were made in the internal arrangement of the building for the purpose of diminishing the size of the rooms and of the openings in the walls. The walls of this second Roman reconstruction are built in an inferior and negligent style; the socle consists, not of regular masonry, but of rubble and mortar.

The situation of the Leonidaeum relatively to the west wall of the Altis seems of itself to show that the Leonidaeum already existed when the west wall of the Altis (or rather its southern end) was built. Hence, so long as the west wall of the Altis was believed to have been built in Macedonian times, it seemed to be necessary to place the date of the foundation of the Leonidaeum about the middle of the fourth century B.C. But now that the Altis wall proves to be Roman (see note on v. 10. 1), it is unnecessary to place the date of the Leonidaeum so high. Probably the building is of the Macedonian period. Its palatial size and style are more in keeping with the luxurious and pretentious taste of that age than with the refined simplicity of the best Greek period.

The original destination of the building is not known; but if we may judge from its general plan and the use to which (as we learn from

Pausanias) it was put in later times, the most probable hypothesis seems to be that it was erected to serve as an hotel for the reception of distinguished visitors, such as ambassadors and princes, who came to witness the Olympic games. K. Lange suggested that the building may have been the official residence of the umpires (*Hellanodikai*), to match the official residence which they had at Elis (Paus. vi. 24. 3). But this seems less likely.

A large part of the architectural members of the building (drums of columns, capitals, entablature, and the terra-cotta *simae*) were found built into the Byzantine fortification wall, which extends from the South Colonnade to the south-west corner of the temple of Zeus. The terra-cotta *sima* or projecting edge of the roof, which extended round the building above the Ionic colonnade, is remarkable for its rich sculptured ornamentation. A band of acanthus tendrils runs along it; water-spouts in the shape of lions' heads project from it at intervals; and antefixes of palmette form rise above it. Under the band of acanthus tendrils is a painted maeander pattern. The lions' heads also exhibit traces of colour, especially red.

See *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Tafelband 1. plates lxii.-lxvi.; R. Borrmann, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. pp. 83-93; *id.*, in *Die Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, 5 (1879-1881), pp. 43-45, with pl. xli.-xliii.; *Die Funde von Olympia*, p. 19; Curtius und Adler, *Olympia und Umgegend*, p. 23 *sqq.*; Bötticher, *Olympia*,[2] p. 353 *sqq.*; Flasch, 'Olympia,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1104 K *sqq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 348; K. Lange, *Haus und Halle*, pp. 331-338.

15. 2. the processional entrance into the Altis. As Pausanias tells us that the processional entrance was opposite the Leonidaeum, there is no room for doubt that by the processional entrance he here means the gate in the west wall of the Altis, not far from its southern end. But elsewhere he mentions the processional entrance in two passages (v. 15. 7; vi. 20. 7), and in both of them the context seems to point to a gateway in the eastern, not the western, wall of the Altis. This comes out most clearly in the first of these passages (v. 15. 7). Here he has been describing the altars in the hippodrome, which, with the colonnade of Agnaptus, seems certainly to have been situated beyond the stadium, to the east or south-east of the Altis (see vi. 20. 10). Immediately after describing these altars he enters the Altis by the processional gate and proceeds straight to certain altars at the back of the Heraeum, in the north-west part of the Altis (v. 15. 7). Thus coming from the east he would naturally enter by a gate on the east, not on the west, side of the Altis. Now there are two entrances on the east side of the Altis; one at the north-east corner, the other in the south wall near its eastern extremity. The one at the north-east corner is the Secret Entrance into the stadium (vi. 20. 8), and cannot, therefore, have been the processional entrance to the Altis. It would seem to follow that the processional entrance by which Pausanias, coming from the hippodrome, entered the Altis was at the south-eastern corner.

The case is not quite so clear in regard to the other mention of the processional entrance (vi. 20. 7), because the situation of the Hippodamium, which was "inside the Altis, at the processional entrance,"

has not yet been determined. But according to Dr. Dörpfeld there is absolutely no room in the south-west corner of the Altis for a precinct of the size of the Hippodamium (it extended to about a quarter of an acre, as we learn from Pausanias); and it would seem that we can only look for it in the east of the Altis, where there is room for it and to spare. This is confirmed by the context of the passage in which Pausanias mentions the Hippodamium; for immediately before he had been speaking of a sanctuary of Ilithyia situated between Mount Cronius and the treasuries, and immediately afterwards he goes on to describe the stadium. Thus it would appear that the Hippodamium and the processional entrance beside which it lay were both in the east of the Altis.

Yet in the present passage Pausanias beyond doubt identifies the processional entrance with the gateway at the south-western corner of the Altis opposite the Leonidaeum; and as if to remove any doubt as to whether there might not be two processional entrances he expressly says that this gateway opposite the Leonidaeum was the only one by which processions entered the Altis. How is this apparent discrepancy to be explained?

A plausible explanation has been offered by Mr. R. Heberdey. We have seen (p. 491 *sq.*) that the existing south wall of the Altis is of Roman date, perhaps a work of Nero, and that the original boundary of the Altis was further to the north, on the line of what is called the South Terrace Wall. Thus before this Roman extension of the Altis the south-western gateway, by which, in the age of Pausanias, processions entered the Altis, did not exist. Where, then, in these days was the processional entrance to the Altis? The answer to this question seems to be furnished by the long row of pedestals which extends parallel to the South Terrace Wall, a little to the south of it. Probably, as Dr. Dörpfeld has shown, a stately street here extended from the Leonidaeum along the outside of the South Terrace Wall between two lines of statues, the pedestals of which are still standing on the south side of the street. It seems obvious that along this street, which originally lay outside of the Altis, processions must have passed from the south-west and entered the Altis at its south-east corner. Here, then, towards the east end of the South Terrace Wall, just opposite the triumphal gateway which was erected in the later south wall of the Altis, may have been the original processional entrance. But when in Roman times the Altis was extended to the south, and the south-west gate was built in the new boundary-wall, this new gate became the processional entrance, superseding the original entrance at the south-east. It was not that the route of the processions was changed; on the contrary they continued to defile as before along the stately street, lined with statues, on the south of the South Terrace Wall; but this street was itself now within the sacred precinct, and consequently in entering it the processions entered the Altis.

Thus, if this theory is correct, there were at different times two processional entrances into the Altis, namely an older one at the south-east, and a newer one at the south-west corner. In the time of Pausanias the latter was the one in use, as we learn from the present

passage; but in the two other passages examined above he appears to refer to the old processional entrance at the south-east corner. This discrepancy may be explained, as Mr. Heberdey holds, by supposing that in the present passage Pausanias is writing from personal knowledge of the processional entrance of his own day, but that in the other two passages he is copying from authors who wrote before the Altis was extended to the south, and who consequently knew only of a processional entrance at the south-east.

This explanation of the seeming discrepancy in Pausanias's references to the processional entrance is plausible and may be correct. That Pausanias consulted the works of previous topographers in composing his description of Greece is highly probable: but as these works have mostly perished we are unable to test his use of them. If Mr. Heberdey is right, Pausanias was guilty of culpable carelessness in copying from a previous writer or writers topographical directions as to the processional entrance which had no application to the processional entrance of his own time. It would be rash to affirm that he was incapable of such a blunder, but, considering his general accuracy and our ignorance of the situation of many of the monuments in question, it seems better to suspend our judgment. The discovery of the Hippodamium might settle the question, and it is not impossible that evidence as to its site may yet be forthcoming.

If we had only the monumental evidence to go upon we should naturally infer that the triumphal gateway in the south wall of the Altis, towards its eastern end, was the processional entrance. That it was built to serve as the processional entrance seems clear. But if Dr. Dörpfeld is right the gate was built by Nero and ceased to be employed as the grand entrance to the Altis after the tyrant's death.

See above, p. 491 *sq.*; W. Dörpfeld, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 13 (1888), p. 327 *sqq.*; R. Heberdey, 'Die olympische Altarperiegese des Pausanias,' in *Eranos Vindobonensis* (Wien, 1893), pp. 34-47; K. Wernicke, in *Jahrbuch d. arch. Inst.* 9 (1894), p. 89 note.

15. 2. it is separated from the processional entrance by a street etc. Pausanias remarks that the Leonidaeum was separated from the west wall of the Altis by a mere lane, and is surprised that the natives should dignify this lane with the name of a street. Dr. Dörpfeld, however, has pointed out that inside this wall and parallel to it there runs a line of pedestals terminating at the south wall of the Altis. Thus the line of pedestals in question and the west wall form together a *cul de sac*. But a line of statues would certainly not have been thus placed leading up to a dead wall. It seems certain therefore that the line of statues existed before the wall was built, and that it then formed the east side of the street which here skirted the Leonidaeum. The street must then have been nearly twice as broad as it afterwards was when the west wall of the Altis was built. The erection of that wall, cutting off nearly half the breadth of the street, reduced it in fact to a lane. But the old name 'street' was retained, though the now narrow passage had ceased to deserve the appellation. Pausanias's remark as

to the narrowness of the passage and his surprise that it should be called a street, is a further proof that he is describing Olympia as it was in Roman times, not as it was in the days of Polemo before the Altis had been extended in this direction. See W. Dörpfeld, 'Die Altismauer in Olympia,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 13 (1888), p. 327 *sqq.*

15. 3. **an altar of Aphrodite, and after it an altar of the Seasons.** Inside the south-west gate of the Altis an altar has been discovered on the terrace wall, a little to the east of the steps which lead up to it. It is probably one of the two altars here mentioned by Pausanias. Prof. E. Curtius, indeed, identifies it with the altar of the Nymphs mentioned further down in this section. But from Pausanias's description we should expect to find the altar of the Nymphs further north, nearly due west of the temple of Zeus. See Flasch, 'Olympia,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1071; Curtius, *Altäre von Olympia*, p. 26; *id.*, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 2. p. 62; R. Heberdey, in *Eranos Vindobonensis* (Wien, 1893), p. 41. When Pausanias says that the altar of Aphrodite lay "as you are about to pass to the left of the Leonidaeum," he must mean by the *left* the *north* of the Leonidaeum; since the altar of the Nymphs, which he next mentions, was near the temple of Zeus, which was certainly north (or, to be more exact, north-east) of the Leonidaeum. He thus supposes himself to be standing with his back to the Leonidaeum and his face to the east. In this position, 'to the left of the Leonidaeum' means to the *north* of it, and 'to the right of the Leonidaeum' (§ 4) must mean to the *south* of it. Cp. R. Heberdey, *op. cit.* p. 41 *sq.*

15. 3. **the Olive of the Fair Crown.** This tree was said to have been brought to Olympia from the land of the Hyperboreans; see v. 7. 7 note. Its title ('the Olive of the Fair Crown') is mentioned by other ancient writers ([Aristotle,] *Mirab. Auscult.* 51; Suidas, *s.v.* κοτίνου στεφάνῳ; Schol. on Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 586; Schol. on Pindar, *Olymp.* viii. 1, x. 11; Schol. on Theocritus, iv. 7). It is mentioned by Theophrastus (*Histor. Plant.* iv. 13. 2) and Pliny (*N. H.* xvi. 240) among the trees which were traditionally said to be extremely old. It grew at a spot in Olympia which was called the Pantheon ([Aristotle,] *l.c.*; cp. Schol. on Pindar, *Olymp.* viii. 12), and the branches which were to form the victors' crowns were cut with a golden sickle by a boy, both of whose parents had to be alive (Schol. on Pindar, *Olymp.* iii. 60). Similarly among the Gauls the sacred mistletoe had to be cut by a priest with a golden sickle (Pliny, *N. H.* xvi. 251). Mr. L. Weniger attempts to show that the Pantheon at Olympia, where the Olive of the Fair Crown grew, was a grove of wild olives within the Altis, at the back of the temple of Zeus, and he thinks that from this grove were procured the olive branches which were laid once a month on the altars of all the gods at Olympia (below, § 10). See L. Weniger, *Der heilige Oelbaum in Olympia* (Weimar, 1895).

15. 4. **an altar of Artemis of the Market.** This altar and the altar of Zeus of the Market must have stood on the Market-place. Hence from Pausanias's description it appears that the Market-place

was outside the Altis and to the south or south-east of the Leonidaeum (see previous note). It probably lay on the still unexcavated ground between the Altis and the Alpheus. The South Colonnade, which fronts southward, may have faced the market-place. See C. Robert, in *Hermes*, 23 (1888), p. 429. Cp. the Critical Note on this passage (vol. 1. p. 585). All the places described by Pausanias in §§ 4-6 appear to have lain outside the Altis, to the south or south-east. It is not till § 7 that Pausanias returns into the Altis.

15. 4. **I will tell about the goddess** etc. See viii. 37.

15. 4. **the Grand Stand.** The Grand Stand (*Proedria*) has not yet been identified with certainty. Professors Curtius and Adler identify it with a long marble basement or substructure which stands in front of the Echo Colonnade; a small semicircular flight of steps leads up to it. At one end of the basement stood a statue of Ptolemy II.; at the other end a statue of his wife Arsinoe. Each statue was raised upon a slender Ionic column about 30 feet high. The statues were dedicated by Ptolemy's admiral, Callicrates of Samos.

See *Die Funde von Olympia*, p. 24; Curtius und Adler, *Olympia und Umgegend*, p. 39; Curtius, *Die Altäre von Olympia*, p. 7; *id.*, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 2. p. 45; A. Bötticher, *Olympia*,[2] p. 388; Baedeker,[3] p. 344; *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, Nos. 306, 307.

Prof. Flasch, on the other hand, identifies the *Proedria* with the building at the south-eastern extremity of the Altis which Nero converted into a dwelling-house. He thinks that the *Proedria* was the residence of the presidents (*proedroi*) or umpires (*Hellanodikai*) of the games rather than a Grand Stand where distinguished persons were provided with seats from which to watch the processions. Against this view it is to be remarked that the official residence of the umpires (*Hellanodikai*) would have been called *Hellanodikeon* rather than *Proedria*. Cp. Paus. vi. 24. 1 and 3. However that may be, the South-East Building or House of Nero is of sufficient interest and importance to deserve a brief description here.

The original Greek building comprised four chambers, each nearly square, extending in a row side by side from north to south, and surrounded on three sides (north, west, and south) by Doric colonnades. The foundations and stylobate of these chambers and colonnades still exist; they are built of squared blocks of conglomerate. But above the stylobate not a single stone of the original building is in its place. The colonnades were elevated on two steps, which still remain. There were nineteen columns on the long west side, and eight columns on each of the two short sides on the north and south. Whether the building extended further to the east or not is uncertain. There are certainly Greek foundations existing under the Roman building immediately to the east; but as they have no direct connexion with the South-East Building and stand on a different level, Dr. Dörpfeld thinks it improbable that they originally formed part of it.

Edifices of the form of the South-East Building are exceedingly rare in Greek architecture. There is, however, a building of the same plan in the sanctuary of Aesculapius at Athens (see vol. 2. p. 236 *sq.*)

Deep down under and at the back of the South-East Building were found fragments of large bronze tripods, kettles, and basins ; also ladles, spearheads, weights, and lamps, all of bronze. The soil at the back of the building contained many potsherds ; and to the east and north-east, in a layer of blackened earth, were found many bronze handles of vessels, also bronze kettles, bosses, weapons, and ancient inscriptions engraved on bronze plates. Perhaps these objects may help to throw light on the use to which the South-East Building was put. Bronze objects of similar sorts have been found in the Prytaneum at the opposite extremity of the Altis (see note on v. 15. 9).

Although nothing of the South-East Building is standing except the foundations and stylobate, it is still possible to restore the whole of it, not only in general outline, but even in all its details, down to the painting of the different members of the architecture. The reason of this is that in Roman times the painted architectural members were broken up, and, being mixed with mortar, were used to build walls. Thus the mortar, by protecting their surfaces from the air, has preserved the colours quite fresh to the present time.

This Greek building is assigned by Dr. Dörpfeld, on artistic and technical grounds, to the fourth century B.C. But it is older than the Philippeum and the Echo Colonnade, as is proved (1) by the shape of the clamps ( instead of the later form ), and (2) by the fact that the stylobate and steps are of common conglomerate instead of marble or hard limestone. These better materials were first used in the Philippeum and the Echo Colonnade ; afterwards the use of them became universal.

In the early Roman period the Greek building was taken down, and a Roman house of the ordinary type erected on the old foundations. From the western colonnade a central doorway led into the *atrium ;* at the back (east side) of the *atrium* was the *tablinum*, with passages (*fauces*) on the north and south ; steps led down to the *peristylium* (open court surrounded by cloisters) at the back of the *tablinum.* There were a number of rooms to the north and south of the *atrium.* This Roman house was built partly of good brickwork, partly of *opus incertum ;* but some pieces of the walls are constructed of regular *opus reticulatum.* (As to *opus incertum* and *opus reticulatum* see J. H. Middleton, *The Remains of Ancient Rome* (London and Edinburgh, 1892), 1. p. 51 *sqq.*) The walls and columns were coated with stucco. Both the *tablinum* and the *peristylium* lay at the back (east side) of the original Greek building, to which they formed an addition. On the other (west) side a colonnade was built so as to connect the house with the triumphal gateway standing further to the west.

The time at which the original Greek edifice was converted into a Roman house can fortunately be determined. For under the floor of the Roman house was found a leaden water-pipe which had belonged to the house and is stamped with the words NERONIS AUG. Thus it would seem that Nero, who contended in person at the Olympic games (Suetonius, *Nero*, 23 *sq.*), had a house built for his reception within, or abutting on, the sacred precinct.

See *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Tafelband 1. plates lii.-liv.; W. Dörpfeld, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. pp. 73-76; *id.*, in *Die Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, 4 (1878-1879), pp. 46-48, with pl. xxxvii.; Ad. Furtwängler, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 4. p. 6; *Die Funde von Olympia*, p. 20 *sq.*: Curtius und Adler, *Olympia und Umgegend*, p. 28; Ad. Bötticher, *Olympia*,[2] p. 400; Flasch, 'Olympia,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, pp. 1071, 1104 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 346.

Prof. C. Robert would look for the *Proedria* in the Council House (see below, note on v. 24. 9), and conjectures that it may have been the square central chamber of that building (*Hermes*, 23 (1888), p. 436). Finally, Mr. K. Wernicke supposes that the *Proedria* was the southern wing of the Council House, and that it served as a court-house in which the umpires (*Hellanodikai*) held their sittings. He argues that the residence (as distinguished from the court-house) of the umpires was in the South-East Building, until they were ejected from that edifice to make room for the emperor Nero. See K. Wernicke, 'Die Proedria und der Hellanodikeon,' *Jahrbuch d. arch. Inst.* 9 (1894), pp. 127-135. But all this is a mere tissue of conjectures unsupported by evidence. We do not even know that the umpires had a court-house and fixed residence at Olympia at all. We do know that they had a fixed residence at Elis, where they lived for ten months together (Paus. vi. 24. 3).

15. 5. **the place where the chariots start.** The hippodrome or racecourse for chariots and horses seems to have lain to the south-east of the Altis. See vi. 20. 10 note.

15. 5. **the Guide of Fate.** Cp. i. 40. 4; viii. 37. 1; x. 24. 4. On an engraved gem (a chalcedony) in the Hermitage Museum at St. Petersburg Zeus is represented seated with an eagle at his feet. In his left hand he holds a sceptre; on his outstretched right hand he carries three small upright female figures clad in long garments. Stephani thought that these three figures were the Fates (*Moirai*), and that Zeus was here represented in his character of Guide of Fate (*Moiragetas*). See *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg) for 1881, p. 118 *sq.*, with plate v. 18.

15. 6. **the so-called Wedge.** This was the wedge-shaped starting-place in the Hippodrome. See vi. 20. 10 *sqq.*

15. 6. **the Nymphs whom they call Buxom.** The epithet here translated 'buxom' (ἀκμηναί) might also mean 'at the point,' being derived from a word (ἀκμή) which means primarily 'point,' 'edge,' and secondarily 'youthful prime or bloom.' In its present application the adjective may perhaps refer to the situation of the altar at the point of the Wedge.

15. 7. **the processional entrance.** *I.e.* the gate at the south-west corner of the Altis. See note on § 2.

15. 7. **Apollo Thermius.** Pausanias's conjecture that Thermius (Θέρμιος) is a dialectic form equivalent to the Attic Thesmius (Θέσμιος) is correct. In the inscriptions found at Olympia *r* (ρ) often occurs in words where in Attic we should have *s* (ς). See Cauer, *Delectus Inscr. Graec.*[2] Nos. 253, 263, 264, etc.

15. 8. **the Theecoleon (priest's house).** Immediately to the west

of the Altis, between the Byzantine church (see note on § 1) and the Wrestling School, there is a group of two buildings separated from each other by a narrow lane. The large building on the east side of the lane is probably the Theecoleon; the small building on the west is probably the edifice which Pausanias here mentions as containing an altar of Pan. Both buildings are in a very ruinous condition; but the remains are sufficient to enable us to determine the ground-plans, while the architectural fragments found in the neighbourhood throw some light on the construction of the walls and roofs.

The ruins of the eastern building, identified as the Theecoleon (θεηκολεών) or Theocoleon, as it is sometimes called, belong to three different ages; for the original Greek edifice was twice altered and enlarged, first in the Greek, and second in the Roman period.

The original structure covered a square of about 19 metres (62 feet), measured on the sides, and consisted of eight rooms arranged round a square central court. Four of the rooms opened on the central court, the opening in each case being between a pair of columns flanked by *antae*. The columns were of the Doric order, fluted only in their upper halves; the epistyle was Ionic. The other four rooms were in the corners, and must have been lit by windows in the side walls. Some of the rooms communicated with each other by doors. The house had at least two outer doors, one in the most easterly of the three rooms on the north side; the other in the central room on the south side. The stone thresholds of the doorways, with the holes in which the wooden linings were fixed and bolts shot, can still be seen. The intercolumniations of the central court were mostly closed by barriers several feet high. On the north side all three intercolumniations were so closed; on the other sides the central intercolumniation was in each case left open, while the two side intercolumniations were closed by barriers. The court was flagged; in its north-east corner stood a covered draw-well. In the central room on the south side a carefully-built hearth showed that the apartment had served as a kitchen.

Of this original Greek building the foundations are preserved almost entire; also the central piece of the north wall, some blocks of one of the northern partition walls, and some pieces of the columns, *antae*, and barriers of the north side of the court. Almost the whole of the pavement of the court, together with the well in the corner, still exists. The shaft of the well is cylindrical, and is lined with masonry; its present depth is 7.50 metres. So far as it is standing, the building is constructed of stones laid without mortar, and apparently without clamps. However some detached blocks, which seem to have belonged to the building, have holes for the insertion of clamps. Perhaps the stones of the upper courses were clamped together for greater security. From the excellence of the masonry and the fineness of the architectural style, it is clear that the building is of the Greek period; but various technical indications, including the mixture of Doric and Ionic style, point to its being later than 350 B.C. It may be conjectured that the rooms round the court were the abodes of the priests,

just as in some Greek monasteries at the present day the cells of the monks are arranged round a central court on which they open. This is the arrangement, for example, in the monasteries of *Daphni* (vol. 2. p. 496) and *Vourkano* (vol. 3. p. 429).

Within the Greek period the edifice was extended to the east by the addition of a set of three rooms and the construction of a garden court surrounded by cloisters and chambers on the north, east, and south. This garden court, with its cloisters and chambers, measured 40.36 metres from north to south by 26.65 metres from east to west.

At a later time, within the Roman period, the building was still further enlarged and to some extent remodelled. The eastern half of the extended Greek building was taken down, and the garden court was widened. The open central part of the court was paved with concrete, and on its southern side a square altar was erected on a platform. Round the four sides of this open court ran colonnades; each colonnade comprised eight columns (the columns at the corners being counted twice over); the lowest drums of eight of the columns are still standing in their places. At the back of the colonnades on the north, east, and south sides were rows of chambers which opened into the colonnades. The greater part of the west side, on the other hand, was occupied by a single long hall (20.50 metres long by 4.75 metres deep), which seems to have been open towards the colonnade from end to end; its roof was apparently supported on the side of the colonnade by a row of wooden pillars. The whole court, as finally enlarged, with its colonnades and chambers, measured 40.36 metres from north to south by 38.58 metres from east to west.

Whether the Theecoleon was once connected with the Byzantine church and the buildings to the south of it could not be ascertained.

See *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Tafelband 1. plates lxxi. lxxii.; P. Graef, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. pp. 105, 107-113; *id.*, in *Die Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, 5 (1879-1881), p. 38 *sq.*, with pl. xxxvii.; *Die Funde von Olympia*, p. 19; Curtius und Adler, *Olympia und Umgegend*, p. 22 *sq.*; Curtius, *Die Altäre von Olympia*, p. 19; *id.*, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 2. p. 56 *sq.*; Flasch, 'Olympia,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1072 *sq.*; Ad. Bötticher, *Olympia*,[2] p. 321; Baedeker,[3] p. 349.

15. 8. **In front of the Theecoleon —— there is a building.** This building is probably the one of which considerable remains exist immediately to the west of the Theecoleon. The core of the structure is a circular chamber 8.04 metres in diameter, enclosed by a ring-wall of large squared blocks. This circular chamber was itself enclosed by four outer walls, which formed a square, and met the ring-wall at four points, tangent-wise. In the middle of the west wall was the entrance to the circular chamber. Three of the walls of the quadrangular enclosure were prolonged beyond the angles of the quadrangle: the eastern and western walls were prolonged to the south, where they probably met a south wall at right angles so as to form a quadrangular chamber; the north wall was prolonged to the west so as to form the side of a portico or colonnade, which opened westward with four columns. Most of the blocks of the ring-wall are in their original places: their

were nineteen or twenty of them originally, of which thirteen and a half have been found. They measure about 1.25 metres in length by .68 metre in height and .47 metre in thickness. From the way in which the upper surface of this ring-wall is smoothed, Mr. Graef infers that the upper part of the structure was made of wood or unburnt bricks. It was probably covered with a conical roof, for many fragments of large triangular tiles, which had evidently belonged to a roof of this shape, were found close to the building. Most of the blocks of the four walls which enclosed the circular chamber are still standing in their places. Of the prolongation of the eastern wall southward three blocks remain; but the wall which this prolongation once met at right angles has disappeared, though its situation can be determined with great probability. Of the western colonnade or portico the north-western half of the foundations is preserved, also a piece of the wall, and the two stones on which an *anta* and a column rested—both in their original positions. The date of the edifice is not known; the excellence and simplicity of the masonry show that it is a work of the Greek period.

In the round chamber, close to the wall, on the south side, a small quadrangular altar was found. It is formed simply of hard earth mixed with ashes and charcoal, but is covered on the top with a broad flat brick. The three visible sides were coated with plaster and painted. The altar rests on the ground without any steps; its dimensions are as follows: length .54 metre, breadth .38 metre, height .37 metre. That burnt sacrifices were offered on the altar is clear from the marks of fire on its top, as well as from the ashes and charcoal that were found. On both sides were observed the traces of libations that had flowed down here. The plaster on the front and sides had plainly been often renewed, and as it exhibited traces of paintings and letters, the German excavators had it peeled carefully off on the front. Thus they discovered no less than twelve successive coats of plaster. Almost every coat had a leafy branch or two painted on it, the stalks being coloured brown and the leaves green. The tree represented may perhaps have been the olive or bay; but the drawing is too slight and hasty to allow this to be determined. Moreover, on each coat was painted in violet letters the word ΗΡΩΟΡ or ΗΡΩΟΣ ('of the hero') or ΗΡΩΩΝ ('of the heroes'). Thus we learn that the altar was sacred to a hero or heroes. Prof. Curtius conjectures that the heroes worshipped at it were Iamus and Clytius, the ancestors of two families of soothsayers (the Iamids and Clytids), who were settled in Elis (Paus. iii. 11. 6; iii. 12. 8; iv. 16. 1: vi. 2. 5; vi. 17. 6; viii. 10. 5). The floor of the chamber is not paved but consists merely of earth; and this earth to a depth of .45 to .50 metre is of a greenish-yellow colour and a clayey texture, quite different from the brown sandy soil of the Altis. It has clearly been brought from Mount Cronius, where a similar soil is found. Hence it has been inferred that the little sanctuary was originally situated on that hill, and that when it was transferred to its present site some of the soil of the holy mountain was transferred with it. Prof. Curtius conjectures that the round

chamber was the Gaeum or sanctuary of Earth mentioned by Pausanias above (v. 14. 10), and that this may have been deemed a suitable place for setting up an altar to the soothsayer Iamus, because the sanctuary of Earth was the seat of an old oracle (note on v. 14. 10). But these conjectures rest on a very uncertain foundation, since it is not known whether the clay floor is part of the original structure. It may have been made at a much later time, when a lime-kiln, which may still be seen in the north-west corner of the chamber, was constructed. Even if it belonged to the original structure, the clay may have been chosen not for any religious reason, but merely because it afforded a firmer floor than the native earth.

In the quadrangular apartment to the south of the round chamber there are some foundations, which may have been those of an altar. Prof. Curtius conjectures that the altar may have been that of Themis (Paus. v. 14. 10).

See *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Tafelband 1. plates lxxi. lxxii.; P. Graef, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. pp. 105-107; *id.*, in *Die Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, 5 (1879-1881), p. 39 *sq.*, with pl. xxxvii.; *Olympia: Ergebnisse*. Textband 2. p. 165 *sq.*; *Die Funde von Olympia*, p. 19; Curtius und Adler, *Olympia und Umgegend*, p. 22; Curtius, *Die Altäre von Olympia*, pp. 21-26; *id.*, *Gesamm. Abhandlungen*, 2. pp. 59-61; *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 662; Flasch, 'Olympia,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1073; A. Bötticher, *Olympia*,[2] pp. 321-325; Baedeker,[3] p. 349.

15. 8. gymnasium —— wrestling-schools. See vi. 21. 2 notes.

15. 9. the Prytaneum. The Prytaneum is the building in the north-west corner of the Altis. When it was first excavated, it exhibited such a chaos of walls—Greek, Roman, and Byzantine—that the attempt to make out a definite ground-plan seemed hopeless. Not until the Byzantine walls had been cleared away did the plan of the Roman building become tolerably plain. Afterwards excavations under the Roman floor brought to light a number of walls of a still earlier period, which, taken together with the Greek walls previously laid bare, revealed a nearly symmetrical ground-plan. The building thus reconstituted was the Greek Prytaneum. Its walls, though all of the Greek period, are not all of the same date. Most of them are built of squared blocks of conglomerate, but some are built of boulders, and the columns of the north hall or court are constructed of large round bricks. All the walls are comparatively thin, and therefore lacked strength and durability. Hence they seem to have been often repaired or rebuilt in antiquity.

The Greek building formed a square of about 32.80 metres or exactly 100 Phidonian feet, as that foot is determined by Dr. Dorpfeld (see above, p. 497 *sq.*) The doorway seems to have been in the middle of the south side, perhaps with a pair of columns supporting the lintel. Through this doorway you passed into a vestibule or ante-room, from which there was access on the right and left (east and west) into two colonnades opening northwards. But if turning neither to the right nor the left you passed straight through the vestibule, you found yourself in a square chamber measuring 6.80 metres on the sides, of which the walls are still standing. This chamber would seem to have been the

central point of the whole building; probably therefore it contained the hearth on which burned the perpetual fire. It is true that no certain traces of a hearth or altar were found in it, but considering the ruinous state of the whole building this is hardly to be wondered at.

Next to this central chamber on the north there was a narrower apartment, the walls of which, so far as they exist, belong to a somewhat later age. It must therefore remain uncertain whether this second room formed part of the original plan. It seems to have served only as a passage or ante-room to the large court which occupied the northern half of the Prytaneum.

On both sides of these two central chambers lay two open courts, flanked on the south by the two small colonnades into which there was apparently access from the vestibule. The foundations of the western of these two colonnades still exist. On its outer side each of these two open courts was bounded by a long hall or colonnade, which Dr. Dörpfeld calls the East Colonnade and the West Colonnade respectively. The foundations of two at least of the columns of the West Colonnade are in their places. This colonnade opened eastward on the court. Its northern part is occupied by a series of small chambers, which at some period were completely rebuilt. Curiously enough the back (that is the western) wall of these little rooms was distinct from the back wall of the colonnade, being separated from it by a narrow passage only .60 metre (not quite 2 feet) wide. What the object of this passage may have been is not apparent. Traces of a hearth (?) and a basin, together with the presence of several water-channels in this part of the building, suggest that here may have been the kitchen. In Roman times a banqueting room (*triclinium*) of the Roman fashion was built in the West Colonnade. The ends of two of the three couches on which the guests reclined are preserved, as well as remains of a many-coloured mosaic pavement. This is doubtless the banqueting room mentioned by Pausanias (§ 12), in which the Olympic victors were feasted.

The East Colonnade is not so well preserved as the West Colonnade. Of its southern half not a stone was found in its place. Probably, however, it was symmetrical with the southern half of the West Colonnade, though it stands on a higher level, the ground here sloping downward from east to west. But the East Colonnade differed from its sister colonnade in at least one respect; instead of being closed at the back by a wall, it opened eastward through a row of columns. In fact, it faced two ways—inwards on the court and outwards on the outside of the building. Three bases of columns which supported its outer façade are still in their places in the line of the eastern wall of the Prytaneum. What the original use of this East Colonnade was, we do not know. The Romans fitted up a hall or chamber of some sort in it, with a water basin and a fine mosaic pavement.

Most of the northern part of the Prytaneum seems to have been occupied by a large open court surrounded by colonnades on at least three sides, namely the north, the west, and the south. Of some of the columns of these colonnades the foundations alone remain; of

others, parts of the shafts are still standing; but most of them have disappeared entirely. The construction of these columns was very peculiar. They were made of thick semicircular bricks placed one on the top of the other, a pair of them making up a drum of the column. What the date of these brick-columns may be is quite uncertain. Water channels, provided with basins, run beside the columns; and at the eastern end of the court there is a cistern built of regularly hewn blocks of conglomerate. It is possible that the central part of the court was not open but roofed over.

Some of the changes made in the Prytaneum in Roman times have been already mentioned. The building was extended to the west and north, and here a new colonnade or portico was built, of which the stylobate, together with some stumps of columns, can still be seen. The front (south) wall of the Prytaneum was also advanced southward a little, and a new colonnade was built all along it. But the central chamber in which burned the perpetual fire seems to have been preserved unaltered. It is worthy of remark that neither in the Greek nor in the Roman walls of the Prytaneum were clamps used to bind the stones together.

The date of the Greek Prytaneum cannot be exactly determined, but it seems to be very early. This appears as well from the absence of clamps in the masonry as from the fact that the direction of the oldest west wall of the Altis was evidently determined at this point by the existence of the Prytaneum, which proves that the Prytaneum was older than the wall of the Altis. And in the Greek Prytaneum itself there are vestiges of a still older building, which Dr. Dörpfeld is disposed to connect with some exceedingly ancient foundations discovered to the north-west of the Heraeum. At what exact time within the Roman period the Prytaneum was rebuilt we cannot say; we do not even know whether the alterations were made before or after the time of Pausanias. But the wretched masonry of all the Roman walls points to a very late date. The workmanship of the mosaic floors, indeed, is fairly good; but this does not prove much, since even the Byzantines made excellent mosaics.

It deserves to be mentioned that within the Prytaneum and a little to the north of it a great many ancient bronze articles were discovered at a considerable depth below the surface of the ground. Thus, within the building there were found many pieces of bronze vessels, especially kettles and basins; in one narrow space several large kettles were lying heaped up, and along with them were some antique legs of tripods, handles, and a griffin's head made of sheet bronze. Other bronze objects brought to light in the Prytaneum were many handles of basins; fragments of pans, wine-ladles, etc.; many ancient fragments of tripods; lions' claws from tables or chairs; numerous spearheads; pieces of shields; lamps; weights; leaves of olive wreaths; and ancient inscriptions engraved on plates of bronze. The whole layer of rubbish was also thickly studded with potsherds. To the north of the Prytaneum a layer of very black soil was found to contain many more articles of bronze, including fragments of vessels and tripods; spear-

heads; weights; heads of nails; several archaic statuettes; and a number of rude figures of animals. A few similar figures of animals were also discovered within the walls of the Prytaneum. All these various articles had seemingly been thrown away as worthless.

See *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Tafelband 1. plates xliii. xliv.; W. Dörpfeld, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. pp. 58-61; A. Furtwängler, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 4. p. 5 *sq.*; *Die Funde von Olympia*, p. 23; Curtius und Adler, *Olympia und Umgegend*, p. 35; Flasch, 'Olympia,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1074; Bötticher, *Olympia*,[2] p. 325 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 343. As to Greek Prytaneums in general, see vol. 2. p. 170 *sq.*

15. 10. **Only to the Nymphs —— do they not pour libations of wine** etc. Libations of water, oil, honey, or honey mixed with milk, were offered to deities to whom it was unlawful to offer wine. Such libations were called 'sober' (Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* *νηφάλιοι θυσίαι*; Suidas, *s.v.* *νηφάλιος θυσία*). For example, honey mixed with water was offered to the Furies (ii. 11. 4 note); and honey, not wine, was offered to the Sun, because it was thought most desirable that a god on whom so much depended should keep strictly sober (Athenaeus, xv. p. 693 e f). Necromancers offered honey mixed with milk to the souls of the dead (Porphyry, *De antro nympharum*, 28). According to Polemo, the Athenians offered 'sober' sacrifices to the Muse of Memory, the Dawn, the Sun, the Moon, the Nymphs, and Heavenly Aphrodite (Schol. on Sophocles, *Oed. Col.* 100; cp. Porphyry, *op. cit.* 19; *id.*, *De abstinentia*, ii. 20). For other examples of wineless libations, see Paus. i. 26. 5; vi. 20. 3. Cp. Preller on Polemo, *Frag.* 42; P. Stengel in *Hermes*, 22 (1887), p. 645 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Griechische Sakralaltertümer*, § 63; Robert Tornow, *De apium mellisque apud veteres significatione* (Berlin, 1893), p. 142 *sqq.*; J. de Fritze, *De libatione veterum Graecorum* (Berlin, 1893), p. 32 *sqq.* On libations in general, and their representation in ancient art, see Stephani in *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg), 1873, pp. 113-241; J. de Fritze, *op. cit.*

15. 10. **the Mistresses.** That is, Demeter and Proserpine. Cp. viii. 37. It is only here and in § 4 of this chapter that Pausanias uses the plural to designate the two goddesses.

15. 10. **the Priest —— the Soothsayers and Libation-bearers —— the Guide, the Flute-player, and the Woodman.** All these officials are mentioned in inscriptions found at Olympia. A list of them appears to have been drawn up and engraved on stone at the beginning of each Olympiad. Many of these lists have been found. They date from Ol. 186 (36 B.C.) to Ol. 261 (265 A.D.) Apparently the custom of publishing the lists was introduced in the first century B.C. and came to an end in consequence of the irruptions of the barbarians in the third century A.D. There seem to have been regularly three priests (*theokoloi*) and three libation-bearers. Besides the officials here mentioned by Pausanias we learn from the inscriptions that there were Keepers of the Keys (*κλειδοῦχοι*), Dancers-at-the-Libations (*ἐπισπονδορχησταί*), an Interpreter of Dreams (*θεόπροπος δι᾽ ὀνείρων*), a Wine-pourer (*οἰνοχόος*), a Secretary (*γραμματεύς*), a Daily Sacrificer (*καθημεροθύτης*), an Architect or Builder (*στεγανόμος* or *ἀρχιτέκτων*),

a Superintendent (ἐπιμελητής), a Physician (ἰατρός), a Baker ([illegible]), and a Cook (μάγειρος). See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, Nos. 59-141; Beulé, *Étude sur le Péloponnèse*, p. 232 *sqq.*; Curtius, *Altäre von Olympia*, p. 18; *id.*, *Gesamm. Abhand.* 2. p. 56; Ad. Bötticher, *Olympia*,[2] p. 153 *sqq.* In regard to the Flute-player it is to be observed that in inscriptions down to the second half of the first century A.D. he is described by the general name of αὐλητής or flute-player, but that in inscriptions of the second and third centuries A.D. he is described by the special name of σπονδαύλης or 'player of the flute at the libations.' It thus appears that somewhere about the first century of our era the official title of this musician was changed from αὐλητής to σπονδαύλης. As Pausanias mentions him by his old name of αὐλητής, though in his time (174 A.D., see note on v. 1. 2) the official title had been changed to σπονδαύλης, it was formerly argued by Prof. Dittenberger that he must have copied his list of officials from some antiquated authority instead of taking them down on the spot. This is possible, but the argument does not seem conclusive. Pausanias may very well have preferred to call the flute-player by his common name instead of giving him the special title of σπονδαύλης, and in this view Prof. Dittenberger seems now to acquiesce. See W. Dittenberger, in *Archaeol. Zeitung*, 38 (1880), pp. 58-60; Schubart, in *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 29 (1883), p. 479 *sq.*; W. Gurlitt, *Pausanias*, p. 403 *sq.*; cp. R. Heberdey, in *Eranos Vindobonensis* (Wien, 1893), p. 45 *sq.*

15. 11. **the god who is in Libya —— Ammonian Hera —— Parammon.** Mr. C. W. Mansell thinks that the triad of Egyptian gods here mentioned by Pausanias is identical with what he calls "the supreme Libyco-Carthaginian triad of Baal-Khammon, Tanit, and Iol." See *Gazette archéologique*, 2 (1876), p. 127. Mr. Ph. Berger, agreeing as to the first two persons in this Carthaginian trinity, substitutes a serpent, which he calls "Eschmun, the Phoenician Aesculapius," for Iol in the third place in the trinity. See his articles on 'La Trinité carthaginoise' in *Gazette archéologique*, 5 (1879), pp. 133-140, 222-22[illegible]; *ib.* 6 (1880), pp. 18-31. On an interesting relief which my friend the late W. Robertson Smith brought back from Egypt in 1891 the head of Ammon appears with the characteristic attribute of ram's horns (cp. Herodotus, ii. 42), and beside it is the head of a sheep; the latter seems to represent the wife of Ammon, the Ammonian Hera, as Pausanias calls her.

16. 1. **the temple of Hera.** The Heraeum or temple of Hera is of great interest as being probably the oldest purely Greek temple known to us; and a study of its construction throws much light on the early history of Greek architecture. The temple stands at the foot of Mount Cronius, on the northern side of the Altis. At this point the ground sloped away to the south and west, and in order to obtain a level surface for building it was necessary to cut away part of the foot of the hill and to pile up the soil so obtained further to the south. The foot of the hill was then supported by a wall rising in steps, and the temple was built so close to this supporting wall that only a narrow passage was left between the wall and the temple. Excavations in the interior of the temple showed that

an altar probably stood near the south-west corner before the temple was built. This very ancient altar was probably replaced by the altar of which some scanty remains were found opposite the west end of the south side of the temple. In consequence of the yielding nature of the soil, the temple has sunk on the south and west, in spite of the fact that here the foundations were laid deeper and broader than on the other sides.

The temple had only a single step, in which respect it differs from most Greek temples. At present, indeed, two steps are visible in some places, but the dimensions and style of the lower step show that it was not properly a step but merely part of the foundations. The level of the ground about the temple changed so much in course of ages that at a later time two steps were exposed to view on the south side, and none at all on the north. After this change had taken place, two sets of steps were built on the south side of the temple, one at the east end and the other at the west end, in order to afford easy access to the temple. The steps at the east end are still preserved.

The temple was of the Doric order and surrounded by a colonnade, with six columns at each of the narrow ends (east and west), and sixteen columns on each of the long sides (north and south). Its length is 50.01 metres and its breadth 18.75 metres, measured on the top step or stylobate. Most of the columns are standing to a height of several metres; only six out of the original forty columns are entirely wanting. Although they are all Doric, they differ from each other in so many respects that archaeologists were at first puzzled to explain the discrepancy. Thus in diameter they vary from 1.02 to 1.29 metres. Indeed the difference in diameter between even columns on the same side of the temple is in some cases so great (one column being thicker by a fourth than another) that no one would have suspected that they all belonged to the Heraeum if they had not been standing in their original places. Further, the columns differ in the number and shape of their flutes. One column (the second from the west on the south side) has only sixteen flutes, whereas all the other columns have twenty; on some columns the flutes are deep, on others they are shallow. Further, the columns differ in respect both of the height of their drums and of the way in which they were fitted together; some of the drums have large dowel-holes, others have small, others have none at all. Some of the columns seem to have been monoliths. Finally, out of eighteen capitals which have been found there are twelve of quite distinct shapes. In some the echinus bulges very much, after the antique style; in others it is straight, after the later style. Some of the capitals have a large, some a small diameter; some have rings round the neck, and others have not. The only probable explanation of all these remarkable differences is the one suggested by Dr. Dörpfeld, namely that the columns were originally of wood, and that as they decayed they were gradually replaced at different times by columns of stone, which were made, not on the model of the original columns, but in the common style of the day. This hypothesis is confirmed by the fact mentioned by Pausanias, that in his time one of the columns in the back chamber of the temple was still made of oak.

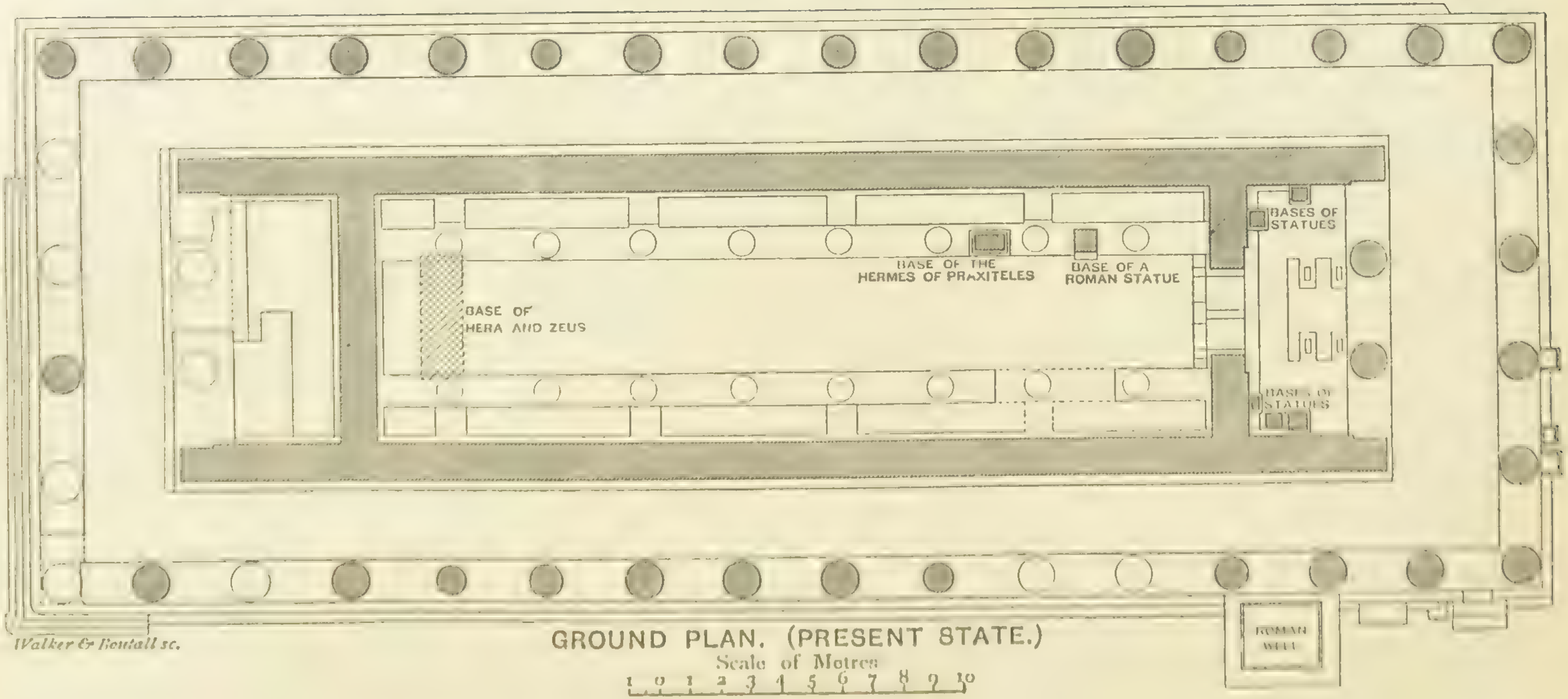


FIG. 74.—TEMPLE OF HERA.

This substitution of stone for wooden columns seems to have begun as early as the sixth or even seventh century B.C., if we may judge from the shapes of some of the capitals, which are amongst the most archaic specimens of Doric architecture known to us. Others of the existing columns appear from their style to be much later, perhaps even of Roman date.

Of the entablature not a trace was discovered. This fact makes it highly probable that down to the destruction of the temple the entablature was always of wood, never of stone. The inference is confirmed by the unusually great distance between the columns, and by the observation that on the top of the stone capitals there are no holes such as there must have been for the attachment of the architrave, if the architrave had been of stone. But though the entablature has entirely disappeared, we may affirm with some confidence that, like the Doric entablatures in stone, it had a frieze of triglyphs and metopes. The evidence of this is that the distances between the columns at all the corners are less by .20 to .30 metre than the distances between the other columns. For this difference was a necessary consequence of a frieze of triglyphs and metopes, and was indeed recognised by ancient architects as a blemish on the Doric order (Vitruvius, iv. 3. 1 *sq.*)

The roof of the temple was covered with tiles of terra-cotta. These tiles were as usual of two shapes; flattish, slightly curved tiles, alternated with semi-cylindrical tiles which served to cover the junctions of the former (see above, p. 496 *sq.*) The ends of the covering tiles, along the eaves, were closed by discs, which were made in one piece with the tiles. Semi-cylindrical tiles of a larger size extended along the ridge of the roof, and their ends, at the two extremities of the roof, were closed by huge discs, lavishly decorated with reliefs and paintings. The greater part of one of these discs has been found; it measures 2.24 metres in diameter (*Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Tafelband 2. pl. cxv.; *id.*, Textband 2. p. 190 *sq.*; *Die Funde von Olympia*, pl. xxxviii. 2; A. Botticher, *Olympia*,[2] pl. iv.; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, Fig. 1275).

The interior of the temple is arranged in the typical way. At the east end there is a fore-temple (*pronaos*), in the middle is the *cella*, and at the west end is a back-chamber (*opisthodomos*). The façade of both fore-temple and back-chamber was supported by two columns between *antae*. The lower part of the walls of the temple is well preserved, remarkably so in comparison with the other buildings in the Altis. So far as they exist the walls are composed, on the outside, of slabs set up on their edges, and, on the inside, of squared blocks laid in courses after the usual fashion. Four courses of these squared blocks on the inside correspond to a single row of the upright slabs on the outside, though only three courses of the squared blocks are visible on account of the higher level of the floor of the *cella*. On this socle of solid masonry, about 3 feet high, there was found, at the time when the temple was excavated, a thin Byzantine wall of stone and lime, the late origin of which was proved by the Roman inscriptions and fragments of marble sculptures which were built into it. Thus the question arises, What were the upper walls of the temple built of originally?

That they were not built of stone seems to follow from several considerations. In the first place, there are no dowel-holes on the upper surface of the existing walls, such as there would probably have been if the next course had been of stone. In the second place, why should the Byzantines have pared down the walls to a uniform height of about 3 feet and then proceeded to build up new stone walls to replace those which they had taken down? Such a proceeding would be unintelligible. We must suppose that the original walls were constructed of some perishable material, and had decayed or tumbled down before the Byzantines replaced them by walls of stone and lime. This material can hardly have been wood; people do not build wooden walls 1.18 metres thick. Nor can it have been baked bricks, else why should the Byzantines have been at so much pains to replace a good wall by a bad one?

The conclusion at which Dr. Dörpfeld arrives seems inevitable. The upper walls were originally made of unburnt or sun-dried bricks. That many ancient buildings, including temples and palaces, were built of unburnt bricks is known from Vitruvius (ii. 8. 9 *sqq.*) and Pausanias (see ii. 27. 6, note), and that the upper walls of the Heraeum were so constructed is shown by a variety of evidence. In the first place, the interior of the temple was found to be covered in many places by a layer of greenish clay about 3 feet thick, over which the Byzantines erected their dwellings. This layer, which is not found in the neighbouring buildings (the Exedra of Herodes and the treasuries), is most probably nothing but the remains of the unburnt bricks which had crumbled away under the action of rain and the weather as soon as the wooden roof had given way. For unburnt brick lasts well enough so long as it is protected from the weather, but rapidly goes to pieces when exposed to it. Again, the unusual thickness (1.18 metres) of the existing walls of the Heraeum is best explained on the hypothesis that they were intended to support an upper structure of unburnt brick, which would require a broad basis to rest on; whereas half the thickness would have sufficed if the upper structure had been of stone. Further, there are indications that the doorposts and casings of the doorways were of wood. Now walls of unburnt brick need to be protected at the angles in this way; but if the walls had been of stone throughout, wooden doorposts and wooden casings would have been meaningless. Lastly, on the upper surface of the stone walls there are certain appearances which are believed to mark the positions of the long wooden beams which were used to strengthen the brickwork.

Thus the Heraeum was built originally of wood and clay (in the form of unburnt bricks), with foundations and a socle of stone. The fact, which may be regarded as established, that its columns and entablature were at first made of wood, goes far to prove that the Doric style of architecture is nothing but a translation into stone of an older construction in wood. This view, which has been disputed in modern times, was enunciated long ago by Vitruvius (iv. 2).

The doorway which leads from the fore-temple into the *cella* is interesting because it exhibits clear traces of the wooden casing which

once masked the threshold and the walls. On the stone threshold may still be seen the iron dowels by which the wooden threshold was fastened to it, and on the walls there are horizontal grooves which served to attach the wooden casing.

The *cella*, which is long in proportion to its breadth, had a row of eight columns on each side; these columns are no longer standing, but at the time when the temple was excavated the marks which two of them had left on the stylobate were still visible. They seem to have been of the Doric order; for three Doric capitals, which from their shape and dimensions may very well have belonged to them, were found near the temple. Formerly it was supposed that these inner columns were of the Ionic order, because fragments of Ionic capitals were found in the *cella*. But it is now known that these Ionic capitals belonged to the Leonidaeum.

Further, four short cross-walls projected at right angles from each of the side walls of the *cella*, so as to meet every second column. Thus each of the side aisles of the *cella* was divided into a series of four equal compartments, with a smaller compartment at the west end, resembling the side chapels of our cathedrals. These short cross-walls have, indeed, like the columns, disappeared, but their foundations remain, together with traces of their attachment to the side walls of the *cella*. The traces in question consist of blocks sawn through the middle, of which the other halves formerly fitted into the cross-walls, thus acting as a bond or ligature between the two walls. When the cross-walls were taken down, each of these binding blocks, which fitted into both walls, was cut or sawn through, and only the part of it which fitted into the side wall was left. How high these cross-walls originally reached we cannot say with certainty; but Dr. Dörpfeld is probably right in supposing that they reached right up to the ceiling, acting as buttresses to support the walls of unburnt bricks, and perhaps carrying the great tie-beams which probably crossed the whole width of the temple, from the outer colonnade on the one side to the outer colonnade on the other. Similar cross-walls, ending in Ionic columns, are found in the temple of Apollo at Bassae (see viii. 41. 7 note).

In the time of Pausanias many statues stood in the spaces between the columns of the side aisles. Of those which he mentions only the Hermes of Praxiteles has been found. It stood between the second and third columns on the north side, and was discovered lying on the ground in front of its pedestal (see below, p. 595). Next to it, between the first and second columns, stood the statue of a Roman lady, which Pausanias does not mention, but which has been found.

At the west end of the *cella* stands the long pedestal which probably supported the images of Zeus and Hera mentioned by Pausanias. It is made of blocks of limestone, somewhat rudely fitted together, and extends across the whole breadth of the nave, between the two most westerly of the columns. At the time when the cross-walls existed between the columns and the side walls of the *cella*, it must have been impossible to get behind the images, if the pedestal stood where it now does. Hence Dr. Dörpfeld conjectures that it originally stood either

against the western wall or nearer the middle of the *cella*, and that when the *cella* was remodelled by the taking down of the cross-walls the pedestal was moved to its present position between the columns.

The floor of the *cella* is made of concrete, the ingredients of which are, lime-mortar, small pebbles, and brick-dust. Only the middle part of the nave, from the second to the fourth column and a little beyond, is paved with flags of limestone, on which the marks of attachment of statues may be seen.

That the temple had a flat ceiling under the sloping roof is proved by a story which Pausanias tells us (v. 20. 4), but no trace of the ceiling survives. Dr. Dörpfeld holds that there was no opening in the ceiling and roof, and that the temple was lit from the door only. The sunlight in Greece is so strong that such a method of lighting is much more effective there than it would be under the greyer skies of northern Europe.

The back-chamber (*opisthodomos*) corresponds exactly to the fore-temple in plan. It was shut off from the *cella* by a wall in which there was no door. Some remains of a limestone pavement may be seen in it, with the holes in which the door was fastened.

Mention has been made of the statues which stood in the *cella*. But we have evidence that other parts of the temple besides the *cella* were enriched with statues and votive offerings of different sorts. In the fore-temple there are still standing six marble pedestals which supported statues of Roman date. In the southern colonnade, on the step of the *cella* wall, may be seen at regular intervals eight depressions, in which the bases of statues were probably set. And between the columns of the southern colonnade are many holes for the attachment of statues or inscribed slabs. Moreover, on the outer faces of these columns there are many sinkings, in which inscribed tablets, reliefs, or paintings may have been fixed. Such sinkings are especially numerous on the two pairs of columns at each end of the colonnade, confirming the view that the ordinary approaches to the temple were between these columns (see above, p. 585). Bases and marks of many kinds on the pavement are also to be seen at the eastern front of the temple; traces have here been observed of bronze statues which were fastened directly to the stylobate.

The stone of which the temple is built is a shell-conglomerate; it is distinguished from the conglomerate of which the temple of Zeus is built by containing large oyster-shells. The blocks are jointed in such a way that only their outer edges touch; the intermediate spaces are slightly hollow. The same mode of jointing occurs in other old buildings at Olympia and elsewhere, for example in the palace at Mycenae. Iron clamps or dowels were not used to bind the stones together.

With regard to the date of the temple, Pausanias tells us that it was founded by the Scilluntians about eight years after Oxylus had obtained the kingdom of Elis. Thus, if we accept the traditional date of the return of the Heraclids and the establishment of Oxylus on the throne of Elis, the Heraeum was believed to have been built about

1096 B.C. Till recently this date was regarded as too high; but a careful examination of the architecture of the temple has led Dr. Dörpfeld to the conclusion that Pausanias's precise and definite statement is not to be lightly rejected, and that the temple does in fact date from the eleventh or tenth century B.C. He points out that the ground-plan of the temple with its fore-temple and *cella* has its analogies in the porticoes and halls of the palaces at Tiryns, Mycenae, and Troy; and that the method of jointing the stones (see above) is the same as that employed in the palace at Mycenae. But the argument on which he chiefly relies is the consideration that the original pillars were of wood, and that nevertheless some of the existing stone columns, which replaced the wooden pillars, are as old as the sixth and probably the seventh century B.C. This seems to throw the date of the temple several centuries further back; for if, as we know, one of the wooden pillars lasted into the time of Pausanias (second century A.D.), surely the pillars which were replaced by stone columns in the seventh century B.C. must have stood several centuries before they became so rotten that it was necessary to take them down. Hence Dr. Dörpfeld infers that the temple was built in the eleventh or tenth century B.C. This conclusion, reached on independent grounds, agrees so well with the date assigned to the temple by Pausanias, that we are not justified in rejecting his account as a fable. The terra-cotta tiles and ornaments of the roof, however, are considered by Dr. Dörpfeld to belong to a later age. He thinks it probable that the temple had at first merely a flat roof coated with clay, and that the gable-roof with its terra-cotta tiles was added at some later time. At all events, whatever may be the exact date of the Heraeum, we can be fairly certain that it is the oldest temple at Olympia: perhaps, indeed, it was the only temple down to the time when the temple of Zeus was built. From that time onwards it was a temple of Hera only; formerly it would seem to have been a joint temple of Hera and Zeus, if we may judge from the fact that the image of Zeus stood beside that of Hera in the *cella* (Paus. v. 17. 1).

It has been already mentioned (p. 562 *sq.*) that many archaic bronzes and terra-cottas have been found under the floor of the temple.

See *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Tafelband 1. plates iii. xviii.-xxviii.; W. Dörpfeld, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. pp. 27-36; *id.*, in *Historische u. philologische Aufsätze Ernst Curtius gewidmet*, pp. 147-150; *Die Funde von Olympia*, p. 33 *sq.*, with plates xxxiv., xxxv.; Curtius und Adler, *Olympia und Umgegend*, pp. 36-38; A. Bötticher, *Olympia*,[2] pp. 194-203; Flasch, 'Olympia,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, pp. 1102-1104; Baedeker,[3] p. 342 *sq.* Mr. K. Wernicke's theory that the Heraeum was turned into a museum of art for the gratification of the emperor Nero on his visit to Olympia (*Jahrbuch d. arch. Inst.* 9 (1894), pp. 101-114), is equally destitute of evidence and of probability.

16. 1. **The length of the temple is <a hundred and> sixty-three feet** etc. If we reckon the Greek foot at .296 metre, then the length of the Heraeum according to Pausanias was $163 \times .296 = 48.248$ metres. But the actual length of the temple, as we have seen, is 50.01 metres. So that Pausanias's measurement falls considerably under the mark. His measurement of the breadth (61 feet), as given

in the text, is more nearly exact (61 × .296 = 18.056 metres, whereas the actual breadth is 18.75 metres); but it is to be observed that this measurement is a conjectural restoration of the text derived from the actual measurements of the breadth, and that though we may be fairly certain that the figure 'sixty' is rightly restored in the text, we have no such assurance as to the figure 'one.' In fact if Pausanias wrote: "Its breadth is not less than sixty-three" (*εὖρος δὲ τριῶν καὶ ἑξήκοντα οὐκ ἀποδεῖ*), not only would his measurement be nearer the truth (since 63 Greek feet = 18.648 metres, which is very close to the real measurement of 18.75 metres), but the corruption of his text would be more easily explicable. Probably, therefore, the translation (vol. 1. p. 260) and the Critical Note on the passage (vol. 1. p. 585) should be corrected accordingly.

16. 2. **the Sixteen Women.** Plutarch speaks of them as "the sacred women of Dionysus, whom they call the Sixteen" (*Mulierum virtutes*, 15). The mythical relation of the women to Dionysus is indicated by Pausanias below (§ 7). Plutarch tells us that the women of Elis hailed Dionysus as a bull, and prayed him to come rushing with his bull's feet (*Quaest. Graec.* 36; *Iris et Osiris*, 35). The women who so invoked him may have been the college of Sixteen Women, whose duties Pausanias here describes. See L. Weniger, *Das Kollegium der Sechzehn Frauen und der Dionysosdienst in Elis* (Weimar, 1883).

16. 2. **the Sixteen Women weave a robe for Hera.** For examples of the Greek custom of placing real garments on images, see vol. 2. p. 575 *sqq.* A few more details as to the Athenian custom of presenting a robe to Athena may be given here. The robe was woven by girls of noble birth between the ages of seven and eleven; when finished, it was submitted for approval to the Council (βουλή), but in later times to a court of justice (Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, 49. cp. 60). The girls were called *Ergastinai* or 'workers.' From lists of them which have been found in inscriptions it appears that there were as many as 100 or 120 of these girl 'workers.' The girls had to conform strictly to certain regulations laid down by law. They wore white dresses, and if they put on gold ornaments, these became sacred. The robe, when it was finished and approved, was carried in procession at the festival fastened to a mast and yardarm. See Harpocration and *Etymol. Magn.* (p. 149), *s.v.* Ἀρρηφορεῖν; Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, p. 446, line 18 *sqq.*; Hesychius, *s.v.* ἐργαστῖναι; Philostratus, *Vit. Sophist.* ii. 1. 7; Plutarch, *Demetrius*, 12; Zenobius, i. 56. For inscriptions referring to the robe of Athena, see *C. I. A.* i. No. 93; U. Köhler, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 8 (1883), pp. 57-66; *Bulletin de Corresp. Hellénique*, 13 (1889), p. 170; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Ins. Graec.* No. 143, line 15 *sq.*; Hicks, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, No. 160, line 14 *sq.* Cp. K. Bötticher, *Die Tektonik der Hellenen*, 2. § 61. 4; Aug. Mommsen, *Heortologie*, p. 184 *sqq.*; L. de Ronchaud, 'Le Péplos d'Athéné Parthénos,' in *Revue Archéologique*, N. S. 23 (1872), pp. 245-252, 309-319, 390-395; *id.*, N. S. 24 (1872), pp. 80-84; *id.*, *La Tapisserie dans l'an-*

tiquité, le Péplos d'Athéné, etc. (Paris, 1884). Analogous customs have been practised by barbarous peoples. In ancient Mexico, on the eve of the festival of Tezcatlipuca, which fell in May, "the Noblemen came to the temple, bringing a new garment like unto that of the idoll, the which the priest put upon him, having first taken off his other garments, which they kept with as much or more reverence than we doe our ornaments" (Acosta, *History of the Indies*, bk. v., ch. 29, vol. 2. p. 378, Hakluyt Society). Cp. Clavigero, *History of Mexico*, 1. p. 299, Cullen's translation. In the Society Islands the god Tane was presented once a year with a new dress in which he was invested with much solemnity. "He was brought out of his house by his priest and laid on his bed, having four lesser gods on either side of him. . . . The old garments were then removed, and examination made into the interior of the idol, which was hollow, and contained various objects, such as scarlet feathers, beads, bracelets, and other valuables. Those that began to look shabby were removed, and others inserted to take their place, and the idols were then invested in their new robes" (J. G. Wood, *Natural History of Man*, 2. p. 410). In Bowditch Island, South Pacific, the great god was Tui Tokelau. "He was supposed to be embodied in a stone, which was carefully wrapt up with fine mats, and never seen by any one but the king, and that only once a year, when the decayed mats were stripped off and thrown away" (Turner, *Samoa*, p. 268; cp. J. J. Lister, 'Notes on the Natives of Fakaofu (Bowditch Island),' *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 21 (1891), p. 50).

16. 3. **they are allowed to dedicate statues of themselves.** There is a marble statue of a girl runner in the Vatican which is supposed to be a portrait of one of these Olympic victors. The girl is represented just starting off to run, her body bending forward, her right foot raised. Beside her, on a stump, is a palm branch, the emblem of victory. The original of the statue was probably made about the middle of the fifth century B.C. See Friederichs-Wolters, *Gipsabgüsse*, No. 213.

16. 4. **Chloris, daughter of Amphion** etc. See ii. 21. 9.

16. 8. **purified themselves with a pig.** See note on ii. 31. 8. On the use of pig's blood in purificatory ceremonies, see Apollonius Rhodius, iv. 704 *sqq.*, with the Scholiast on *v.* 704; Aeschylus, *Eumenides*, 279. At Athens the place of public assembly and the theatre were purified by sprinkling the seats with the blood of a young pig (Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Acharn.* 44; Pollux, viii. 104). Purification by means of a pig is referred to in a Coan inscription (*Journ. Hellenic Studies*, 9 (1888), p. 326; Paton and Hicks, *The Inscriptions of Cos*, No. 40, p. 93). Cp. De Witte in *Annali dell' Instituto*, 19 (1847), p. 426 *sqq.*; P. Stengel, *Griechische Sakralaltertümer*, § 85.

17. 1. **The image of Hera.** To the west of the temple of Hera, in front of the east wall of the Wrestling-School, there was found an archaic female head of yellowish-white limestone (Fig. 75), which has been identified with great probability as the head of the image of Hera described by Pausanias. That the head represents a goddess seems

clear from its great size, which is twice that of life (height .52 metre, breadth .40 metre, thickness .23 metre); and the matronly expression of the face, together with the crown worn on the head, accord best with the view that the goddess is Hera. The antiquity and fame of the worship of Hera at Olympia, where no other goddess really rivalled her, are also in favour of the identification. Further, there are special grounds for believing that the head belonged to the image in the Heraeum here described by Pausanias. For it is made of the same soft limestone as the existing base which certainly supported the image of Hera in the Heraeum. Further, it is unlikely that an image made of a stone so soft and liable to decompose under the action of the weather would have been set up in the open air. It must have been set up in a temple, and that temple can hardly have been any but the Heraeum, since at the early time when the image (to judge by its archaic style) was made, there seems to have been no temple at Olympia except the Heraeum (see above, p. 591). Further, the place where the head was found, not far from the Heraeum, is another ground for believing that it belonged to an image which had formerly stood in that temple. And finally the rude and archaic style of the head agrees perfectly with Pausanias's remark that "the workmanship of these images" (Hera and Zeus) "is rude" (ἔργα δέ ἐστιν ἁπλᾶ, with which use of ἁπλοῦς compare Plutarch, *Poplicola*, 19 ἀνδριὰς—ἁπλοῦς καὶ ἀρχαϊκὸς τῇ ἐργασίᾳ). It is probably a work of the sixth or of the end of the seventh century B.C.



FIG. 75.—HEAD OF HERA (FROM THE HERAEUM).

The crown which the goddess wears is divided vertically by a series of lines, perhaps to represent leaves set upright. Under the crown are the remains of what Prof. Treu explains to have been a veil, which probably hung down the back and sides of the head. The back of the head is broken off and has not been found. A fillet confines the hair of the goddess, allowing it however to escape in waving lines over the forehead. Her eyes are large and staring; the eyeballs are indicated by incised lines. A smile plays round the corners of the thin, straight lips. The chin is full and rounded. The nose, unfortunately, is broken off. There is nothing divine or beautiful about the face, but it is plump and good-humoured.

When the head was discovered, traces of bright red were visible on the hair, and of dark red on the fillet which binds the hair.

See *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Tafelband 3. pl. i.; *id.*, Textband 3. pp. 1-3; *Die Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, 4 (1878-1879), p. 13 *sq.*, with plates xvi. and xvii.; A. Bötticher, *Olympia*,[2] pp. 244-246; Flasch, 'Olympia,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, pp. 1087 (Fig. 1295), 1104 T *sq.*; H. Brunn, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 7 (1882), p. 116 *sq.*; Friederichs-Wolters, *Gipsabgüsse*, No. 307; Lucy M. Mitchell, *History of Ancient Sculpture*, p. 209 *sq.*; Collignon, *Histoire de la Sculpture Grecque*, 1. p. 239 *sq.*; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. p. 123 *sq.*; Roscher's *Lexikon*, 1. p. 2116 *sqq.*

17. 1. **with a helmet on his head.** Representations of Zeus wearing a helmet are very rare in Greek art. The god is, however, so represented in a vase-painting (*Monumenti Inediti*, vi. vii. pl. 78) and on coins of Iasus in Caria (Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, 2. pl. ii. No. 21; Overbeck, *Kunstmythologie*, 2. p. 209, with Münztafel iii. No. 11). In the vase-painting he is depicted fighting the giants and armed with sword and shield, as well as with the helmet. On the coins he carries a shield on his left arm and a spear or thunderbolt in his raised right hand. A fragment of a helmeted head, which seems to have belonged to the gable of the Treasury of the Megarians at Olympia (see Paus. vi. 19. 13 note), is interpreted by Prof. Treu as having belonged to a figure of Zeus (*Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 3. p. 9). Cp. Welcker, *Griech. Götterlehre*, 2. p. 214 *sq.*

17. 1. **Smilis.** See vii. 4. 4 note.

17. 2. **The Hesperides.** They formed part of a group of which the rest was in the Treasury of the Epidamnians. See vi. 19. 8.

17. 2. **The image of Athena.** This formerly stood in the Treasury of the Megarians. See vi. 19. 12.

17. 2. **Medon.** See vi. 19. 14 note.

17. 3. **Hermes bearing the babe Dionysus, a work of Praxiteles in stone.** This statue was found by the German excavators, 8th May 1877, inside the Heraeum. A portion of the pedestal of the statue still stands between the second and third columns, counting from the east, on the north side of the *cella*, and other parts of the pedestal have been found, including a piece of the plinth with an oval depression in which one of the feet of the statue was fastened. The stone of which the pedestal is wrought is a hard whitish-grey limestone—a material which was used for pedestals from the fourth century onwards into Roman times. But from the careless and irregular workmanship, and from the style of the moulding, it would seem that the pedestal is not contemporary with the statue but dates from the late Greek or early Roman period. If that is so, we must apparently conclude that the statue was originally set up elsewhere and was afterwards, for some reason, transferred to the Heraeum.

The statue itself, of Parian marble, was found fallen on its face in front of the pedestal and covered over with the clay of which the upper walls of the temple were originally built (see note on 16. 1). It is to this protecting layer of clay in which the statue was imbedded that we have to attribute its admirable state of preservation. For though pieces of the statue are missing, the surface of what is left is perfect. The legs from the knees downwards were missing; so were the greater part of Hermes's right arm and the body and head of



FIG. [illegible] HERMES AND THE INFANT DIONYSUS, BY PRAXITELES.

the child Dionysus. Afterwards the right foot of Hermes was discovered, and the body and head of the child Dionysus; the latter still wants the left arm, which has, however, been restored. Photographs, engravings, and casts of the statue have been multiplied, so that it is now one of the best known of existing works of ancient art.

Hermes is represented standing with the infant Dionysus on his left arm, and the weight of his body resting on his right foot. His form is the perfection of manly grace and vigour; the features of his oval face, under the curly hair that encircles his brow, are refined, strong, and beautiful; their expression is tender and slightly pensive. The profile is of the straight Greek type, with "the bar of Michael Angelo" over the eyebrows. The left arm of the god rests upon the stump of a tree, over which his mantle hangs loosely in rich folds, that contrast well with his nude body. His right arm is raised. The child Dionysus lays his right hand on the shoulder of Hermes; his gaze is fixed on the object (whatever it was) which Hermes held in his right hand, and his missing left arm must have been stretched out (as it appears in the restoration) towards the same object. As most of Hermes's right arm is wanting, we cannot know for certain what he had in his right hand. Probably it was a bunch of grapes. On a wall-painting at Pompeii a satyr is represented holding the infant Dionysus on his left arm, while in his raised right hand he dangles a bunch of grapes, after which the child reaches. It is highly probable that this painting is an imitation, not necessarily at first hand, of the work of Praxiteles; and if so, it affords a strong ground for supposing that the missing right hand of the Hermes held a bunch of grapes. See H. von Rohden, 'Zum Hermes des Praxiteles,' in *Jahrbuch des archäolog. Instituts*, 2 (1887), pp. 66-68, with plate 6. The only objection of any weight to this view is that in the statue Hermes is not looking at the child, as we should expect him to be, but is gazing past him into the distance with what has been described as a listening or dreamy look. Hence it has been suggested by Prof. Adler that Hermes held a pair of cymbals or castanets in his hand, to the sound of which both he and the child are listening; and a passage of Calpurnius has been quoted in which Silenus is represented holding the infant Dionysus on his arm and amusing him by shaking a rattle. This certainly would well explain the attitude and look of Hermes; but on the other hand cymbals or a rattle would not serve so well as a bunch of grapes to characterise the infant Dionysus. The same may be said of Mr. A. Bötticher's suggestion that Hermes, as god of gain, held aloft a purse and was listening to the chinking of the money in it. In his left hand Hermes probably held his characteristic attribute, a herald's staff; the round hole for it in the hand is still visible.

On his head he seems to have worn a metal wreath; the deep groove for fastening it on may be seen in the back part of the hair. Traces of dark red paint were perceived on the hair and on the sandal of the foot when the statue was found; the colour is supposed to have been laid on as ground for gilding. The back of the statue, which would not be seen well, is not carefully finished; it still shows the

strokes of the chisel. Otherwise the technical finish is exquisite. The differences of texture between the delicate white skin of the god, the leather straps of the sandals, the woollen stuff of the cloak, and the curly hair of the head, are expressed in the most masterly way.

The head of the Hermes bears a close and unmistakable resemblance to the head of the statue of an athlete now in Munich, which is thought by some to be a copy of one by Myron; the athlete was represented dropping oil into his left hand from a small vessel which he held in his right. See *Monumenti Inediti*, 11 (1879), plate vii.; H. Brunn, *Beschreibung der Glyptothek*,[5] No. 165, p. 218 *sqq.* Hence it is supposed that in modelling the head of his Hermes, Praxiteles followed an old Attic type which had been set or at least rendered famous by Myron. Overbeck, however, questioned this dependence of Praxiteles on Myron, and did not even feel sure that the statue of the athlete is older than the Hermes.

The late H. Brunn was of opinion that the Hermes is an early work of Praxiteles, executed before he had attained a full mastery of his art. Such a view, it would seem, can only be held by one who knows the statue solely from photographs and casts. But no reproductions give an adequate idea of the beauty of the original. Engravings of it are often no better than caricatures. Again, the dead white colour and the mealy texture of casts give no conception of the soft, glossy, flesh-like, seemingly elastic surface of the original, which appears to glow with divine life. Looking at the original, it seems impossible to conceive that Praxiteles or any man ever attained to a greater mastery over stone than is exhibited in this astonishing work.

The foregoing criticism of Brunn's view was written long before the similar criticisms of Professors Overbeck and Furtwängler were published. I am glad to find myself in agreement with such distinguished authorities. The former says: "I freely confess that my ideal of a youthful male form is satisfied by the Hermes of Praxiteles, which I regard as perfectly beautiful, and in presence of which I am unable to say how greater perfection in the rendering of form could be possible" (*Berichte d. k. sächs. Gesell. d. Wiss. zu Leipzig*, Phil. hist. Cl. 45 (1893), p. 55). And Prof. Furtwängler, in words agreeing almost verbally with mine, writes: "We cannot admit that 'in the Hermes the artist had not yet fully attained to that perfect certainty of execution which can only be the result of long practice.' For a work of more refined perfection, of more intimate familiarity with all the resources of sculpture in marble, does not exist in the whole range of ancient art and cannot even be conceived. Brunn would hardly have judged as he has done if he had seen the original at Olympia" (*Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, p. 533). Prof. Furtwängler assigns the statue to the later period of Praxiteles's life, chiefly on the strength of the style and material of the pedestal, which point, according to him, to the second half of the fourth century B.C. But he seems to be in error both as to the material and the style of the pedestal (see above).

Strange as it may seem, doubts were formerly raised by some

archaeologists as to whether the statue was really by the great Praxiteles. Prof. Benndorf even held that the statue exhibits unmistakable traces of the art of Lysippus or his school. It is hardly possible to imagine a greater contrast than exists between the rounded fulness of divine life in the Hermes and the lanky, raw-boned prize-fighters of Lysippus. However, Prof. Benndorf appears to have recanted his error ; and the doubts once expressed as to the connexion of the statue with Praxiteles are now universally abandoned.

See *Die Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, 5 (1879-1881), plates vii.-x., with pp. 8-10 ; *Die Funde von Olympia*, pl. xvii. xviii. ; *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Tafelband 3. plates xlix.-liii. ; H. Rumpf, 'Die Hermesstatue aus dem Herätempel zu Olympia,' *Philologus*, 40 (1881), pp. 197-220 ; Brunn, 'Der Hermes des Praxiteles,' in *Deutsche Rundschau*, May 1882, pp. 188-205 ; A. H. Smith, 'On the Hermes of Praxiteles,' *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 3 (1882), pp. 81-95 ; Ch. Waldstein, *ib.* pp. 107-110 ; A. Danicourt, 'Hermes et Dionysos,' *Revue Archéologique*, 3rd series, 4 (1884), pp. 72-75 ; S. Reinach, 'L'Hermès de Praxitèle,' *ib.* 11 (1888), pp. 1-4 ; H. von Rohden, *Jahrbuch d. k. deutsch. archäol. Instit.* 2 (1887), pp. 66-68 ; H. Heydemann, *Dionysos' Geburt und Kindheit*, p. 29 *sqq.* ; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 2. pp. 54-57 ; *id.*, 'Ist der olympische Hermes ein Jugendwerk des Praxiteles?' *Berichte über die Verhandl. d. k. sächs. Gesell. d. Wiss. zu Leipzig*, 45 (1893), pp. 46-58 ; Murray, *Hist. of Gr. Sculpture*, 2. p. 256 *sqq.* ; *id.*, *Handbook of Greek Archaeology*, p. 279 *sqq.* ; Lucy M. Mitchell, *Hist. of Ancient Sculpture*, p. 437 *sqq.* ; Friederichs-Wolters, *Gipsabgüsse*, § 1212 ; Flasch, 'Olympia,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, pp. 1103, 1104 x x *sq.* ; A. Bötticher, *Olympia*,[2] pp. 337-342 : Kekulé, in Baedeker,[3] p. xciv. *sq.* ; A. Schneider, 'Zum Hermes des Praxiteles,' *Festschrift für Johannes Overbeck* (Leipzig, 1893), pp. 85-95 ; A. Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, p. 529 *sqq.* ; H. Bulle, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. p. 157 *sq.* (as to the pedestal).

17. 3. Cleon, a Sicyonian. See v. 21. 3 note.

17. 4. Antiphanes. Cp. x. 9. §§ 6, 7, and 12.

17. 4. A gilded child, naked, is seated etc. It has been conjectured that this statue was the original work of which we possess a copy in the well-known statue of the Boy drawing a thorn out of his foot. This statue is in bronze and is preserved in the museum on the Capitol at Rome. There are marble copies of it in various museums of Europe. See Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 2. p. 183 *sqq.*; Lucy M. Mitchell, *Hist. of Ancient Sculpture*, p. 612 *sq.*; A. S. Murray, *Hist. of Greek Sculpture*,[2] 1. p. 266 *sqq.* But beyond the fact of both boys being naked and seated, there seems to be not a shadow of ground for the identification. There is even less ground for identifying the seated boy with Sosipolis (see vi. 20. 2 *sqq.*), as do Dr. Purgold (*Historische und philologische Aufsätze Ernst Curtius gewidmet*, p. 227 *sqq.*) and Mr. A. Bötticher (*Olympia*,[2] p. 205). In 1882 a marble group was discovered at Beyrout representing a naked winged boy (the left wing broken off), seated at the feet of a goddess. Prof. F. Dümmler, who published this group, supposes that the winged boy is Love (Eros) and that the goddess beside him is Aphrodite, though she is clad in the style of Athena. He compares the group with the one here described by Pausanias, but he is too cautious to conjecture that the latter was the original of the Beyrout group. See *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*,

10 (1885), pp. 27-31, with plate 1. Boethus of Chalcedon (see Critical Note, vol. 1. p. 585 *sq.*), the sculptor of the figure of the child described by Pausanias, appears to have lived in the first part of the third century B.C. See Brunn, in *Sitzungsberichte* of the Bavarian Academy (Munich), Philosoph. philolog. Cl. 6th November 1880, p. 484 *sq.*

17. 4. other statues of gold and ivory etc. One of these statues seems to have been that of Olympias, mother of Alexander the Great; and both the statues of Eurydice and Olympias appear to have been by Leochares. See v. 20. 10.

17. 5. a chest made of cedar-wood etc. The story of the way in which the infant Cypselus, the future tyrant of Corinth, was saved by his mother from the men who were sent to murder him is told, with picturesque details, by Herodotus (v. 92); but he makes no mention of the chest at Olympia. The only other ancient writer besides Pausanias who mentions the Chest of Cypselus at Olympia is Dio Chrysostom, who wrote probably some fifty years before Pausanias and tells us that he saw the chest in the back-chamber (*opisthodomos*) of the temple of Hera (*Or.* xi. vol. 1. p. 179 ed. Dindorf). There is a gap in the text of Pausanias. In the words which have dropped out he probably mentioned that the Chest of Cypselus stood in the back-chamber of the temple; for hitherto he has been describing the statues in the *cella*.

According to Pausanias the chest was the very *kupsele* in which the infant Cypselus had been hidden by his mother; it was made by an ancestor of Cypselus (18. 7), and was dedicated at Olympia by his family, the Cypselids (17. 5). According to Dio Chrysostom (*l.c.*) the chest was dedicated by Cypselus himself. If Pausanias is right, the chest must have been made a good many years before 657 B.C., the year when Cypselus made himself tyrant of Corinth, and cannot have been dedicated at Olympia later than 582 B.C., when the dynasty of the Cypselids came to an end (Busolt, *Griech. Geschichte*,[2] 1. pp. 638, 657). Further, Pausanias conjectured that the verses inscribed on the chest were by the Corinthian poet Eumelus (19. 10). If this conjecture were right, the chest must have been a work of the eighth century B.C., since to that century Eumelus belonged (see note on ii. 1. 1). But Pausanias, so far as we can judge, had but slender grounds for his conjecture, and little weight can be attached to it.

In recent years it has been denied by some scholars that the chest was dedicated by, or had anything to do with, Cypselus and the Cypselids. The chief reason adduced for this scepticism would seem to be that the chest at Olympia is not mentioned by Herodotus (v. 92), Plutarch (*Septem Sapientium Convivium*, 21), nor any of the other ancient writers who touch upon the history of Cypselus and his dynasty. But an argument drawn from the silence of ancient writers on such a point is worth extremely little. More plausible is the argument that the vessel in which the infant Cypselus was hidden was not a chest at all but a cylindrical jar (*kupsele*). Certainly Herodotus calls the vessel in question a *kupsele*, and a *kupsele*, if we may judge from coins of Cypsela in Thrace on which it is figured, was in fact a cylindrical jar, and not a

chest (cp. Schol. on Lucian, p. 145, ed. Jacobitz). But even if we were sure that the chest at Olympia was not the vessel in which the infant Cypselus was said to have been concealed, this would not be a sufficient reason for rejecting the tradition that the chest was dedicated by Cypselus or one of the Cypselids. Why should such a tradition have attached itself to the chest if there were no ground for it? Prof. Furtwängler's view that the story was a late fiction of the Olympian guides devised to lend interest to a magnificent chest about the origin of which they knew nothing, is gratuitous and wholly unwarranted. On the other hand, the tradition is confirmed by a variety of considerations. In the first place, Cypselus or his son Periander dedicated a famous golden statue at Olympia (Paus. v. 2. 3 note); there is, therefore, not the slightest improbability in the tradition that one or other of them dedicated also a magnificent chest in the same sanctuary. Further, the inscriptions on the chest, as transmitted by the manuscripts of Pausanias, bear traces of the Doric dialect and of having been written in the alphabet which is employed on the earlier Corinthian vases and in the earlier Corinthian inscriptions. Moreover, an examination of the scenes on the chest, as described by Pausanias, and a comparison of them with existing remains of archaic Greek art, go to show that the chest was probably made by a Corinthian artist who lived in the early part of the sixth century B.C. Thus, taken as a whole, the evidence—traditional, epigraphical, and artistic—points to the conclusion that the chest was made at Corinth at the end of the seventh or the beginning of the sixth century B.C., and that it was dedicated at Olympia either by Cypselus himself or more probably perhaps by his son Periander, who died in 585 B.C. Certainly we shall do ill to exchange the firm ground of historical tradition—strengthened as it is by collateral evidence—for the vague, unsupported, and contradictory surmises of modern critics.

With regard to the size and shape of the chest we have no positive information. Whether the story of the hiding of Cypselus be true or false—and it has more the air of a folk-tale than of history—it might very well be told of one of those large oblong chests, like our seamen's chests, which were commonly used in Homeric times for keeping clothes and plate. When Achilles went away to the wars, his mother gave him such a chest on board with him, well filled with warm clothes and thick rugs (Homer, *Il.* xvi. 221 *sqq.*); and Helen kept in chests the silver cups of the family and the garments which she had woven with her own fair hands (*Od.* xv. 104 *sqq.*) Chests of this sort, square or oblong in shape, are depicted in Greek vase-paintings (O. Jahn, in *Berichte d. k. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Leipzig*, Phil. hist. Cl. 10 (1858), p. 100; Overbeck, 'Die Lade des Kypselos,' p. 612); and to this day they are ordinary articles of furniture in the cottages of the Greek peasants, where they stand round the walls, and serve to keep the family linen, etc. Of a somewhat similar shape and size was probably the splendid coffer which Pausanias here describes. An extreme outside limit of size is furnished by the dimensions (8.34 metres by 3.54 metres) of the chamber in which the chest stood, probably with its back to one of the walls. The lower limit of size, on the other hand, is given

by the shield of Agamemnon (19. 4), which was adorned with a figure of Terror and bore besides a long inscription.

Pausanias describes at length the scenes with which the chest was adorned. Much diversity of opinion has prevailed as to the way in which these scenes were arranged. The words of Pausanias, however, leave little room to doubt that the scenes were distributed in five parallel horizontal belts, one above the other, on one or more of the sides of the chest. For in describing the five fields (χώραι) in which the scenes were arranged, he speaks of the first as being below (17. 6) and the fifth as being the highest (19. 7). The old view, therefore, broached by Heyne in the eighteenth century, that the five fields were the four sides and the lid of the chest is irreconcilable with Pausanias's description; and the same remark applies to the theory, started by Ruhl and revived by Prof. G. Loeschcke, that the scenes were confined to the lid of the chest. Further it seems clear, from the order in which Pausanias describes them, that the scenes cannot have extended round the four sides of the chest, as Prof. W. Klein supposes that they did. For in beginning his description of the third and fourth fields Pausanias says (18. 1; 19. 1) that he will begin from the left; from which it follows that in his descriptions of the first, third, and fifth field he began from the right. Thus he described the bands alternately from right to left and from left to right. But there would have been no reason for thus alternately reversing the order of his description if the bands had run right round the chest; in that case he would naturally have gone round and round the chest uniformly in one direction till he had finished. As it is, the order of his description is naturally explicable only on the hypothesis of the scenes being on one side or on three sides of the chest. That they were on two adjacent sides only is barely possible, but most improbable.

In favour of the view that the scenes occupied the front side only of the chest it has been urged: (1) that some of the scenes at the ends of the horizontal belts are clearly meant to match scenes at the other ends of the belts, and that this correspondence would not have been visible to the eye unless the whole belts were on the front sides; (2) that it is very unlikely that the artist would have broken up his delineation of a single scene by placing a piece of it on the front of the chest and another piece of it on one of the sides, as he must have done if the belts extended round three sides of the chest; and (3) that the mistake which Pausanias made in annexing Iolaus to the scene of the funeral games of Pelias instead of to the scene of Hercules and the hydra (see 17. 11 note) could only have occurred if the two scenes in question were both on the same side of the chest, whereas on the hypothesis that the belts extended round three sides we can hardly avoid supposing that the two scenes were on different sides, namely the funeral games of Pelias on the front, and Hercules and the hydra on the left side of the chest. On these grounds the theory that the scenes occupied the front only of the chest has been accepted by H. Brunn and Prof. Furtwängler.

On the other hand, in favour of the view that the belts of figures

extended round three sides of the chest, it has been pointed out that in describing the scenes Pausanias twice speaks of "going round" the chest (18. 1; 19. 1), which is most naturally interpreted to imply that the scenes were on more than one side of the chest. And in reply to the arguments in favour of a single decorated side it may be said (1) that the correspondences traced between the scenes at the opposite ends of the belts are more or less problematical, and that even if the artist recognised them he may not have felt bound to consult the spectator's convenience; and (2) that the objection to dividing a single scene between two sides seems not to have been felt by an ancient artist, if we may judge from the friezes of the Parthenon, the temple of Apollo at Bassae, and the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus. The view that the belts of figures extended round three sides of the chest has been maintained by Otto Jahn and Mr. Stuart Jones. Mr. A. S. Murray inclines to accept it as the most probable, and the present writer shares his opinion. Prof. Overbeck formerly held the same view, but he now prefers to leave the question as to the arrangement of the scenes on one, three, or four sides undecided.

Lastly may be mentioned the view put forward in recent years by Professors Sittl and Studnizcka that the chest was cylindrical and that the belts of figures extended all round it. The chief argument in favour of this view is drawn from the coins of Cypsela, already mentioned, on which a *kupsele* is represented as a cylindrical jar. But on the other side it may be urged that such a vessel would hardly have been called by Pausanias a chest (*larnax*), and that the alterations in the order of his description, from right to left and then from left to right, are on this hypothesis inexplicable.

A comparison of the scenes on the Chest of Cypselus, as described by Pausanias, with similar scenes on early Greek pottery and bronzes is fitted to throw considerable light on the artistic style and affinities of the former. Indeed, as we shall see, the correspondence between Pausanias's description and a vase painting is occasionally so complete that we can hardly help regarding the painting as copied from the answering scene on the Chest of Cypselus. This comparison of the scenes on the chest with existing monuments of early Greek art has been instituted by many archaeologists, notably by Otto Jahn, Prof. Overbeck, and Mr. Stuart Jones. From their investigations it seems to result that the Chest of Cypselus was a product of the early art which arose in Greece after the close of the Mycenaean era. Characteristic of this new art, the beginnings of which go back to the eighth century B.C., are the creation of artistic types like the Centaur, the Gorgon, and the Chimaera, and the substitution of definite mythical personages and mythical scenes, such as the adventures of Hercules, Perseus, and Theseus, for the nameless personages and generalised scenes (a procession of warriors, a siege, a bull-hunt, etc.) of Mycenaean art. By the beginning of the sixth century B.C., the probable date of the Chest of Cypselus, two schools of art may, according to Mr. Stuart Jones, be traced, to which the names 'Peloponnesian' or 'Doric' on the one hand and 'Ionic' (including Chalcidian) on the other are given. The most characteristic products

of the 'Peloponnesian' or 'Doric' art are the bronze reliefs which have been found within recent years at Olympia and Dodona, in Attica and Boeotia. They are called 'Argive' because the Argive form of the Greek *l* (*lambda*) occurs in the inscription ἅλιος γέρων ('Old Man of the Sea') on one of the Olympic plates. The 'Doric' art has marked features of its own. It is characterised by severe compression and concentration; thus it restricts itself within the narrow limits of the square or oblong field, which was suggested by oriental gold-work, and which on a small scale resembled the sculptured metopes of the temple. 'Ionic' art, on the other hand, known from Chalcidian vases, the *hydriae* of Caere, and the archaic gable-sculptures found on the Acropolis at Athens, exhibits "instead of compression, diffusion; instead of the severe selection of pregnant motives, a broad treatment and lavish detail; instead of a concentrated scene framed with simple ornament, an extended and continuous composition and rich ornamental bands. . . . Most significant is the fact that while on Corinthian vases the processions of animals pass on in unbroken files, the Chalcidian or Ionic painter diversifies them with combats between individual beasts or groups in which cattle are devoured by beasts of prey" (Stuart Jones). The same mythical subject seems to have been sometimes treated differently by the two schools; this is the case, for example, with Geryon and the scene of Hercules and the hydra (see below, notes on 17. 11; 19. 1). But neither of these schools, the Doric and the Ionic, remained wholly unaffected by the influence of the other. Thus the Olympian bronze reliefs are the purest product of Peloponnesian or Doric art; and yet on one of them we see represented the Old Man of the Sea — a type apparently of Eastern origin. Applying these principles to the examination of the Chest of Cypselus, Mr. Stuart Jones comes to the conclusion that the artistic types with which the chest was adorned are, with extremely few exceptions, those of the art of 600 B.C., but may be distinguished into an earlier and a later group. (1) The early group consists of the types which are described in the same or very similar form in the Hesiodic poem *The Shield of Hercules*, and which appear on Protocorinthian and Melian vases, *buccheri* from Etruria, and other early monuments. Such are Hercules and the Centaurs, the duel scenes, the so-called Persian Artemis, Zeus and Alcmena, Menelaus and Helen, and other equally simple groups arising from the combination of fundamental types, like Apollo and the Muses, Perseus and the Gorgons. (2) The second group comprises the scenes which may be paralleled from developed Corinthian, Chalcidian, and Ionic vases, or from Peloponnesian bronze reliefs. Such are the departure of Amphiaraus, the funeral games of Pelias, Hercules and the hydra, Phineus and the harpies, Justice and Injustice, Hercules and Geryon, Ajax and Cassandra, and the Judgment of Paris.

Further, Mr. Stuart Jones is of opinion that the artist who made the chest was not limited by the traditions either of the Doric (Peloponnesian) or the Ionic school, but that he combined methods of composition and types common to both schools.

(1) In regard to composition, we have seen that the method of the

Doric school was to arrange the scenes in separate compartments or panels, resembling the metopes of a temple; while the method of the Ionic school was to arrange them in one long unbroken band or frieze. Now both these methods were apparently employed on the Chest of Cypselus. Of the five horizontal belts of figures with which it was adorned, the scenes in belts II. and IV. seem to have been distributed in separate compartments of varying size; while the scenes in belts I., III., and V. were arranged in continuous friezes without the intervention of any vertical bands of ornament. Certainly there is no question that the figures in belt III. formed one unbroken frieze; and Pausanias's mistake as to Iolaus in belt I. (see note on 17. 11) could not have occurred if the scenes in it had been arranged in separate compartments.

(2) In regard to types, Mr. Stuart Jones points out that (*a*) the departure of Amphiaraus and the funeral games of Pelias correspond closely with scenes both on a Corinthian vase, which was admittedly painted under strong Chalcidian influence, and on an *amphora* of Ionic style found in Etruria; (*b*) the type of the scene of Hercules and the hydra is the Ionic, not the Peloponnesian type; and (*c*) the type of Phineus, the Boreads, and the Harpies is also unquestionably Ionic.

The most instructive parallel to the Chest of Cypselus as a whole is presented by the famous François vase, the work of an Attic painter of the first rank, who was, however, strongly influenced by Ionic tradition. This vase, the most richly decorated of all ancient vases as yet discovered, is signed by the painter Clitias and the potter Ergotimus, and is supposed to date from between 550 and 500 B.C. The body of the vase is, like the Chest of Cypselus, adorned with five horizontal belts of figures, while another row of figures (representing the battle of the Pygmies and the Cranes) encircles the foot of the vase, and the handles are decorated with vertical bands of figures. The figures on this great vase, painted black on a red ground, represent animals, real and fabulous, and scenes from legend and mythology; most of them have their names inscribed beside them. Thus the parallel between the decoration of the Chest of Cypselus and that of the François vase is very close. Further it is to be noted that on the Chest of Cypselus, while the two upper and the two lower belts of figures contained each a variety of scenes, the third or central belt was entirely occupied by a single scene (see 18. 6 *sqq.*) It is the same on the François vase. Of the five belts which run round the body of the vase, the two upper and two lower exhibit each a variety of scenes (the hunting of the Calydonian boar, the battle of the Centaurs and Lapiths, the chariot-race at the funeral games of Patroclus, the return of Hephaestus to Olympus, etc.); while the central belt, which is also the broadest, is entirely devoted to a single scene, the marriage of Peleus and Thetis and the procession of the gods approaching to grace the wedding. Hence Overbeck conjectured, with great probability, that on the Chest of Cypselus the belts were not all of equal breadth, and that the central belt was the broadest. Decorative considerations obviously favour this view. Prof. Furtwängler's opinion that the second and fourth were the chief belts

and therefore presumably the broadest, because in them alone the figures had epigrams inscribed beside them, seems less probable. But in all the belts on the François vase the figures are arranged, after the Ionic fashion, in continuous friezes, not in separate compartments; and the spirit in which these friezes are treated is also held to be Ionic. On the other hand the figures in the vertical bands which adorn the handles of the François vase are arranged in separate panels, one above the other, and bear a close resemblance both in composition and type to the well-known bronze relief of Olympia (see above, p. 502); the principal figure both on the bronze relief and on the handles of the François vase is the winged Artemis grasping a wild beast in either hand. As the bronze relief of Olympia is a typical example of the Peloponnesian or Doric school of art, we thus learn that Clitias, the painter of the François vase, did not escape Peloponnesian influences, though he followed chiefly the traditions of the Ionic school. As to the François vase see *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, 1888, plates ii. iii. iv. 1; W. Reichel, 'Ueber eine neue Aufnahme der François-vase,' *Archaeo-logisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn*, 12 (1888), pp. 38-59; R. Heberdey, 'Bemerkungen zur François-Vase,' *ib.* 13 (1890), pp. 72-83; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1799 *sqq.*, with pl. lxxiv.; A. Schneider, in *Berichte d. k. sächs. Gesell. d. Wiss. zu Leipzig*, Phil. hist. Cl. 43 (1891), pp. 207-246; H. Brunn, *Griech. Kunstgeschichte*, p. 164 *sqq.*

Thus on the Chest of Cypselus, as on the François vase, we can trace the influence of the two schools, the Peloponnesian and the Ionic; but on the Chest of Cypselus the balance between the two was, apparently, more evenly maintained than on the François vase, where it inclines decidedly to the Ionic side. The artist who made the chest seems to have been more familiar with the Hesiodic than with the Homeric poems; at least several of the scenes show distinctly the influence of the Hesiodic mythology (see notes on 18. 1; 18. 4; 19. 6), whereas only one of them is certainly borrowed from Homer (see 19. 4 note; cp. 19. 7 and 9 with the notes).

On the whole, then, the evidence points to the conclusion that the Chest of Cypselus was made in the early part of the sixth century B.C. by a Corinthian artist, who knew the poems of Homer and Hesiod, and blended the diverse artistic styles of his time into a harmonious composition.

Pausanias tells us that the figures on the chest were wrought in ivory, gold, and the cedar-wood of the chest. Whether they were inlaid or in relief we do not know; but considering, first, the close correspondence of some of the types to those of early reliefs in gold and bronze, second, the existence of reliefs in ivory, and, third, the fact of some of the figures being wrought in the cedar-wood of the chest itself, it seems more probable that the scenes were represented in low relief. The inscriptions were perhaps inlaid in gold.

Prof. C. Robert and Mr. Kalkmann argue, or rather assume, that Pausanias copied his description of the Chest of Cypselus from a work by the antiquary Polemo on the same subject. But as no such work of



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The Chest of Cypselus restored by H. Stuart Jones

Polemo's exists or is known to have ever existed, we need not stop to examine so gratuitous and uncritical an assumption.

Two excellent restorations of the scenes on the chest, based on Pausanias's description and existing monuments of archaic Greek art, have been given by Overbeck and Mr. H. Stuart Jones. That of Mr. Stuart Jones, as the later and probably the more correct of the two, is here reproduced (Plate ix.)

On the Chest of Cypselus see Quatremère-de-Quincy, *Le Jupiter Olympien* (Paris, 1815), pp. 124-132; K. O. Müller, *Archaeologie der Kunst*, § 57; Th. Bergk, 'Ueber die Composition des Kastens des Cypselus,' *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 3 (1845), pp. 150-159, 167-176, 182-186; Otto Jahn, *Archäologische Aufsätze*, pp. 3-15; *id.*, in *Berichte über die Verhandl. d. k. sächs. Ges. d. Wissen. zu Leipzig*, Philol.-histor. Classe, 10 (1858), pp. 99-107; *id.*, in *Hermes*, 3 (1869), p. 192; H. Brunn, in *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 5 (1847), pp. 335-340; *id.*, *Die Kunst bei Homer*, p. 21 *sq.*; *id.*, *Griechische Kunstgeschichte*, 1. pp. 171-178; Kuhl, 'Etwas über die Eintheilung der Bildwerke auf dem Kasten des Kypselos,' *Zeitschrift fur Alterthumswissenschaft*, 1852, pp. 305-311; *id.*, 'Noch einmal vom Kypselos-Kasten,' *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 1860, pp. 27-32; L. Mercklin, 'Die Aufschriften des Kypseloskastens,' *ib.* pp. 101-108; L. Preller, 'Ueber den Kasten des Kypselos,' *Archaeol. Zeitung*, 12 (1854), pp. 292-300 (reprinted in Preller's *Ausgewählte Aufsatze*, pp. 425-433); Schubart, in *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 7 (1861), pp. 301-315; and *ib.* 11 (1865), p. 638 *sqq.*; Overbeck, 'Ueber die Lade des Kypselos,' *Abhandlungen d. philolog. histor. Classe d. k. sächs. Gesell. d. Wissen.* 4 (1865), pp. 590-674; *id.*, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. pp. 64-67; *id.*, 'Die neuere Versuche zur Wiederherstellung der Kypseloslade,' *Berichte d. k. sächs. Gesell. d. Wiss. zu Leipzig*, 44 (1892), pp. 1-10; Pantazides, in Ἀθηναῖον, 9 (1880), p. 114 *sqq.*; Max Oette, *Beiträge zur Erklärung von Pausanias V.* 17. 5 *ff.* (Altenburg, 1881); G. Loeschcke, *Observationes archaeologicae* (Dorpat, 1880), p. 5 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Boreas und Oreithyia am Kypseloskasten* (Dorpat, 1886); W. Klein, 'Zur Kypsele der Kypseliden,' in *Sitzungsberichte d. philos. histor. Classe d. k. Akad. d. Wissen.* (Vienna), 108 (1885), pp. 51-83 (also printed separately); Collignon, *Manuel d'archéologie Grecque*, pp. 35-37; *id.*, *Histoire de la Sculpture Grecque*, 1. pp. 93-100; Lucy M. Mitchell, *History of Ancient Sculpture*, p. 170 *sq.*; A. S. Murray, *History of Greek Sculpture*,[2] 1. pp. 69-72; C. Robert, in *Hermes*, 23 (1888), pp. 436-444; E. Pernice, 'Zur Kypseloslade,' *Jahrbuch d. k. deutsch. archäolog. Instit.* 3 (1888), pp. 365-368; Dumont et Chaplain, *Les céramiques de la Grèce propre*, 1. pp. 221-229; A. Kalkmann, *Pausanias der Perieget*, pp. 98-100, 114 *sq.*; W. Gurlitt, *Ueber Pausanias*, p. 163 *sqq.*; A. Schneider, *Prolegomena zu einer neuen Gallerie heroischer Bildwerke*, p. 50 *sq.*; C. Sittl, *Parerga zur alten Kunstgeschichte* (Wurzburg, 1893), p. 24; A. Furtwangler, *Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, pp. 723-732; Studniczka, in *Jahrbuch d. arch. Inst.* 9 (1894), p. 52 *sq.* note 16; H. Stuart Jones, 'The Chest of Kypselos,' *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 14 (1894), pp. 30-80. In describing the two schools of early Greek art, and analysing the artistic elements of the chest, I have merely summarised the corresponding parts of Mr. Stuart Jones's article, without feeling myself competent to criticise them.

17. 6. boustrophedon. In this mode of writing the letters run from left to right in the first line, and from right to left in the second, or conversely. It was a transitional mode of writing intermediate between the ancient fashion of writing from right to left (cp. Pausanias, v. 25. 9) and the later mode of writing from left to right. A number of inscriptions written in the *boustrophedon* style have come down to us. The laws of Solon, dating from the beginning of the sixth century B.C., and graved on tablets which were preserved on the Acropolis at Athens, were thus written (Harpocration, *s.v.* ὁ κάτωθεν νόμος). Indeed *bou-*

strophedon seems to have been the regular, though not exclusive, mode of writing throughout the whole of the sixth century B.C. See Kirchhoff, *Studien zur Geschichte des griech. Alphabets*,[4] p. 16 *sqq.*; Roberts, *Greek Epigraphy*, p. 5 *sq.* The name *boustrophedon* (literally 'ox-turning') is a metaphor from ploughing, the oxen turning back when they reach the end of the field. Cp. Prof. W. Ridgeway, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 9 (1888), p. 20 *sq.* In regard to the inscriptions on the chest, it has been noted that there were no inscriptions on the third and fifth band of figures. Pausanias says this expressly of the fifth band (19. 7), and we may infer it as to the third from the difficulty which he had in interpreting it (see 18. 6 *sqq.*) Further, it has been noted that the metrical inscriptions occur only on the second and fourth bands, and apparently only in the middle of these bands, not at the extremities. From the latter fact Mr. Mercklin drew the inference that the metrical inscriptions occurred only on the front of the chest, not on the sides.

17. 6. **written in winding lines.** The inscriptions ran out and in between the figures to which they referred, the curves being necessitated by the exigencies of space. There are plenty of examples of such inscriptions, especially on archaic vases (Overbeck, *Ueber die Lade des Kypselos*, p. 646). Inscriptions on Greek vases are the subject of a special work by Mr. P. Kretschmer (*Die griechische Vaseninschriften*, Gütersloh, 1894).

17. 7. **the horses of Pelops are winged.** On a terra-cotta relief, which was found at Velletri, Pelops and Hippodamia are apparently represented in a chariot drawn by winged horses (O. Jahn, *Archäologische Aufsätze*, p. 6, note 7). Pelops received the winged steeds as a gift from Poseidon (Pindar, *Ol.* i. 140).

17. 7. **Next is represented the house of Amphiaraus** etc. The scene here described by Pausanias is depicted with surprising exactness upon an ancient Corinthian vase which was found at Corvetri in 1872, and is now in the Berlin Museum. On this vase-painting the house of Amphiaraus is represented by two buildings in the style of Doric temples *in antis*. On the right of the scene a four-horse chariot stands in front of the house. In the chariot stands the charioteer Baton (his name is written beside him), holding in his right hand the reins and a long spear, while in his left he receives a cup which a man Leontis is presenting to him. Behind Baton is Amphiaraus in the act of stepping into the chariot. His left foot is on the chariot, his right on the ground; in his right hand he holds a drawn sword. He is looking back with an air of agitation to the group of women and children who stand behind him at the left-hand corner of the scene and in front of one of the two buildings. Nearest to Amphiaraus stands a small naked boy stretching out his hands in an attitude of supplication. His name is not inscribed, but from Pausanias we learn that he is Alcmaeon. Then come two girls in similar attitudes; the smaller and foremost of the two is Eurydice, the taller one behind her is Damoanasa. Next stands a woman, Aenippa, with a baby on her shoulder. The baby's name is not inscribed, but from Pausanias we

learn that the child is Amphilochus. Last of all, on the extreme left, stands Eriphyle; with her left hand she raises the shawl in which her head is muffled, in her lowered right hand she holds a large necklace of white pearls. At the other end of the scene, on the extreme right, there are two men: one of them, Hippotion, stands facing the horses; the other, Halimedes, sits behind him on the ground. All the figures have their names written beside them except Alcmaeon and Amphilochus. In the scene on the chest of Cypselus, as described by Pausanias, the three men on the right (Leontis, Hippotion, and Halimedes) are absent, the attitude of Baton is also slightly different, and the nurse has no name. Otherwise, the resemblance between the two scenes is perfect. Prof. C. Robert, who first published this interesting vase, is of opinion that the Corinthian artist who painted it did not copy the scene on the chest of Cypselus, but only reproduced a type which was traditional at Corinth. The letters of the inscription are of the old Corinthian alphabet. Prof. Robert would assign the vase to the end of the sixth century B.C. The discovery of this vase has not only furnished us with a most valuable reproduction of some of the figures which adorned the chest of Cypselus, but has



FIG. 77.—DEPARTURE OF AMPHIARAUS (SCENE ON A CORINTHIAN VASE).

made it certain (what Schubart had questioned) that the chest was of Corinthian workmanship. See *Monumenti Inediti*, 10 (1874-1878), tav. iv., v. Ab, with the commentary of C. Robert, in *Annali dell' Instituto*, 46 (1874), pp. 82-110; E. Wilisch, *Die altkorinthische Thonindustrie* (Leipzig, 1892), pp. 77-79, with Taf. vi. 54. The scene on the vase is also reproduced in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, vol. i. fig. 69. The same scene is partly reproduced in another vase-painting of archaic style. See Micali, *Monumenti per servire all' historia degli antichi popoli Italiani*, pl. xcv.; Jahn, *Archäologische Aufsätze*, p. 154 *sqq*. It must therefore be a copy, not necessarily at first hand, of the scene on the chest of Cypselus. Since then we find that one of the scenes on the chest of Cypselus is copied on two existing vases, it seems hardly rash to infer that not only this particular scene on the chest but the other scenes also were frequently copied by vase-painters. Compare notes on § 9 and 19. 9. For other vase-paintings representing the parting of Amphiaraus and Eriphyle, see *Monumenti Inediti*, 1843, pl. liv.; *Annali dell' Instituto*, 15 (1843), pp. 206-220; *id.*, 35 (1863), p. 233 *sqq.*, with plate G.

17. 9. **the funeral games of Pelias.** These are represented on the Corinthian vase found at Corvetri (see the preceding note). But of the contests described by Pausanias, only two are depicted on the vase: these are the chariot-race and the wrestling-match. And even these do not correspond to the description of Pausanias. For on the vase the chariots are six instead of five; they are drawn by four instead of two horses; the names of the charioteers (except those of Euphemus and Admetus) do not correspond; and the umpires seated on thrones are three in number, but Hercules is not one of them. Again, in the wrestling-match the adversary of Peleus is Hippalcimus on the vase, instead of Jason. See *Annali dell' Instituto*, 46 (1874), p. 91 *sqq.*; *Monumenti Inediti*, 10 (1874), pl. iv. v.; E. Wilisch, *Die altkorinthische Thonindustrie* (Leipzig, 1892), pp. 79-82, with Taf. vii. 55. On the archaic vase published by Micali and described by Jahn (see preceding note), there is depicted a two-horse chariot-race, as well as the parting of Amphiaraus and Eriphyle. As the latter scene was copied, directly or indirectly, from the chest of Cypselus, the former scene may have been a copy of the corresponding scene on the chest.

17. 9. **Hercules is represented seated on a chair.** Prof. Studniczka suggests that Hercules may have been represented as stationed at the turning-post of the racecourse to see that the competitors raced fairly, as Phoenix was stationed at the funeral games of Patroclus (Homer, *Il.* xxiii. 359 *sqq.*) See Fr. Studniczka, 'Herakles bei den Leichenspielen des Pelias auf der Kypseloslade,' *Jahrbuch d. archaeol. Instituts*, 9 (1894), pp. 51-54.

17. 9. **a woman —— is playing on a —— flute.** Pausanias seems to have mistaken the sex of the flute-player, who was probably represented as a man clad in the long ungirt tunic which was regularly worn by flute-players. This costume was misunderstood by Pausanias, as Prof. Benndorf pointed out (W. Klein, *Zur Kypsele der Kypseliden*, p. 61 note).

17. 11. **Iolaus —— is represented victorious in the four-horse chariot-race.** It seems likely that Pausanias has misinterpreted the figure of Iolaus, who was probably represented standing in or beside his chariot, waiting while Hercules despatched the Hydra (see next note). That Pausanias should have thus wrongly assigned Iolaus to the scene of the funeral games of Pelias instead of to Hercules's fight with the Hydra proves that the sculptures were here continuous, not divided into separate panels. See H. Brunn, *Griechische Kunstgeschichte*, p. 177; A. Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, p. 727 *sq.*

17. 11. **Hercules shooting the hydra.** In early Greek art, especially on vases, this scene is depicted in two different ways: on some of them, Hercules and his friend Iolaus are both represented attacking the Hydra; on others Hercules alone assails it, while Iolaus is waiting with the chariot, ready to convey away the victorious hero when the monster is despatched. See Furtwängler, in Roscher's *Lexikon*, 1. p. 2198 *sq.* From the mistake which Pausanias has made with regard to Iolaus (see preceding note), it appears that on the chest the scene was represented in the latter way. According to Mr. Stuart Jones, this latter mode of representation is Eastern, and the former is Peloponnesian (*Journ. of Hell. Stud.* 14 (1894), p. 67). A well-known example of the so-called Eastern type of the scene is furnished by an archaic group of pedimental sculptures which was found on the Acropolis at Athens some years ago. Here Hercules is seen attacking the Hydra, while Iolaus stands beside the chariot holding the reins and looking back anxiously at the combat. See Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1884, pl. 7; Collignon, *Hist. de la Sculpture grecque*, 1. p. 213, fig. 101; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. p. 180, fig. 33.

17. 11. **Hercules is easily recognised —— by —— his figure.** In Greek art Hercules is commonly depicted wearing a lion's skin, often with the lion's scalp worn as a hood on his head. Pisander and Stesichorus are said to have been the first poets who described Hercules in this costume. See Athenaeus, xii. p. 512 e-513 a; Strabo, xv. p. 688; Suidas, *s.v.* Πείσανδρος; K. O. Müller, *Dorier*,[2] 1. p. 446. Hence K. O. Muller inferred that the chest of Cypselus, on which Hercules seems to have been represented wearing the lion's skin, could not have been older than the time of Pisander, namely about 647 B.C. (Clinton's *Fasti Hellenici*, 1. p. 199). See Müller, *Archäolog. der Kunst*, § 57. To this Overbeck replied with justice, that though Pisander may have been the first to introduce Hercules in this costume into poetry, there is nothing to show that Hercules may not have been so represented in local tradition and works of art long before the time of Pisander (Overbeck, *Ueber die Lade des Kypselos*, p. 631 *sq.*) On the other hand, L. Preller thought that on the chest of Cypselus the artist probably represented Hercules without his later attributes, the lion's skin and club, and armed only with bow and arrows (*Ausgewählte Aufsatze*, p. 426 *sq.*) According to Prof. Furtwängler, the lion's skin as a symbol of Hercules was borrowed by the Greeks from Phoenician images of the Egyptian god Besa (Roscher's *Lexikon*, 1. p. 2145).

17. 11. **Phineus, the Thracian** etc. As to representations of the myth of Phineus and the Harpies on vases, see A. Flasch, in *Annali dell' Inst.* 46 (1874), pp. 175-184; *id.*, in *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 38 (1880), pp. 138-145; J. de Witte, *ib.* 39 (1881), p. 163 *sq.*; G. Jatta, in *Annali dell' Inst.* 54 (1882), pp. 90-99, with tav. d' agg. O; Petersen, in *Archäolog. epigraph. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich*, 6 (1882), pp. 52-62; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1330 *sq.* On the myth, see F. H. de Gaertringen, *De Graecorum fabulis ad Thraces pertinentibus* (Berlin, 1886), pp. 56-80. It was represented on the throne of the Amyclaean Apollo (Paus. iii. 18. 15). On the Harpies (literally 'the Snatchers'), who have been interpreted as personifications of storm-winds, see J. F. Craquand, 'Les Harpyies,' *Revue archéologique*, N. S. 2 (1860), pp. 367-382; *id.* N. S. 3 (1861), pp. 18-35; J. Langbehn, *Flügelgestalten*, p. 42 *sqq.*; C. Smith, 'Harpies in Greek Art,' *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 13 (1892-93), pp. 103-114; E. Rohde, in *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. 50 (1895), pp. 1-5.

18. 1. **A woman is represented carrying a white boy asleep** etc. The artist seems to have taken the idea of this scene from Hesiod (*Theog.* 211 *sq.*, 756 *sqq.*) Prof. Klein contends that Night was portrayed carrying Sleep and Death, not in her arms, but on her outstretched hands, Sleep being represented sitting on the one hand and Death running (!) on the other. See Klein, *Zur Kypsele der Kypseliden*, p. 73. If Death was so represented, he must have been running in his sleep, since Pausanias tells us that he was "like one that sleeps." But Prof. Klein's interpretation is ungrammatical as well as absurd: he seems unaware that to make it fit the Greek we should have to change διεστραμμένους into διεστραμμένον. As to representations of Sleep and Death in ancient art, see notes on ii. 10. 2; iii. 18. 1.



FIG. 7[illegible].—JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE (SCENE ON A RED-FIGURED VASE).

18. 2. **A comely woman is punishing an ill-favoured one** etc. The scene described by Pausanias is exactly represented on a red-figured vase. Justice, a comely woman, is throttling Injustice, an ugly hag, with her left hand, while in her right hand she lifts a hammer to smite her victim, who is in the act of stumbling and falling. It is possible that this vase-painting was copied, directly or indirectly, from the chest of Cypselus. See Roscher's *Lexikon*, 1. p. 1019; Furtwängler, *Die Bronzefunde aus Olympia*, p. 95; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1300, fig. 1442. On personifications of Justice (*Dike*) in Greek art, see A. Milchhöfer, 'Dike,' *Jahrbuch d. arch. Inst.* 7 (1892), pp. 203-208.

18. 2. **Two other women are pounding with pestles in mortars.** These were probably the Fates brewing weal and woe for mankind (cp. Hesiod, *Theog.* 218 *sq.*) This interpretation of the figures was proposed by Dr. W. Roscher ('Die sogen. Pharmakiden des Kypseloskasten,' *Philologus*, 47 (1889), pp. 703-709), and has been accepted by Prof. Furtwängler (*Meisterwerke*, p. 729) and Mr. Stuart Jones. If this interpretation is correct, it is notable that here the Fates were only two in number, whereas the Greeks commonly held that there were three of them. At Delphi, however, only two Fates were recognised (Paus. x. 24. 2; Plutarch, *De EI apud Delphos*, 2). Formerly these two figures on the chest of Cypselus were explained as witches compounding a hell-broth. Elsewhere (ix. 11. 3) Pausanias mentions a relief representing witches, and tells in connexion with them a story, in another version of which the Fates take the place of the witches (Antoninus Liberalis, *Trans.* 29). Mr. Otto Kern interpreted the women on the chest as Ide and Adrastia, two personages of the Orphic cosmogony, as to whom see Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, p. 514 *sq.*; *Orphica*, ed. E. Abel, p. 194 *sq.* But the interpretation is not a happy one. See O. Kern, 'Die Pharmakeytriai am Kypseloskasten,' *Jahrbuch d. arch. Inst.* 3 (1888), pp. 234-236.

18. 2. **Idas is leading back —— Marpessa.** The contest of Idas with Apollo for the possession of his bride Marpessa is mentioned by Homer (*Il.* ix. 557 *sqq.*) It is depicted on an Etruscan mirror, and perhaps on two vases. See O. Jahn, *Archäologische Aufsätze*, pp. 46-56.

18. 3. **There is a man clad in a tunic** etc. This scene (Zeus and Alcmena) and the following scene (Menelaus and Helen) are perhaps represented on an archaic marble relief found near Sparta. On one side of the stone is seen a beardless man standing opposite a woman, who is clad in a long robe and holds in her left hand what seems to be a crown or wreath; the man is laying his left hand on the woman's shoulder. These two figures may be Zeus and Alcmena. On the opposite side of the stone a bearded man is seizing a woman with his left hand, while with his right he points a drawn sword at her throat. These two figures may be Menelaus and Helen. The comparison of these reliefs with the scenes on the chest of Cypselus was first made by Prof. Loeschcke. See *Annali dell' Instituto*, 33 (1861), p. 35 *sq.*, with Tav. d' agg. C; Conze, in *Philologus*, 19 (1863), p. 173 *sq.*; Dressel and Milchhöfer, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst.* 2 (1877), p. 301 *sqq.*; Friederichs-Wolters, *Gipsabgüsse*, § 55, p. 27 *sq.*; Milchhöfer, *Anfänge der Kunst*, p. 186 *sqq.*; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. p. 127 *sq.*; Collignon, *Histoire de la Sculpture grecque*, 1. p. 236 *sq.*

18. 3. **Menelaus —— is advancing to slay Helen.** See the preceding note. This scene is also depicted on Attic black-figured vases (O. Jahn, *Archäologische Aufsätze*, p. 9; Overbeck, *Ueber die Lade des Kypselos*, p. 671; Stuart Jones, in *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 14 (1894), p. 71).

18. 4. **The Muses —— and Apollo.** Cp. Hesiod, *Shield of Hercules*, 201 *sqq.* Welcker thought that this group formed part of the

preceding scene, the artist having intended to represent Apollo and the Muses singing at the wedding of Medea. This view has been accepted by Professors Robert and Furtwängler, but rejected by O. Jahn. See O. Jahn, *Archäologische Aufsätze*, p. 9 note 18; C. Robert, in *Hermes*, 23 (1888), p. 443; Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke*, p. 729.

18. 4. **Atlas is upholding —— heaven and earth** etc. Cp. Hesiod, *Theog.* 517 *sqq.*; and see note on v. 11. 5. In the ordinary version of the story Atlas fetched the apples while Hercules held up the heaven in his stead (see above, p. 524 *sq.*) But on the chest, as we learn from Pausanias, Atlas was portrayed supporting the sky and holding the apples at the same time. Perhaps, as Mr. Stuart Jones suggests, the artist regarded Atlas as himself the guardian of the apples, and placed them in his hands to indicate this.

18. 5. **Ares clad in armour, leading Aphrodite.** Ares perhaps appeared here, not as the paramour, but as the husband of Aphrodite. Similarly he seems to be represented as her husband in some existing works of art. See Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, 1. pl. xii. No. 44; O. Jahn, *Archäologische Aufsätze*, p. 10, note 20.

18. 5. **from the hand of Thetis a snake is darting at him.** On ancient vases the struggle between Peleus and Thetis is often depicted. See K. O. Müller, *Archaeologie der Kunst*, § 413. 1; O. Jahn, *Archäologische Aufsätze*, p. 10; E. Pottier's references in Dumont et Chaplain, *Les céramiques de la Grèce propre*, p. 225, note 3; Sidney Colvin, in *Journ. of Hellenic Studies*, 1 (1880), p. 119 *sq.*; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1796 *sqq.*, with fig. 1881 and 1882; Miss Harrison, *Greek Vase Paintings*, pl. xxiii. In a fine vase-painting by the artist Pithinus (Miss Harrison, *l.c.*) Thetis is seen struggling in the clutch of Peleus: a snake darts from her left hand at his forehead, while a lion leaps from her right hand. The scene is meant to illustrate the legend that the sea-goddess Thetis tried to escape from her importunate wooer by turning herself into a snake, a lion, fire, and water. See the lines of Sophocles quoted by the scholiast on Pindar, *Nem.* iii. 60; also Pindar, *Nem.* iv. 101 *sqq.*; Apollodorus, iii. 13. 5. Modern Greek peasants still think that a man may catch and wed a Nereid if he can get possession of something belonging to her, especially her handkerchief. In the district of *Pediada* in Crete there is a cave called the Nereid's cave with a fine spring of water in it. Here the Nereids used to dance by night to the music of a young peasant from the village of *Sgurokephali*. But the musician fell in love with one of the Nereids, and an old woman, to whom he opened his heart, told him that, when the hour of cockcrow drew near, he must seize the Nereid by the hair and hold her fast till the cocks crew. He seized the nymph as the old woman directed him; she turned into a dog, a serpent, a camel, and fire: but the young man held on to her till the cocks crew. Then the nymph took her own fair form, and followed him home to the village. See B. Schmidt, *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen*, p. 112 *sqq.* Cp. Th. Bent, *The Cyclades*, p. 13. For parallel stories see W. Mannhardt, *Antike Wald- und Feldkulte*, p. 60 *sqq.*

18. 5. **The sisters of Medusa are —— pursuing Perseus, who is**

flying through the air. Hesiod has described (*Shield of Hercules*, 216-237) how this scene was represented on the shield of Hercules; Perseus was seen flying through the air with Medusa's head, pursued by the two surviving Gorgon-sisters, each of them girt with serpents. Euripides tells us (*Electra*, 458 *sqq.*) that on the shield of Achilles there was represented Perseus flying over the sea with his winged sandals, bearing Medusa's head and accompanied by Hermes. The flight of Perseus with Medusa's head is illustrated by many existing monuments of ancient art, especially vase-paintings, both black-figured and red-figured; on some of them the pursuing Gorgons are also represented. See Fr. Knatz, *Quomodo Persei fabulam artifices Graeci et Romani tractaverint* (Bonnae, 1893), pp. 17-24; E. Pottier's references in Dumont et Chaplain, *Les céramiques de la Grèce propre*, 1. p. 226 note 1; Stuart Jones, in *Journ. of Hellenic Studies*, 14 (1894), p. 73.

18. 6. **they are the Aetolians under Oxylus.** See v. 4. 1 *sq.*

18. 6. **the Pylians and Arcadians about to fight** etc. See Homer, *Il.* vii. 133 *sqq.*

18. 7. **it is incredible that Cypselus' ancestor, who was a Corinthian** etc. On this passage Otto Jahn remarked (*Hermes*, 3 (1869), p. 192) that, on the supposition that the chest was indeed the chest of Cypselus, Pausanias was perfectly right in expecting to find scenes of Corinthian history illustrated on it. But the guides or interpreters, as we learn from Pausanias, did not connect this central scene on the chest with any episode in Corinthian history; whence Jahn concluded that they knew nothing of the supposed connexion of Cypselus with the chest, and that the tradition which connected the chest with Cypselus must consequently have been late and untrustworthy. As this tradition was already current in the time of Pausanias, it would follow, on Jahn's theory, that the guides or interpreters to whom he refers in the present passage were not the local *ciceroni* but earlier writers whose works Pausanias consulted. To this it has been justly replied by Messrs. W. Gurlitt and Stuart Jones that on the chest there were many scenes, attested by inscriptions, which had nothing to do with Corinth; and that hence there is no reason why an interpreter, even if he believed that the chest had been dedicated by Cypselus, should have felt bound to explain this particular scene by reference to Corinthian history. See W. Gurlitt, *Ueber Pausanias*, p. 163 *sq.*; Stuart Jones, in *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 14 (1894), p. 33. Pausanias's own explanation of this scene is rejected by L. Preller (*Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, p. 428 *sq.*) and Overbeck (*Ueber die Lade des Kypselos*, pp. 632, 659).

18. 7. **Cypselus and his forefathers came originally from Gonussa** etc. See ii. 4. 4.

19. 1. **Boreas with Orithyia, whom he has snatched away.** The rape or pursuit of Orithyia by Boreas is depicted on a number of existing vases, none of which, however, is very early, since all are of the red-figured style. Sometimes in these paintings Boreas, represented as a winged man, is seen clasping the maiden in his arms; but oftener he

is pursuing her, while she flees from him. Pausanias's language shows clearly that on the chest of Cypselus it was the rape, not the pursuit, which was represented. See Welcker, 'Boreas und Oreithyia,' *Antike Denkmäler*, 3. pp. 144-191; Millin, *Peintures de Vases Antiques*, 2. p. 5 (ed. S. Reinach); G. Perrot, 'L'enlèvement d'Orithyie,' *Monuments Grecs*, 1874, pp. 29-52, with pl. 2; Roscher's *Lexikon*, 1. p. 810; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 351 *sqq.* Pausanias tells us that in this scene Boreas was represented with the tails of snakes in place of feet. As Boreas is never so represented in existing works of ancient art, Prof. C. Robert holds that Pausanias must have been mistaken, and that the snake-footed monster was not Boreas but Typhon (Hiller de Gaertringen, *De Graecorum fabulis ad Thraces pertinentibus*, p. 7 *sq.*) But this view is rightly rejected by Prof. Loeschcke (*Boreas und Oreithyia am Kypseloskasten*, Dorpat, 1886, p. 1 *sq.*) Boreas's name was probably inscribed beside him.

19. 1. **Geryon is three men joined together.** In archaic Greek art Geryon is represented in two different ways. One type, known only from Chalcidian vases, exhibits him with wings and a single pair of legs supporting a triple body; the other type, represented on all the Attic vases which deal with the legend, exhibits him without wings but with three complete bodies, including the legs (G. Loeschcke, *Boreas und Oreithyia* (Dorpat, 1886), p. 5). It was apparently in the latter way that he was portrayed on the chest of Cypselus, though Mr. Stuart Jones, in his restoration of the chest, has adopted the former (the Chalcidian type). For a list of vases on which the subject is depicted see W. Klein, *Euphronios*,[2] pp. 58-60. On Attic vases of the black-figured style it is especially common. At Golgoi in Cyprus a statue and two statuettes of Geryon were found; all of them represent him with three complete human bodies, each body armed with a shield, but wingless (Cesnola, *Cyprus*, p. 155 *sq.*) See also Roscher's *Lexikon*, 1. pp. 1630 *sqq.*, 2203; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 662, fig. 729.

19. 1. **Theseus with a lyre.** The constellation of the Lyre had been, according to one story, the lyre of Theseus (Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 6).

19. 1. **Achilles and Memnon are fighting.** This subject was represented on the throne of Apollo at Amyclae (Paus. iii. 18. 12), and it is often depicted on archaic vases (O. Jahn, *Archaeologische Aufsätze*, p. 11, note 26; P. J. Meier, in *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. 37 (1882), pp. 351-353; A. Schneider, *Der troische Sagenkreis in der ältesten griechischen Kunst*, pp. 143-145). See also v. 22. 2 note.

19. 2. **Hector is fighting Ajax** etc. See Homer, *Iliad*, vii. 225 *sqq.*

19. 3. **the Dioscuri, one of them beardless still.** On two vases in the British Museum the Dioscuri are depicted, the one bearded, the other beardless, riding in a chariot drawn by two horses, of which one is black, the other white (W. Watkiss Lloyd, in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, Second Series, 4 (1853), p. 293).

19. 3. **the Dioscuri —— Helen** etc. Dio Chrysostom mentions that he saw this scene upon the chest of Cypselus. He says: "I have

myself seen at Olympia, in the back-chamber of the Temple of Hera, a memorial of that rape on the wooden box which was dedicated by Cypselus; I saw the Dioscuri with Helen, who is represented treading on the head of Aethra and tugging at her hair; and I saw an inscription carved in ancient letters" (*Or.* xi. vol. 1. p. 179, ed. Dindorf). The inscription mentioned by Dio Chrysostom is, of course, the one here given by Pausanias. As to the legend, see note on i. 17. 5. Homer represents Helen as waited upon at Troy by Aethra (*Iliad*, iii. 144; cp. Hyginus, *Fab.* 92). See x. 25. 8 note.

19. 4. **Iphidamas —— is lying on the ground** etc. See Homer, *Iliad*, xi. 247 *sqq.*

19. 5. **Hermes is leading to Alexander —— the goddesses.** The judgment of Paris is very often depicted on vases. See Welcker, 'Le jugement de Paris,' in *Annali dell' Instituto*, 17 (1845), pp. 132-209; Stephani, in *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg), 1861, p. 33 *sqq.*; *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 40 (1882), pp. 209-214, with plate 11; Miss Harrison, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 7 (1886), pp. 196-219; Brunn, in *Sitzungsberichte d. philos. Classe d. k. b. Akad. d. Wissen. zu München*, 1887, vol. 2. pp. 231-252. Professor Furtwängler would transpose this and the following scene (the winged Artemis) on grounds of symmetry, in order that Artemis and her beasts should balance Atalante and her fawn, each of the two scenes being thus placed in corresponding positions to the right and left of the central group (*Meisterwerke der griech. Plastik*, p. 731). The transposition was first suggested by H. Brunn (*Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 5 (1847), p. 338), and was accepted by Overbeck in his restoration of the chest of Cypselus (*Ueber die Lade des Kypselos*, p. 643). But the reason seems hardly sufficient to justify us in departing from the order of the scenes as given by Pausanias.

19. 5. **Artemis is represented with wings on her shoulders** etc. This type of Artemis is commonly known as the Asiatic or Persian Artemis, because it is supposed to have been derived from representations of the Persian goddess Anaitis (see J. Langbehn, *Flügelgestalten der ältesten griech. Kunst*, pp. 64-76; E. Curtius, *Gesammelte Abhandl.* 2. p. 110; Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, 2. p. 521 *sq.*) But this derivation is doubtful (Ed. Meyer, in Roscher's *Lexikon*, 1. p. 333). Prof. Studniczka holds that the type is purely Greek, and he argues that Cyrene, the divine patroness of the city of that name, was a deity of this sort (*Kyrene, eine altgriechische Göttin*, p. 153 *sqq.*) At all events the type was adopted, if it did not originate, in Greek art very early, as is proved by its occurrence on the chest of Cypselus and on other early monuments, such as the large bronze plate found at Olympia (*Die Ausgrabungen von Olympia*, 3 (1877-1878), pl. xxiii.; *Die Funde von Olympia*, pl. xxvi.; *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Tafelband 4. pl. xxxviii.; see above, p. 502), gold ornaments found in the ancient necropolis at Camirus in Rhodes (A. Salzmann, *Nécropole de Camiros*, pl. i.), the François vase (Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 132, fig. 139, and pl. lxxiv.), and a painted Boeotian casket of terra-cotta (*Jahrbuch d. arch. Inst.* 3 (1888), p. 357). On one of the so-called Island or Mycenaean gems a goddess of this type is portrayed, grasping

a great bird in each hand, but she is wingless (A. Milchhöfer, *Die Anfänge der Kunst*, p. 86; Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 6. p. 851). For a fuller list of the monuments on which this type of goddess is figured see Langbehn, *op. cit.* p. 76 *sqq.*

19. 5. **Ajax is represented dragging Cassandra from the image of Athena.** This scene is often depicted on existing works of ancient art, especially on vases. See *Monumenti Inediti*, 11 (1878-83), plate xv.; W. Klein, 'Ajace e Cassandra,' *Annali dell' Inst. di Corr. Archeol.* 49 (1877), pp. 246-268; Heydemann, *Iliupersis*, p. 34 *sqq.*, with Taf. ii. 1 and 2; Michaelis, in *Annali dell' Instituto*, 52 (1880), pp. 27-32; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, fig. 795, 800, 801; *Journ. of Hellenic Studies*, 5 (1884), p. 234 *sq.*; A. Schneider, *Der troische Sagenkreis*, p. 176 *sqq.* It is also represented on a small bronze plate found at Olympia (*Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Tafelband 4. pl. xxxix. No. 705; *id.*, Textband 4. p. 104). Arctinus in his epic, the *Sack of Ilium*, told how Ajax, in attempting to drag away Cassandra, pulled down the image to which she was clinging. See Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum fragmenta*, ed. Kinkel, p. 49; cp. Paus. x. 26. 3.

19. 6. **Polynices —— Eteocles.** The combat of the brothers is represented on Etruscan sepulchral urns. See *Gazette Archéologique*, 7 (1881-82), pp. 64-68; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1760, fig. 1841. On an alabaster urn, represented in these works, the two brothers, mortally wounded, have sunk to the ground, while beside them sits the Angel of Death, a winged woman with a drawn sword. The artist who made the chest seems to have borrowed his conception of the grim figure of Doom from the Hesiodic poem, *The Shield of Heracles*, in which (*vv.* 248 *sqq.*) the Dooms (*Keres*) are described as hideous creatures with white teeth and great claws, who drank the blood of the slain in battle.

19. 7. **There is a woman in a grotto** etc. As to representations of the story of Ulysses and Circe in ancient art, see O. Jahn, *Archäologische Beiträge*, p. 401 *sqq.*; Miss Harrison, *Myths of the Odyssey*, pp. 63-92; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 781 *sqq.* Pausanias's interpretation of the scenes in this uppermost band on the chest avowedly rests on conjecture, since there was no inscription to explain them. Modern archaeologists incline to accept the view, first put forward by Prof. Loeschcke, that the subject of some of the scenes was not Ulysses and Circe, etc., but the marriage of Peleus and Thetis in a cave on Mt. Pelion, with a train of Nereids or goddesses approaching in chariots and bringing the heavenly armour as a wedding present to the bridegroom. Prof. Loeschcke thinks that the cave in which the man and woman were depicted reclining points to Peleus and Thetis, who were married on Mt. Pelion (Euripides, *Iphig. in Aul.* 704 *sqq.*; Schol. on Homer, *Il.* xvi. 140; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 178), rather than to Ulysses and Circe, who dwelt in an enchanted palace (Homer, *Od.* x. 276, 340), not in a cave. Further, he points out that if the artist had intended to represent, as Pausanias supposed, the bringing of the armour to Achilles, he would hardly have left out Achilles himself. The divine arms which the gods gave to Peleus at

his marriage and which Peleus afterwards gave to Achilles (Homer, *Il.* xvii. 194 *sqq.*) are, of course, to be distinguished from the arms which Hephaestus made for Achilles after the death of Patroclus (*Il.* xviii. 369 *sqq.*) This modern interpretation of the scenes on the fifth band of the chest is confirmed by the very similar representation of the marriage of Peleus and Thetis on the François vase, where Thetis is depicted seated in the palace, while her husband, Peleus, stands in front of it receiving a long train of gods and goddesses who are seen approaching, some in chariots and some on foot, headed by the Centaur Chiron and Iris the messenger of the gods (Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, fig. 1883). The figures on the François vase, unlike those on this part of the chest of Cypselus, have their names inscribed beside them. See G. Loeschcke, *Observationes archaeologicae* (Dorpat, 1880), p. 5 *sqq.*; W. Klein, *Zur Kypsele der Kypseliden*, p. 64 *sq.*; A. Schneider, *Der troische Sagenkreis in der ältesten griechischen Kunst* (Leipzig, 1886), p. 88 *sqq.*; Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, p. 727; Stuart Jones, in *Journ. of Hellen. Studies*, 14 (1894), p. 52 *sq.*

19. 7. **the women —— are doing the works which Homer has described.** See *Od.* x. 348 *sqq.*

19. 7. **a Centaur —— with his forelegs those of a man.** In archaic Greek art the Centaurs are regularly represented with the forelegs of a man, but with the hindlegs of a horse. They are so represented, for example, on an archaic black-figured vase (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1 (1880), pl. 1), on gold ornaments found in the very early Greek necropolis at Camirus in Rhodes (Salzmann, *Nécropole de Camiros*, pl. i.), and on the archaic bronze relief found at Olympia, which has been repeatedly referred to (*Die Funde von Olympia*, pl. xxvi.; see above, p. 502). The composite figure thus produced is excessively ungainly; and later Greek artists, feeling this, gave their Centaurs the forelegs, as well as the hindlegs, of a horse. The gain in artistic effect was immense. Contrast for example the older style as represented in Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, 2. pl. xlvii. figs. 591, 592, with the later style as represented by figs. 594-598 on the same plate. Cp. O. Jahn, *Archäologische Aufsätze*, p. 13; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, pp. 775 *sq.*, 1799, fig. 1882; S. Colvin, in *Journ. of Hellen. Stud.* 1 (1880), p. 127 *sqq.*; E. H. Meyer, *Gandharven-Kentauren*, p. 59 *sqq.*

19. 8. **chariots —— with women standing in them.** Pausanias interpreted these women as Nereids, and apparently supposed that they were represented going to condole with Achilles on the death of Patroclus, as described by Homer (*Il.* xviii. p. 65 *sqq.*) Prof. Loeschcke interprets them as Nereids bringing to Peleus at his wedding the divine arms which the gods bestowed on him (Homer, *Il.* xvii. 194 *sqq.*) At the same time he admits that the appearance of Nereids in chariots is otherwise unexampled in art and literature (Loeschcke, *Observationes Archaeologicae*, p. 7 *sq.*) To meet this difficulty Mr. A. Schneider suggests that the women in the chariots drawn by winged steeds were not Nereids but goddesses (*Der troische Sagenkreis in der ältesten griechischen Kunst*, p. 89 *sqq.*)

19. 8. **Thetis —— receiving the arms from Hephaestus.** On a

vase of Camirus we see Thetis depicted with the arms of Achilles (*Monumenti Inediti*, 11 (1878-83), tav. viii.)

19. 9. the maidens in the mule-car etc. Pausanias's interpretation of these maidens as Nausicaa and one of her attendants driving to the washing-tanks (see Homer, *Od.* vi. 72 *sqq.*) is rejected by Prof. W. Klein, who holds that they were more probably guests on their way to the wedding of Peleus and Thetis (*Zur Kypsele der Kypseliden*, p. 64 *sq.*) Prof. Klein's view is accepted by Prof. Furtwängler (*Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, p. 727) and Mr. Stuart Jones (*Journ. of Hellen. Studies*, 14 (1894), p. 53), but rejected by Mr. A. Schneider (*Der troische Sagenkreis*, p. 65 *sqq.*) and Prof. Loeschcke (*Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 19 (1894), p. 513 note), who think it unlikely (1) that some of the wedding guests should have had only mules to draw them, while others had winged horses, and (2) that the artist would have interposed the two standing figures of Hephaestus and his attendant in the middle of a procession of chariots.

19. 9. The man shooting at Centaurs etc. Cp. note on § 7. The subject of Hercules fighting the Centaurs is depicted on the same archaic vase, published by Micali, and described by O. Jahn, on which is painted the parting of Amphiaraus and Eriphyle (O. Jahn, *Archaeologische Aufsätze*, p. 154 *sq.*; see above, note on v. 17. 7). As the latter scene was apparently copied from the chest of Cypselus, so probably was the former. The same scene (Hercules shooting at a Centaur) is represented on the archaic bronze relief found at Olympia, to which reference has repeatedly been made (*Die Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, 3 (1877-78), pl. xxiii.; *Die Funde von Olympia*, Tafel xxvi.; *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Tafelband 4, pl. xxxviii.; see above, p. 502).

19. 10. Eumelus. See ii. 1. 1 note; and above, p. 606.

20. 1. On the quoit of Iphitus is inscribed the truce etc. See v. 4. 5 *sq.*; v. 8. 5. Aristotle referred to the quoit of Iphitus as evidence of the date of Lycurgus, who is said to have joined with Iphitus in instituting or reviving the Olympic games (Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 1 and 23). If the tradition is to be trusted, the inscription on the quoit could not be later than 776 B.C. It would thus be the oldest Greek inscription of which we have any record. Cp. Hicks, *Greek historical inscriptions*, p. 1 *sq.*

20. 2. Colotes. According to Pliny (*N. H.* xxxiv. 87, xxxv. 54) Colotes was a pupil of Phidias and helped him with his great statue of Zeus at Olympia.

20. 2. Pasiteles. See Critical Note, vol. 1. p. 586 *sq.* This sculptor Pasiteles is otherwise unknown. He is not, of course, to be confounded with the well-known sculptor of the same name who flourished in the first century B.C. As to the latter Pasiteles, see especially Prof. Waldstein, in *American Journal of Archaeology*, 3 (1887), p. 1 *sqq.*

20. 3. Contest. As to this personification see v. 26. 3 note.

20. 4. the battle which the Eleans fought against the Lacedaemonians. Cp. v. 27. 11 note.

20. 6. the house of Oenomaus. Cp. v. 14. 7. There are some

considerable foundations between the pedestal of Dropion and the pedestal of the Eretrian bull (see plan). As their situation agrees with the description of Pausanias, it has been conjectured that these foundations may have formed part of the house of Oenomaus (Curtius und Adler, *Olympia und Umgegend*, p. 40; Flasch, 'Olympia,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1074). Mr. Wernicke, on the other hand, believes that the large oval depression which is commonly identified as the site of the great altar of Zeus (v. 13. 8 note), was in reality the site of the house of Oenomaus (*Jahrbuch d. arch. Inst.* 9 (1894), p. 93).

20. 8. **A Roman senator —— dug to make a foundation** etc. It has been conjectured that the senator in question was Lucius Minicius Natalis, who won a victory in the chariot-race at Olympia in Ol. 227 (129 A.D.) and dedicated a chariot in commemoration of his success. Two of the blocks of the large pedestal which supported the chariot were found at Olympia in 1878 built into a Byzantine wall in the Wrestling-School. See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 236; W. Gurlitt, *Ueber Pausanias*, p. 421.

20. 9. **A small temple —— Metroum.** The remains of this temple stand at the southern foot of Mount Cronius, to the east of the Heraeum, and just beside the terrace on which are the treasuries. The temple was demolished in the Byzantine period, and the materials were used to build the fortification-wall, which ran from the temple of Zeus to the South Colonnade. These substantial walls, 10 feet thick, were taken down by the German excavators for the sake of the sculptures, inscribed stones, and architectural fragments which they contained. Of the Metroum the foundations, consisting of three courses of squared blocks, are in large part preserved, and at the north-west corner the three steps which originally ran all round the temple are preserved for a short distance; here, too, are standing a single drum of a column and a small piece of another. These are all the standing remains of the temple, but from them and the fragments of the entablature which have been discovered built into the Byzantine wall it is possible to judge of the general plan of the building. The temple was only 20.67 metres long by 10.62 metres broad. It was of the Doric order and was surrounded by a colonnade containing six columns at each of the narrow ends and eleven at each of the long sides. The columns, like the rest of the building, were of common stone, but they were coated with fine stucco; they have twenty flutes. Their lower diameter was .85 metre; their upper diameter was .65 metre. The echinus of the capitals is very low and almost straight. Instead of the usual rings under the capital there is a single undercutting, which may have held a metal ring. A frieze of triglyphs and metopes ran round the temple, and there was a gable at each of the narrow ends. The roof was of terra-cotta. The height of the temple cannot have much exceeded 7.50 metres. The floor of the colonnade, so far as it exists, is composed of pebbles, but in so rough a fashion that it probably formed part of a late restoration. The temple itself, as distinct from the colonnade which surrounded it, consisted of a *cella*, with a fore-temple (*pronaos*) at one end and a back-chamber (*opisthodomos*) at the other, but the exact

measurements and disposition of these various compartments cannot now be ascertained. It is not even certain whether the compartment at the east end was the fore-temple or the back-chamber; in other words, whether the temple faced east or west: but judging by analogy we may suppose that it faced east. Remains and traces of foundation-walls within the *cella* seem to show that there was a row of columns on each side of it. The ceiling of the temple seems to have been of wood; at least no remains of a stone ceiling have been found. Considerable vestiges of colour have been preserved on the architectural fragments: for example, red and blue leaves can be seen on the *geison*, bright blue on the triglyphs, and red on the architrave. In the parts of the walls which rise above the ground the stones are held together with ├─┤ shaped iron clamps run with lead; in the foundations clamps are not employed. Iron dowels were not used in the walls to bind the upper and lower stones together; but large wooden dowels served to hold together the drums of the columns.

From the style of the architecture the Metroum appears to have been built in the first half of the fourth century B.C. That it is later than the temple of Zeus and the Parthenon is proved by the shape of the capitals; and that it is older than the Philippeum, which was built in the second half of the fourth century B.C., is proved by the clamps employed in it, which are of the older pattern (├─┤) as distinguished from the later pattern (┌─┐) employed in the Philippeum and in buildings of the Roman period. In Roman times, as we learn from Pausanias, statues of the emperors were set up in it, and some of these statues were actually found by the Germans lying on the foundations; they include a statue of Claudius tricked out with the attributes of Zeus, and a statue of Titus in imperial garb.

See *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Tafelband I. plates xxiv.-xxvi.; *id.*, Tafelband 3. pl. lx.; W. Dörpfeld, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. pp. 37-40; *Die Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, 3 (1877-1878), p. 13, with pl. xix.; *id.*, 4 (1878-1879), pp. 33-35, with pl. xxxii.; *Die Funde von Olympia*, pl. xxxvi.; Curtius und Adler, *Olympia und Umgegend*, p. 36; A. Bötticher, *Olympia*,[2] p. 382 *sqq.*; Flasch, 'Olympia,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1104 *sqq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 344.

20. 9. **a round building named the Philippeum.** This building stood within the Altis, near its north-western corner, to the west of the Heraeum and to the south of the Prytaneum. Only the foundations were found standing. They consist of two concentric rings of hewn blocks of shell-limestone. The inner ring is composed of a single, the outer ring of a triple, line of these blocks. The blocks of each ring are clamped together. Besides these foundations a great many architectural fragments belonging to the building have been found scattered about or built into other structures. It hence appears that the Philippeum was a circular building raised upon three steps of Parian marble, and adorned on the outside with a circular colonnade of eighteen slender Ionic columns, which supported an entablature and a cornice. The columns and entablature were of fine-grained *poros* stone coated with a fine yellowish stucco; the cornice (*sima*) and ante-fixes were of Parian marble. The roof was covered with marble tiles. The diameter of

the building, measured on the top step, was 15.25 metres. Round the circular wall of the interior there were, on the inside, twelve engaged Corinthian columns, each with ten flutes, but without any base. Above these engaged columns there was apparently another set of twelve smaller engaged columns, which supported the roof of the circular chamber at a higher level than the roof of the outer colonnade; but of these upper engaged columns no remains have been found. In this circular chamber were the five statues mentioned by Pausanias. Eight blocks of the pedestal which supported them have been found. The marble is Parian. The pedestal was in the shape of a segment of a circle, the segment being rather more than a third of a circle of 4.50 metres diameter. The circumference was concentric with the wall of the chamber. Four out of the five upper blocks of the pedestal have been discovered, with the holes in which the statues were fastened. From these holes it appears that the statues were all standing figures, not larger than life.

It has been conjectured that the Philippeum was built by Alexander the Great rather than by Philip himself. The grounds for this view are, first, that the interval between the battle of Chaeronea (2nd August, 338 B.C.) and the death of Philip (336 B.C.) is too short to allow for the construction of the building, with its five statues of gold and ivory, all the work of one man; and, second, that the statue of Olympias, the divorced wife of Philip, could not have been set up by Philip himself, but might well have been set up by the filial piety of her son, Alexander. Perhaps the most probable view is that the building was begun by Philip and finished by Alexander before he set out on his career of conquest in Asia.

See *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Tafelband 2. plates lxxix.-lxxxii; F. Adler, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. pp. 128-133; *Die Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, 3 (1877-1878), p. 29, with pl. xxxv.; Curtius und Adler, *Olympia und Umgegend*, p. 39; A. Bötticher, *Olympia*,[2] p. 358 *sqq.*; Flasch, 'Olympia,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1104 A; Baedeker,[3] p. 343; G. Treu, in *Archäologische Zeitung*, 40 (1882), pp. 66-70.

20. 10. **These are also by Leochares** etc. See note on v. 17. 4, 'other statues of gold and ivory.' Prof. v. Duhn suggested that a very graceful statue in the Museo Torlonia, representing a lady seated, might be a marble copy of Leochares's gold-and-ivory statue of Olympias (*Annali dell' Instituto*, 51 (1879), pp. 176-200; *Monumenti Inediti*, 11 (1879-1883), tav. xi.) But an examination of the pedestal in the Philippeum seems to show that Olympias was represented standing (G. Treu, in *Archäolog. Zeitung*, 40 (1882), pp. 66-70).

21. 1. **the statues and the dedicatory offerings** etc. From this passage, compared with 25. 1, we see that Pausanias regarded the statues of the athletes in the Altis as in no sense religious offerings dedicated to the god, but merely as marks of honour bestowed on the victorious athletes. His view is to a certain extent borne out by the inscriptions of the earlier statues of victors which have been discovered; for in these inscriptions (with the exception of a few metrical ones) there is no mention of a dedication. But in inscriptions from the first cen-

tury B.C. onward the formula of dedication to Zeus regularly occurs. The distinction, therefore, which Pausanias makes between dedicatory offerings and the statues of victors, though it did not hold good in his own time, may possibly have held good before the Roman period. It would appear, therefore, that he got the distinction, not from his own observation, but from some older writer. See A. Furtwängler, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 5 (1880), p. 29 *sqq.* Prof. Reisch, on the other hand, argues that everything within the sacred Altis must always have been regarded as dedicated to the god, and that if the earlier inscriptions do not mention the dedication, this is only a consequence of their studious brevity. See E. Reisch, *Griechische Weihgeschenke* (Wien, 1890), p. 35 *sqq.*

21. 2. **At the terrace stand bronze images of Zeus.** The sixteen bases of these images were found, and they still stand, exactly where Pausanias says they were, that is at the foot of the terrace which supported the treasuries, on the left-hand side as you go from the Metroum to the entrance into the stadium. It has been pointed out that the situation of these images, erected out of the fines imposed on athletes who had transgressed the rules, was well chosen : they were the last objects which the competitors in the games saw before they entered the stadium, and the sight might well warn them against resorting to unfair means of securing the prize. See K. Purgold, in *Olympia : Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. pp. 151-153 ; *Die Funde von Olympia*, p. 24 ; Flasch, 'Olympia,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1090.

21. 3. **Two of the images are by Cleon of Sicyon.** The inscription on the base of one of these images was found lying beside the second base from the west. It is cut on a block of black limestone, and runs thus : Κλέων Σικυώνιος ἐ[πόησεν], "Cleon the Sicyonian made (it)." From the marks on the top of the block it appears that the image was about life size, and that it rested on the right foot, while the left foot was drawn back and only touched the ground with the toes. This attitude seems to have been characteristic of all the Zanes or images of Zeus which were erected out of fines imposed on athletes. See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 637 ; K. Purgold, in *Olympia : Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. p. 152 ; *Archäologische Zeitung*, 37 (1879), p. 146 ; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, No. 95. As to the sculptor Cleon, see v. 17. 3 *sq.* ; and for other works of his, see Index. His date is determined by the statement of Pausanias that the images in question were set up Ol. 98 (388 B.C.) Cp. note on vi. 8. 5.

21. 9. **Strato, an Alexandrian.** Cp. vii. 23. 5. He is called Stratonicus by Eusebius. His father's name was Corrhagus, and he came of a good and wealthy family. At first he practised athletic exercises only for the sake of his health, as he suffered from a malady of the spleen. In addition to his double Olympic victory in Ol. 178 (68 B.C.) he won another victory at Olympia in Ol. 179 (64 B.C.), four prizes at Nemea on the same day, and prizes at the Pythian and Nemean games. See Aelian, *Var. Hist.* iv. 15 ; Eusebius, *Chronic.* vol. 1. p. 211, ed. Schöne ; *Anecdota Graeca e codd. Biblioth. Reg. Parisiensis*, ed. Cramer, 2. p. 154.

21. 9. **a small Egyptian town, Rhacotis.** It retained its name as a quarter of Alexandria, comprising the part of the city above the docks (Strabo, xvii. p. 792). A great temple of Serapis was afterwards built in it (Tacitus, *Hist.* iv. 84). Cp. Pliny, *N. H.* v. 62; Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Ῥακώτης.

21. 10. **to have won the crown of wild olive both for the pancratium and for wrestling.** This was regarded as a very high and special distinction, because Hercules was said to have been victorious in both these contests (v. 8. 4). Hence in the list of Olympic victors a special note was made of the men who had won prizes both for the pancratium and wrestling, and they were numbered from Hercules ('the second from Hercules,' 'the third from Hercules,' and so on). There were only seven of them in all, down to the time of Eusebius (fourth century A.D.) Their names are all recorded by Pausanias in the present passage. The dates of their victories, as recorded by Eusebius (*Chronic.* vol. 1. pp. 209-215, ed. Schöne) were as follows: Caprus of Elis in Ol. 142 (212 B.C.); Aristomenes of Rhodes in Ol. 156 (156 B.C.); Protophanes of Magnesia on the Maeander in Ol. 172 (92 B.C.); Strato or Stratonicus of Alexandria in Ol. 178 (68 B.C.); Marion of Alexandria in Ol. 182 (52 B.C.); Aristeas of Stratonicea in Ol. 198 (13 A.D.); and Nicostratus of Aegeae in Cilicia in Ol. 204 (37 A.D.) After this last date the Elean umpires, for some reason unknown to us, refused to allow athletes to enter for both events (Eusebius, *Chronic.* vol. 1. p. 215 *sq.* ed. Schöne). Two athletes are known to have entered their names for both contests but were disqualified. They were Socrates in Ol. 232 (149 A.D.) (Eusebius, *Chronic.* vol. 1. p. 218, ed. Schöne) and Aurelius Aelix or Helix, in the reign of Severus, perhaps in Ol. 250 (221 A.D.) (Dio Cassius, lxxix. 10; Philostratus, *Heroica*, iii. 13; *Anecdota Graeca e codd. Bibl. Reg.* ed. Cramer, 2. p. 155). On the latter occasion, in order that Helix might not be 'the eighth from Hercules,' the Eleans refused to allow any wrestling to take place, though it was one of the competitions which they had advertised on the white notice-board (Dio Cassius, *l.c.*) However Helix won in the pancratium (Philostratus, *l.c.*), and in the Capitolian games at Rome he won both in the pancratium and wrestling—a feat which no one had ever performed there before (Dio Cassius, *l.c.*) Cp. G. H. Förster, *Die Sieger in den olympischen Spielen*, 2 Teil, pp. 9, 12 *sq.*, 19 *sq.*, 21.

21. 10. **Caprus of Elis.** Cp. vi. 15. 4 and 10.

21. 10. **Protophanes of Magnesia on the Lethaeus.** Cp. i. 35. 6. The Lethaeus is a tributary of the Maeander; hence Magnesia was sometimes described as on the Maeander, though in fact it was much nearer the Lethaeus (Strabo, xii. p. 554, xiv. p. 647).

21. 10. **Stratonicea —— Chrysaoris.** This was a city founded by the Macedonians in Caria. Near the town was a sanctuary of Zeus of the Golden Sword (*Chrysaoris*), where the Carians met to offer sacrifice and hold national councils. The confederacy which held its diet at the sanctuary was known as the League of the Golden Sword; the members of the diet had votes proportioned to the number of villages which they represented. See Strabo, xiv. p. 660. *Eski-hissar*,

occupying the site of the ancient city, "is a small village, the houses scattered among woody hills, environed by huge mountains; one of which, toward the south-west, has its summit as white as chalk. It is watered by a limpid and lively rill, with cascades. The site is strewed with marble fragments. Some shafts of columns are standing single" (Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor*,[2] p. 191). Here Chandler found an inscription in which Zeus of the Golden Sword was twice mentioned (p. 193).

21. 10. **Nicostratus —— only a Cilician in name.** His father's name was Isidotus (Lucian, *Quomodo hist. conscrib.* 12). Quintilian tells us that in his youth he saw Nicostratus, then an old man (*Inst. Orat.* ii. 8. 14). Tacitus refers to Nicostratus's great strength (*Dial. de oratoribus*, 10). Nicostratus was a Cilician only in name because, as Pausanias explains, he was a native of Phrygia, but was sold in his youth to a purchaser at Aegeae, a town in Cilicia (Strabo, xiv. p. 676; Tacitus, *Annals*, xiii. 8).

21. 15. **had made a private monetary agreement.** To English readers it is probably needless to explain the nature of this pecuniary transaction. The match was sold, as many boxing matches have been sold before and since. It seems, however, that the passage has been much discussed in Germany. The late Prof. Schubart, who devoted a laborious life to the study of Pausanias, was of opinion that the boxers, not content with the prize, agreed that the loser should make the winner a present of a sum of money. Surely in that case these generous men should have been rewarded rather than punished. Schubart might have gathered the nature of the agreement from the next section of this chapter. The practice of selling a match is spoken of by Philostratus as if it were not uncommon, and he mentions a very glaring case (*De arte gymnastica*, 45).

21. 17. **the Colonnade of Echo.** This was no doubt the great colonnade which occupied nearly the whole eastern side of the Altis, from the entrance of the stadium on the north to the South-East Building on the south. Only the foundations of the walls, together with a few of the beautiful marble steps, are standing, but many architectural fragments were found built into the East Byzantine wall. The colonnade formed a rectangle about 98 metres long by 12.50 metres deep. It opened westward, for on this side the foundation-wall is made especially thick (2 metres) to support the columns, and on this side there are remains (especially at the north end) of the steps which led up to it. The steps, as well as the stylobate, are of a coarse-grained white marble, and are very carefully jointed. None of the columns is standing, but dowel-marks on the stylobate at regular intervals of 2.15 metres prove that the colonnade had originally forty-four columns in front, with two pilasters, one at each end. These columns were of the Doric order, with twenty flutes; many of the drums and capitals, as well as pieces of the entablature belonging to them, were found in the East Byzantine wall. The *sima* (projecting edge of the roof) was adorned with lions' heads at regular intervals. The condition of the columns and entablature shows that in late Roman times, after the age of Hadrian, the façade of the

colonnade was remodelled; the flutes of the columns were knocked off; the distances between the columns, measured from axis to axis, were reduced from 2.15 m. to 2.06 m. or 2.07 m.; and consequently two columns were added, making the total number of columns forty-six instead of forty-four. The lions' heads on the *sima* of the remodelled colonnade were much inferior to the old ones. Besides this outer row of columns there was an inner row running down the length of the colonnade, but only a few of the foundations of these inner columns are left. As these foundations consist almost entirely of architectural fragments taken from older buildings, and are distributed at irregular intervals, it would seem that this inner line of columns dates from the reconstruction of the colonnade; whether the colonnade had originally an inner line of columns or not, we cannot say. In the Byzantine wall were found a number of Corinthian columns which had been rudely converted into Doric columns; Dr. Dörpfeld inclines to think that these belonged to the inner line of columns of the Echo Colonnade.

The architectural style of the Echo Colonnade resembles so closely that of the Philippeum (see above, p. 622 *sq.*) that the two buildings were probably contemporary or nearly so. Among the points of resemblance between the two are the fine and careful style of the steps and the stylobate; the use of a coarse-grained white marble for the steps, and of *poros* for the rest of the building; the employment of strong wooden dowels, without lead, to bind the columns to the stylobate, and of iron clamps of the |‾‾‾‾| shape to hold together the blocks of which the steps were built. Hence the Echo Colonnade was probably built in the second half of the fourth century B.C.

At the back of the Echo Colonnade were found the remains of an older colonnade running parallel to the former. This older colonnade was about 100 metres long by 9 metres deep. Like the Echo Colonnade it was double, that is, it had two rows of columns, an outer and an inner, extending throughout its whole length. Of this older colonnade there are preserved the back wall (which formed at the same time the eastern boundary of the Altis), the two short side walls, and eleven foundations of the inner row of columns. This older colonnade would seem to have been built in the fifth century B.C., shortly after the temple of Zeus, for two architectural pieces of that temple, rejected by the builders, have been found built into the older colonnade. Apparently the older colonnade was pulled down when the new one was built, a little farther to the west; it is conjectured that this destruction may have been necessitated by the raising of the western embankment of the stadium (see below, note on vi. 20. 8).

Dr. Dörpfeld suggests that the pictures mentioned by Pausanias may have been painted on the walls, not of the newer Echo Colonnade, but of the older colonnade at its back; and that hence it was this older colonnade alone which had a right to the title 'the Painted Colonnade,' though that title was transferred in popular parlance to the newer Echo Colonnade which took its place. Both colonnades may have been built to serve as a place of shelter for the spectators in rainy weather. The long Colonnade of Eumenes at Athens served a similar purpose

(vol. 2. p. 241). In front of the colonnade, on the west, a long row of bases of votive-offerings or statues has been preserved.

The reasons for identifying the remains which have just been described with the Echo Colonnade of Pausanias are as follows: (1) The Echo Colonnade is the only colonnade mentioned by Pausanias within the Altis, and no other colonnade than the one described has been found there. (2) Pausanias tells us in the present passage that one of the Zanes stood in front of the Echo Colonnade. Now we know that the other Zanes stood in the north-eastern corner of the Altis (see above, § 2 note); it is probable, therefore, that this particular Zan stood there too, and if so the Echo Colonnade must have been at the north-eastern corner of the Altis, which agrees perfectly with the situation of the colonnade described above.

The echo in the colonnade, as we learn from Pausanias, repeated a word seven times. Hence the colonnade was often known as the Seven-voiced Colonnade (Pliny, *N. H.* xxxvi. 100; Plutarch, *De Garrulitate*, 1; Lucian, *De morte Peregrini*, 40). Xenophon speaks of colonnades at Olympia as if there were several of them (*Hellenica*. vii. 4. 31), but they need not all have been in the Altis.

See *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Tafelband 1. plates xlix.-li.; W. Dörpfeld, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. pp. 70-72; F. Adler, in *Die Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, 4 (1878-1879), p. 48 *sq.*; *Die Funde von Olympia*, p. 22; Curtius und Adler, *Olympia und Umgegend*, p. 32; A. Bötticher, *Olympia*,[2] p. 377; Flasch, 'Olympia,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1104 G *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 340.

In front of, and under, the Echo Colonnade a layer of black earth was brought to light, in which were found many ancient bronzes, including figures of animals, fragments of vessels, weapons, especially rims of shields, and a cuirass (*Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 4. p. 5).

22. 1. **the trumpeters and heralds —— when they compete.** These competitions were introduced in Ol. 96 (396 B.C.) (Eusebius, *Chronic.* ed. Schöne, vol. 1. p. 204 *sq.*) Competitions of heralds and of trumpeters took place also in the games of Amphiaraus at Oropus (*C. I. G. G. S.* 1. Nos. 419, 420), the games of Sarapis at Tanagra (*ib.* No. 540), the games at Plataea (*ib.* No. 1667), the games of the Muses at Thespiae (*ib.* Nos. 1760, 1773, 1776), the games of Saviour Zeus at Acraephia (*ib.* No. 2727), the games at Coronea (*ib.* No. 2871), the games of the Graces at Orchomenus (*ib.* Nos. 3195, 3196, 3197), the games of the Ptoan Apollo on Mt. Ptous (*ib.* Nos. 4147, 4151), and the games at Aphrodisias in Caria (*C. I. G.* Nos. 2758, 2759). The contest of the heralds at Olympia is mentioned by Lucian (*De morte Peregrini*, 32). Competitions for trumpeters and heralds were also held at the festival of Hera in Samos, as we learn from an inscription found in Samos. See *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 7 (1886), p. 150. An inscription found at Olympia in 1880 records the victories won in trumpet-playing by an Ephesian, Diogenes, son of Dionysius, at the Olympic, Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean games, as well as in games at Naples, the Heraean games at Argos, etc. (*Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 232); it seems to date from the first century A.D.

22. 2. **the Hippodamium.** See vi. 20. 7 note.

22. 2. **a semicircular pedestal** etc. The subject of the group of statuary here described by Pausanias, namely the combat of Achilles with Memnon, was treated of by Arctinus of Miletus in his epic poem the *Aethiopis* (*Epicorum Graecorum fragmenta*, ed. Kinkel, p. 33), and was often represented in early Greek art, as on the throne of Apollo at Amyclae (Paus. iii. 18. 12) and on the chest of Cypselus (Paus. v. 19. 1 note). A new element was introduced into the story by Aeschylus, who, in a tragedy called *Psychostasia* ('The Weighing of the Souls'), described how, while the two heroes were fighting on earth, their mothers Thetis and Morning (or Day, as Pausanias calls her) prayed to Zeus in heaven to spare the lives of their respective sons. Zeus held the fates of the two heroes in golden scales; the balance inclined against Memnon, the son of the Morning (or Day), who was accordingly slain by Achilles (Plutarch, *De audiendis poetis*, 2, p. 17 A; Schol. on Homer, *Il.* viii. 70). This double scene on earth and heaven was represented by the sculptor in the group here described. In the centre of the semicircular pedestal was seated Zeus, with the two divine mothers Thetis and Day on either side of him praying for the lives of their sons. At one end of the pedestal was Achilles, and facing him at the opposite end was Memnon. The spaces between the central group (Zeus, Thetis, Day) and the two heroes at the extreme wings were filled up with four other pairs of Greek and Trojan combatants, which were so arranged that all the Greek combatants (Ulysses, Menelaus, Diomede, Ajax) were on one wing of the pedestal, and all the Trojan combatants (Helenus, Alexander, Aeneas, Deiphobus) were facing them on the other side. "But for the fact that these figures are placed on a semicircle, they would be imagined as having been arranged like the statues in the pediments of the temple of Aegina" [*i.e.* all in one straight line, the Greeks being all on one side of the central figures, and the Trojans all on the other side]. "The semicircular arrangement was an effort towards a more vivid realisation, allowing the combatants to be so placed over against each other that they could strike without appearing to run through those of their own party who chanced to be in front of them, as is the case in a pediment" (A. S. Murray). Mr. Murray supposes that Achilles and Memnon were placed, not at the extreme wings of the semicircular pedestal, but immediately to the right and left of the central group. This arrangement, however, seems inconsistent with the language of Pausanias. See Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. p. 491 *sq.*; Murray, *Hist. of Greek Sculpture*,[2] 2. pp. 229-231. Of the pedestal which supported this great group of sculpture three fragments seem to have been found. They are of black limestone, and the slight curvature of the blocks shows that they formed part of a great semicircular pedestal, which must have measured about 10 metres (33 feet) in diameter. Two of the fragments, which were found on the north wall of the Heraeum in 1877, bear on their upper surface the inscription ΜΕΜΝΟΝ ('Memnon') in broad and deeply-cut characters of archaic form. The statue of Memnon, mentioned by Pausanias, probably stood on this pedestal, beside the inscription. On

the third block of the pedestal, which stands in the north colonnade of the Heraeum, there is the print of a left foot larger than life. See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 662.

22. 3. **Lycius, son of Myron.** H. Brunn placed the artist's activity of this sculptor in Ol. 90 (420-417 B.C.) (*Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 258); but Lycius would seem to have been at work at least twenty years earlier (see note on i. 22. 4, vol. 2. p. 256). Pausanias tells us that the inscription on the pedestal of the group in question was in old, *i.e.* pre-Euclidian, letters. We may infer, therefore, that the group was executed before 403 B.C., when the new alphabet was officially established at Athens in the archonship of Euclides. As a native of Eleutherae (see Polemo, referred to by Athenaeus, xi. p. 486 d) Lycius would naturally use the Attic alphabet. On Lycius and his works, see Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, §§ 861-867; *id.*, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. p. 491 *sqq.*; Murray, *Hist. of Greek Sculpture*,[2] 1. p. 225 *sqq.*

22. 3. **Apollonia on the Ionian Sea.** On the ruins of this city, see A. Gilliéron, 'Étude sur les ruines d'Apollonie d'Épire et sur ses monuments funèbres,' in *Monuments Grecs*, vol. 1. (1872-1881). No. 6, pp. 11-24.

22. 4. **Abantes from Euboea.** In Homeric times the inhabitants of Euboea were called Abantes (Homer, *Il.* ii. 536 *sqq.*), and the old name of Euboea is said to have been Abantis (Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Ἀβαντίς; Strabo, x. p. 445).

22. 4. **Apollonia was founded by colonists from Corcyra.** It was founded jointly by the Corcyraeans and Corinthians (Scymnius, *Orbis descriptio*, 439 *sq.*; Strabo, vii. p. 316). Thucydides calls it a Corinthian colony (i. 26).

22. 5. **Aristonus, an Aeginetan.** We have no more information than Pausanias had as to the date of this artist. As his image of Zeus would seem to have belonged to a common archaic type which is represented on coins, Overbeck inclined to put the artist's date early (*Griech. Kunstmythologie*, 2. p. 16 *sq.*)

22. 6. **the daughters of Asopus.** Cp. ii. 5. 2.

22. 6. **Harpina.** Cp. vi. 21. 8.

22. 7. **Aenesidemus.** A fragment of a large pedestal of Parian marble, bearing the letters AIX, was found opposite the east point of the Council House at Olympia. The letters AIX may be a fragment of the name of Aenesidemus, and the pedestal may have supported the statue of Zeus which is here described by Pausanias. See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 838; *Archäologische Zeitung*, 40 (1882), p. 89, Inscr. No. 427; Roehl, *I. G. A.* No. 590.

22. 7. **the Aenesidemus who was tyrant of Leontini.** This Aenesidemus is otherwise unknown. Perhaps he was identical with Aenesidemus, father of Thero, the tyrant of Acragas (Herodotus, vii. 165). Cp. Böckh, *Explic. Pind.* p. 117.

23. 1. **another image of Zeus —— dedicated by the Greeks** etc. The image was of bronze and was 10 ells high (Herodotus, ix. 81). Dr. Dörpfeld proposes to identify as the base of this image a large

pedestal situated to the north-west of the Telemachus base (see vi. 13. 11 note), about 5 metres north of the South Terrace Wall; in the lower step of the base there is a slit in which he thinks that the bronze tablet mentioned by Pausanias below may have been inserted (*Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. p. 78). His chief ground for this identification is Pausanias's supposed route through the Altis. But Pausanias's route is at this point far too uncertain to allow us to build conclusions on it.

23. 1. **There are also engraved on the right side of the pedestal the names** etc. Prof. Fabricius seems right in inferring from Pausanias's language that there were two inscriptions on the base of this statue, namely (1) the dedicatory inscription and (2) the inscription containing a list of the Greek states that took part in the war. The former inscription was carved on the eastern front of the pedestal and is summarised by Pausanias in his usual way (for he seldom gives the very words of an inscription) in the sentence, "It was dedicated by the Greeks" etc. The latter inscription was placed, as Pausanias expressly says, on the right side of the pedestal. See E. Fabricius, in *Jahrbuch des archäol. Inst.* 1. (1886), p. 181 *sq.* All the names of the Greek states cut on the base of this statue are found on the still existing serpent-column which supported the twin-trophy at Delphi. See x. 13. 9 note.

23. 2. **the Plataeans (the only Boeotian people).** On the Delphic trophy the Thespians, another Boeotian people, are mentioned. From this fact Prof. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff and Mr. Kalkmann have inferred that the Thespians must also have been mentioned on the Olympic trophy, and that if Pausanias asserts (as he implicitly does) the contrary, this only proves that he had seen, not the original inscription, but merely a defective copy of it. See *Hermes*, 12 (1877), p. 345, note 29; Kalkmann, *Pausanias*, p. 76 *sq.* It has been suggested that the Thespians had contributed to the Delphic but not to the Olympic trophy, and that for this reason their names did not appear on the latter. See note on x. 13, 9.

23. 3. **Mycenae and Tiryns were destroyed by the Argives** etc. As to the date of the destruction of Mycenae, see note on ii. 16. 5. Prof. Mahaffy argues that Mycenae must have been destroyed by the Argives long before the Persian war, probably in the time of Phidon of Argos. He conjectures that the Mycenaeans and Tirynthians who fought at Plataea (Herodotus, ix. 28) were a body of rebel slaves who had seized the deserted fortresses of Mycenae and Tiryns. See Herodotus, vi. 83. A fatal objection to this theory is that Herodotus, in mentioning the seizure of Tiryns by the rebels (vi. 83), says it was only after a battle that the slaves made themselves masters of the place (*μάχῃ ἔσχον Τίρυνθα*). This plainly implies that Tiryns was inhabited, not deserted, when the rebels seized it. See Prof. Mahaffy, in *Hermathena*, 3 (1879), pp. 60-66, 277 *sq.*

23. 3. **removed by the Roman emperor to found Nicopolis** etc. The emperor was of course Augustus. Cp. Strabo, vii. p. 325.

23. 3. **It befell the Potidaeans to be twice driven from their country** etc. Potidaea was captured and its inhabitants expelled by

the Athenians in the winter of 430-429 B.C. (Thucydides, ii. 70); in 356 B.C. Philip of Macedon besieged and took it, enslaved the people and bestowed the city on the Olynthians (Diodorus, xvi. 8). Cassandrea was founded by Cassander in 316 B.C.; into it were gathered the Potidaeans, the remnant of the Olynthians, and the inhabitants of other neighbouring cities (Diodorus, xix. 52).

23. 3. **Anaxagoras of Aegina.** A sculptor of this name is mentioned by Diogenes Laertius (ii. 3. 15). Cp. *Anthol. Palat.* vi. 139.

23. 4. **a thirty years' treaty of peace.** The treaty was concluded in 445 B.C. See Thucydides, i. 115; Diodorus, xii. 7.

23. 5. **the chariot of Cleosthenes.** See vi. 10. 6.

23. 6. **Hybla the Greater is entirely desolate.** Pliny (*Nat. hist.* iii. 91) speaks of Hybla as if it existed in his time. If he was not mistaken, we must suppose either that he meant the other Hybla, or that between the time of Pliny and the time of Pausanias Hybla the Greater had been abandoned.

23. 6. **the goddess Hyblaea.** The head of this goddess appears on coins of Hybla the Greater: she is represented as veiled and wearing a *modius* (Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 129).

23. 6. **these Hyblaeans were interpreters of portents.** Cicero mentions, on the authority of Philistus, that the Galeots in Sicily were interpreters of portents (*De divinatione*, i. 20). These Galeots were the inhabitants of Little Hybla (Stephanus Byz. *s.v.* Ὕβλαι: cp. *id.* *s.v.* Γαλεῶται). The name Galeots may be the same with the Geleatis of Thucydides (vi. 82, where he calls the city Hybla Geleatis) and the Gereatis of Pausanias. As Hybla was a Greek city and Pausanias nevertheless speaks of the people as barbarians, it seems probable that, as has been suggested, there always existed a native Siculian (Sikel) town of Hybla, distinct from the Greek city, though subject to it. See Sir E. H. Bunbury, in Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Geography*, article 'Hybla'; Freeman, *History of Sicily*, 1. p. 512 *sqq.*: and on the Galeots, see note on vi. 2. 4.

24. 1. **the altar of Zeus Laoetas and Poseidon Laoetas.** See note on v. 14. 4.

24. 2. **the war which they waged before the Medes** etc. See x. 1. 3-11.

24. 3. **a Zeus —— twelve feet high** etc. The round marble pedestal of this image was found ten paces to the south-east of the south-eastern corner of the temple of Zeus. The pedestal is not, however, in its original position. It is a hollow cylinder of coarse-grained greyish-blue marble, about .78 metre high and 1.27 metres in diameter: it probably rested on a quadrangular substructure of shell-limestone. The marble is of a sort that occurs commonly in southern Peloponnese: probably it was quarried in Laconia. Inscribed on the upper edge of the cylindrical base are the verses given by Pausanias, but the inscription is mutilated. Another fragment, containing a few mutilated letters of the first two words of the inscription, was afterwards found in the same neighbourhood. As restored by the editors of the Olympian inscriptions, Messrs. Dittenberger and Purgold, the inscription runs thus:

[Δέξ]ο, Fάν[αξ] Κρονίδα, [Ζ]εῦ Ὀλύνπιε καλὸν ἄ[γ]αλμα
ἱλήFω[ι θυ]μῶι τοῖ(λ) Λακεδαιμονίο[ις].

Thus restored, the inscription agrees with Pausanias's copy. But Messrs. Ahrens and Roehl would restore the second line differently, thus:

ἱληFῶ[ς δά]μωι τῶι Λακεδαιμονί[ων].

If they are right, the reading *θυμῷ* in Pausanias's copy is a mistake for *δάμῳ*, and *τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις* is a mistake for *τῷ Λακεδαιμονίων* or *τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳ*. They suppose that in Pausanias's time the inscription was mutilated in the same places as now, and that the gaps were conjecturally filled up by Pausanias or his guides. But the restoration of the line by Dittenberger and Purgold, agreeing as it does with the copy of Pausanias, is to be preferred. With regard to the date of the image, the language of Pausanias leaves it uncertain whether he supposed it to have been dedicated at the time of the second Messenian *war* in the seventh century B.C. (see note on iv. 15. 1) or at the time of the second Messenian *rebellion* in 464 B.C. (see note on iv. 24. 5). But the regular form of the letters forbids us to set the inscription as high as the seventh century B.C. Hence some scholars have accepted 464 B.C. as the date of the dedication of the image, and Mr. Roehl thinks that the character of the letters of the inscription admits of this date. On the other hand, Messrs. Dittenberger, Purgold, and Kaibel assign the inscription to the sixth century B.C. If they are right, it follows that Pausanias was mistaken in connecting the dedication of the image with either of the Messenian revolts.

See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 252; K. Purgold, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. p. 147 *sq.*; *Archäologische Zeitung*, 34 (1876), p. 49; *ib.* 40 (1882), p. 91; Roehl, *I. G. A.* No. 75, pp. 30, 174; Hicks, *Greek histor. Inscript.* No. 17; Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, No. 743; Cauer, *Delectus Ins. Graec.*[2] No. 14; Roberts, *Greek Epigraphy*, No. 261; E. Hoffmann, *Sylloge epigram. Graecorum*, No. 311; Kirchhoff, *Studien zur Geschichte des griech. Alphabets*,[4] p. 151 *sq.*; Flasch, 'Olympia,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1091; Schubart, in *Fleckeisen's Jahrbucher*, 22 (1876), pp. 681-687; *ib.* 23 (1877), p. 385 *sq.*; H. L. Ahrens, 'Die Inschrift aus Olympia nr. 7,' *Philologus*, 38 (1879), pp. 193-242; Ad. Bötticher, *Olympia*,[2] p. 328 *sq.*

24. 4. **Mummius dedicated a bronze Zeus** etc. Near the north-east corner of the temple of Zeus is a pedestal of Roman date which Prof. Flasch thinks may have supported the image in question (Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1092). Another image of Zeus dedicated by Mummius is mentioned by Pausanias below (§ 8). Several inscriptions relating to votive offerings dedicated by Mummius and to statues of him have been found at Olympia. Thus a large pedestal of Pentelic marble was found in the East Byzantine wall, opposite to the Council House. It bears on each of the two short sides the inscription:

Λεύκιος Μόμμιος Λευκίου υἱὸς
στρατηγὸς ὕπατος Ῥωμαίων
Διὶ Ὀλυμπίῳ

"Lucius Mummius, son of Lucius, commander-in-chief of the Romans, (dedicated this statue) to Olympian Zeus." The upper surface of the pedestal bears marks which show that it supported the statue of a horse. The statue cannot, therefore, have been either of the two votive offerings of Mummius which Pausanias mentions. See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, Nos. 278, 279; *Archäologische Zeitung*, 37 (1879), p. 146 *sq.*, Inscriptions 291, 292; Hicks, *Greek historical inscriptions*, No. 19[illegible]. Further fragments of two other inscriptions, identical with the preceding, were found scattered in the East Byzantine wall and elsewhere. They seem, like the preceding inscription, to have been carved on two sides of the pedestal of an equestrian statue. Probably both statues represented Mummius himself on horseback. See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, Nos. 280, 281; *Archäologische Zeitung*, 36 (1878), p. [illegible], No. 132; cp. *id.*, 34 (1876), p. 53 *sqq.*, Nos. 10, 11.

Further there have been found at Olympia two inscriptions which undoubtedly refer to statues of Mummius himself. In the first place a pedestal of grey limestone was found built into the East Byzantine wall and bearing an inscription which sets forth that "The city of Elis (erected this statue of) Lucius Mummius, son of Lucius, commander-in-chief of the Romans, on account of his virtue and the kindness which he continues to show to it and to the rest of the Greeks" (*Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 319; *Archäologische Zeitung*, 36 (1878), p. 86, No. 131; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 236). In the second place five fragments of grey limestone were found built into the East Byzantine wall to the south of the terrace-wall and inscribed with the names in Greek of Lucius Mummius the Consul, G. Sempronius Tyrtanus, Aulus Postumius Albinus, Aulus Terentius <Varro>, and Lucius Licinius Murena. Clearly these inscriptions were attached to a pedestal which supported statues of Mummius and the ten legates who assisted him in organising the province of Achaia after his conquest of Greece in 146 B.C. The names of two of the legates (Aulus Postumius Albinus and C. Sempronius Tuditanus) are known to us from Cicero (*Ad Atticum*, xiii. epp. 4, 5, 30, 32, 33); in the inscription the Latin surname Tuditanus has been wrongly altered by the Greek stonemason into Tyrtanus. The ten legates are also referred to by Polybius though he does not mention their names (xl. 8-10). From the style of the inscriptions it is clear that the statues of Mummius and the legates were not set up, or at all events that the inscriptions were not cut, till a century or more after the conquest of Greece; what the occasion of setting up the statues or of re-engraving the inscriptions may have been we do not know. See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, Nos. 320-324; *Archäologische Zeitung*, 36 (1878), pp. 86-88, Inscriptions 133-137. The statues apparently stood on the large oblong base (about 40 feet long) which stands immediately to the west of the triumphal gateway at the south-east corner of the Altis. The core of the pedestal is of concrete, but it was faced with large blocks of grey limestone; it is on fragments of these blocks that the inscriptions are engraved. Pedestals of this sort seem not to have been in use before the imperial age. This is

another indication that the statues of Mummius and the legates were not set up before the middle of the first century B.C. Dr. Purgold suggests that the statues may have been originally set up soon after 146 B.C., but that the alteration of the line of the southern boundary wall (see above, p. 491 *sq.*) and the construction of the triumphal gateway may have necessitated the taking down of the statues and their reinstalment on a new pedestal in a different situation. And this seems more probable than that the monument should not have been erected until more than a century after the events which it commemorated. See Purgold, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. p. 159 *sq.*; Ad. Bötticher, *Olympia*,[2] p. 410. Lastly, it may be mentioned that the inscribed base of the statue of another Mummius, the son of Gaius, was found along with two of the inscriptions relating to his more famous namesake, the conqueror of Corinth. See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 331; *Archäologische Zeitung*, 34 (1876), p. 53 *sqq.*, No. 12.

24. 4. **The largest of all the bronze images** etc. Opposite the east front of the temple of Zeus is a large piece of a pedestal of conglomerate stone. It bears in large monumental letters the inscription:

ϝαλείων περὶ ὁμονοίαρ

"Of the Eleans, about unanimity." Messrs. Purgold and Dittenberger think it probable that the pedestal, of which this is a part, supported the colossal bronze image dedicated by the Eleans. See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 260; *Archäologische Zeitung*, 34 (1876), p. 219, Inscr. No. 22; *Histor. philolog. Aufsätze Ernst Curtius gewidmet*, p. 224 *sqq.*; Cauer, *Delectus Inscr. Graec.*[2] No. 265; Collitz, *G. D. I.* 1. No. 1170. The war between the Eleans and Arcadians took place 365-364 B.C. (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, vii. 4. 13 *sqq.*); and the character of the letters of the inscription agrees with this date.

24. 5. **Homer has told how Ganymede** etc. See *Iliad*, v. 265 *sqq.*, xx. 231 *sqq.* On representations of the rape of Ganymede in ancient art, see O. Jahn, *Archäologische Beiträge*, p. 12 *sqq.*; Overbeck, *Griech. Kunstmythologie*, 2. p. 515 *sqq.*; *Gazette Archéologique*, 2 (1876), pp. 69-71, with plate 19; *Annali dell' Instituto*, 48 (1876), pp. 49-62, with Tav. d' agg. A. B. C.

24. 5. **Aristocles, pupil and son of Cleoetas.** As to Cleoetas, see i. 24. 3; vi. 20. 14. From the latter passage it appears that the father of Cleoetas was also called Aristocles. Thus we have the three generations—Aristocles, Cleoetas, Aristocles. It was a common custom in families of artists for the names thus to alternate in alternate generations. A work of a sculptor named Aristocles is still preserved; it is the tombstone of Aristion, one of the best-known monuments of early Attic art. In low relief is represented a warrior standing in profile, with the shaft of a lance in his left hand; the relief was painted, and the original colours are to a large extent preserved. The name of the deceased warrior, Aristion, is inscribed at the foot, and above it are the words ἔργον Ἀριστοκλέους, "a work of Aristocles." The inscription belongs to the second half of the sixth century B.C. Part of the inscription

of another statue by Aristocles was found at *Hieraka* in Attica, between Mt. Hymettus and Mt. Pentelicus. It is written *boustrophedon*; and in the character of the letters it agrees with the inscription on the Aristion relief. Hence it was probably the same Aristocles who executed both works. Whether he is to be identified with the father or the son of Cleoetas or with neither of them, is a question which the evidence does not permit us to decide; but since Pausanias expressly contrasts (i. 24. 3) a work of Cleoetas, as a specimen of fine art, with "mere antiquities," it seems more probable that the Aristocles in question was the father than the son of Cleoetas, and that the latter flourished in the early part of the fifth century B.C.

See H. Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 106 *sqq.*; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastick*,[4] 1. pp. 199-201; Murray, *Hist. of Greek Sculpture*,[2] 1. p. 140 *sqq.*; Lucy M. Mitchell, *Hist. of Ancient Sculpture*, p. 217 *sqq.*; Friederichs-Wolters, *Gipsabgüsse*, § 101; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 341; P. Cavvadias, Γλυπτὰ τοῦ Ἐθνικοῦ Μουσείου, No. 29; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, Nos. 9, 10.

24. 6. **the offerings of Micythus.** See v. 26. 2 *sqq.*

24. 7. **The greater part —— of Cnidus is built** etc. Cp. Strabo, xiv. p. 656. For plans, views, etc. of the city, see *Antiquities of Ionia*, Pt. iii. (London, 1811), pp. 1-44, plates i.-xxxiii.; Sir C. T. Newton, *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant*, 2. p. 168 *sqq.* Sir C. Newton thought that the original city of Cnidus occupied the island only, from which, as the population grew, it gradually extended over the opposite part of the mainland.

24. 8. **Coresus.** One of the mythical founders of the sanctuary of Artemis at Ephesus was named Coresus. From him, probably, the quarter of the city was supposed to take its name. See vii. 2. 7. Coresus (or Coressus) was the name of the round mountain which bounded Ephesus on the east. See note on vii. 5. 10. Cp. Strabo, xiv. p. 640. Diodorus (xiv. 99) speaks of Coressus as "a lofty mountain, distant forty furlongs from Ephesus." But this distance is surely exaggerated. Cp. Herodotus, v. 100; Xenophon, *Hellenica*, i. 2. 9.

24. 9. **the Council House.** This is commonly identified with the tripartite building which stands to the south of the temple of Zeus, just outside the later boundary of the Altis. The identification may be right, but the argument on which Dr. Dörpfeld bases it is not conclusive. He contends that from the route followed by Pausanias in describing the various images of Zeus (chapters 22-24) it appears that the Council House was to the south of the east front of the temple of Zeus, where several roads met, and that there is no building so situated except the one in question. It is true that Pausanias, in enumerating the images of Zeus, repeatedly mentions the Council House (v. 23. 1; v. 24. 1; and in the present passage), but there is nothing in these references to prove how the Council House lay with reference to the temple of Zeus. On the other hand, Xenophon, describing a battle between the Eleans and the Arcadians at Olympia, says that the Eleans drove their enemies "into the space between the Council House, the sanctuary of Hestia,

and the theatre that adjoins them" (*Hellenica*, vii. 4. 31). By "the sanctuary of Hestia" Xenophon no doubt means the hearth in the Prytaneum (see above, p. 580 *sq.*) Hence we should expect to find the Council House near the Prytaneum, that is, to the north-west of the Altis, not to the south of it, as Dr. Dörpfeld contends. It is possible that both the Council House and the theatre (which is unknown to us except from this mention of it by Xenophon[1]) may be situated in the still unexcavated ground to the north-west of the Altis. Even if, with Dr. Dörpfeld, we interpret "the theatre" to mean the spectators' seats in the stadium—and, in fact, the term was so applied at Athens (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 176 line 17)—we should still be in difficulties; for how can the stadium be said to adjoin the Prytaneum, from which it is divided by the whole length of the Altis? However, we may provisionally acquiesce in Dr. Dörpfeld's identification of the tripartite building as the Council House. A somewhat similar building at Eleusis has been conjecturally identified as the Council House (vol. 2. p. 511).

The Olympian Council House, as we may call it for the present, consists of a square building flanked on the north and south by two long wings, each of which terminates at its west end in a semicircular apse. These apses are of interest as the earliest examples of such structures known to us in Greek architecture. The central building is about 14 metres square. The two wings correspond to each other closely, though not exactly, in size; they average about 30.65 metres in length by 13.78 metres in breadth. In plan and disposition, so far as we can judge from their remains, the two wings also corresponded closely. Each of them apparently consisted of a long quadrangular hall, from which the apse at the west end was divided by a cross-wall; a row of seven columns ran down the length of each of the long halls. An entablature consisting of architrave and triglyph frieze seems to have run round the outer walls of both buildings; remains of both entablatures have been found. Further, each wing rests on a two-stepped basement, and had three columns, between *antae*, on its eastern façade. An Ionic colonnade extended along the eastern fronts of all three buildings.

All three buildings are constructed of squared blocks of common stone, but the kind of stone in each of them is different. Different, too, is the state of preservation of each of the buildings. The South Wing is the best preserved. On its east front the drums of the three columns (of the Doric order) are still standing in their places, together with one of the two *antae*; two of the capitals of these columns, with finely-shaped *echinus*, lie in front of them. The outer walls of the building are preserved to a height of one and two courses; and in the interior there are remains of two columns standing in their places. These last remains consist in each case of a single unfluted drum of a column without a

[1] It is true that Pausanias elsewhere (viii. 50. 3) speaks of "the theatre at Olympia" (τὸ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ θέατρον), but the context shows that he means the spectators (οἱ θεαταί). The word is used in the same sense by John Chrysostom (*Homil. in princip. actorum*, i. vol. 3. p. 59, ed. Montfaucon, τοῦ θεάτρου καθημένου).

base ; probably the columns were of the Doric order. As these columns are of a different stone from the rest of the building, it is possible that the columns did not belong to it originally. There were seven of these columns extending in a row down the middle of the long hall, thus dividing it into two aisles. Each column had a separate foundation, which is preserved. The breadth of the hall (about 11 metres) was just half its length (about 22 metres). The apse at the west end was separated from the hall by a cross-wall, and was itself divided into two compartments by a wall running east and west. Each of these compartments opened into the great hall by a door, of which the thresholds (with holes for sockets and bolts) are preserved. A very peculiar feature in the architecture of the South Wing, which distinguishes it not only from the North Wing but from all other Greek buildings hitherto observed, is that its long walls are not parallel to each other and straight, but form with the apse a long ellipse, of which one of the narrow ends (namely, the eastern end) has been cut off. This shape is not accidental, for the stones, even in the long sides, are cut so that their ends are not parallel to each other, but radiate from the inner side outwards ; hence the outer side of many of the blocks is longer than the inner by a measurable amount. The reasons for adopting this peculiar ground-plan, which gives to the building somewhat of the shape of a ship, are quite unknown.

Of the North Wing little but foundations and some of the steps is preserved. In plan and dimensions it seems to have corresponded closely with the South Wing, except that it had the form, not of a truncated ellipse, but of a quadrangle with a semicircular apse at the west end. Whether the apse was separated from the rest of the building by a cross-wall and divided internally into two compartments by another cross-wall, we cannot, in the ruinous state of the building, say for certain ; but on the analogy of the South Wing we may conjecture that it was so. Of the row of columns that ran down the middle of the hall nothing but foundations is left : the Doric columns, found in the West Byzantine wall, which were formerly supposed to belong to the interior of this hall, are now referred by Dr. Dörpfeld to the portico of the Treasury of Gela. A capital of very archaic form, which was found in the East Byzantine wall, in front of the Council House, may have belonged to one of the three outer columns which, on the analogy of the South Wing, probably adorned the eastern façade of the building.

Of the square central building nothing is left but foundations. It was not raised on a two-step basement like the wings. Apparently there were columns on the eastern façade, and no doors in the other three sides. In the centre of the square hall is a foundation on which a column, supporting the roof, may have rested. Prof. Flasch, however, believes that this foundation supported the image of Zeus, God of Oaths, mentioned by Pausanias, and that the central building was nothing but a chapel of that god. Further, since oaths were taken in the open air, he infers that the chapel was roofless.

The colonnade which extended along the whole east front of the Council House had twenty-seven Ionic columns on its long façade and

three at each of the narrow sides (north and south). Only three drums of these columns are standing in their places; they have twenty flutes instead of the usual twenty-four. One of the capitals has been found; it has very large volutes. Many drums of columns, both fluted and unfluted, are built into the foundations of the colonnade, also a great many squared blocks coated with stucco, and a fragment of the *geison* of the temple of Zeus. In Roman times a great open court, surrounded by colonnades, was constructed in front of the Council House. The columns, resting on square bases, were made of very heterogeneous materials.

With regard to the history of the Council House, Dr. Dörpfeld now holds, on grounds of architectural style, that the North Wing is older than the South Wing, having been built in the sixth century B.C., while the South Wing appears to be contemporary with the temple of Zeus, that is, to date from the first half of the fifth century B.C. That the square central building is later than the wings is proved by the fact that it is connected with them by short walls which are clearly contemporary, not with the wings, but with the central building. The central building itself appears to be contemporary with the Ionic colonnade which extends along the east front of the whole building; but as to the date of the central building and the colonnade Dr. Dörpfeld declines to pronounce an opinion. The colonnade may possibly, he says, have been built in the third or second century B.C.

As to the destination of the three buildings which compose the Council House opinions are divided. Prof. Flasch thinks that the North Wing, the oldest of the buildings, was the original Council House, and that, when it no longer sufficed for the business of the Council, the South Wing was added. But this view, as Prof. Flasch admits, is open to grave objections. If the old Council House was too small, why not simply enlarge it instead of building a second structure similar to, but quite separate from, the first? If the North Wing was the original Council House, we are almost driven to suppose that at a later time two separate Councils sat in the two wings. To meet this difficulty Dr. Dörpfeld now maintains that the Council sat in the central building, and that the wings were merely offices for the despatch of administrative business. But on Dr. Dörpfeld's own showing the central building is later than the wings. Where then did the Council meet before the central building was erected? With regard to the apses of the wings Dr. Dörpfeld and Prof. Flasch agree in thinking that the treasures and archives of the Council were probably stored in them: Dr. Dörpfeld compares the chambers in the pre-Persian temple on the Acropolis at Athens which seem to have been used as treasuries (see vol. 2. p. 560 note 1). This view also is not free from difficulty. For why should the treasures and archives be dispersed in two separate buildings?

The Council House (if the building we have been examining deserves that name) lay some little way outside of the original South Wall of the Altis. But when at a later time the Altis was extended to the south (see above, p. 491), the North Wing of the Council House, or rather the north wall of the North Wing, formed at this point the new southern boundary of the Altis.

See W. Dörpfeld, in *Die Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, 4 (1878-1879), pp. [illegible] with pl. i.-iii., xxxv., xxxvi. ; *id.*, in *Olympia : Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. pp. [illegible] ; *Olympia : Ergebnisse*, Tafelband 1. pls. lv.-lviii. ; *Die Funde von Olympia*, p. [illegible] ; Curtius und Adler, *Olympia und Umgegend*, p. 25 ; Flasch, 'Olympia,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1104 J *sq.* ; A. Bötticher, *Olympia*,[2] p. 225 *sq.* ; Guhl und Koner, *Das Leben der Griechen und Römer*,[5] p. 144 *sq.*

In excavating the Council House the German archaeologists discovered, deep down, many archaic bronzes resembling those which were found in the South-East Building and the Prytaneum (see above, pp. 575, 582 *sq.*) ; among the objects brought to light were many pieces of tripods and remarkably many weights, also spearheads, lamps, etc. (A. Furtwängler, in *Olympia : Ergebnisse*, Textband 4. p. 6).

24. 9. to swear upon the cut pieces of a boar. See note on iii. 20. 9. In Tibetan law-courts, when a great oath is taken "it is done by the person placing a holy scripture on his head, and sitting on the reeking hide of an ox and eating a part of the ox's heart" (L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet* (London, 1895), p. 569 note 7).

24. 10. those who examine —— the foals. Cp. vi. 2. 2.

24. 10. Homer proves this etc. See *Iliad*, xix. 266 *sqq.* In the first of these lines our texts of Homer have στόμαχον ('throat') instead of σφάραγον, which Pausanias read. Eustathius on Homer, *Iliad*. iii. 310, says that the sacrificial victims upon which oaths were taken were by some peoples buried in the earth, by others cast into the sea, it being wholly forbidden to partake of them.

24. 11. verses inscribed —— to strike terror into perjurers. At the village of *St. George*, near Phlius, a fragmentary inscription was found, of which the purport is conjectured by Mr. Roehl to have been similar to that of the inscription here mentioned by Pausanias. See Roehl, *I. G. A.* No. 28.

25. 1. Alexander, son of Philip. Dr. Purgold thinks that the pedestal at the north-east corner of the temple of Zeus (see note on 24. 4) may have supported this statue rather than the bronze Zeus of Mummius (*Histor. philolog. Aufsätze Ernst Curtius gewidmet*, p. 238).

25. 3. the sea at this strait is the stormiest of seas etc. The following absurd description of the Straits of Messina would seem to show that Pausanias had never seen it. I have thrice sailed through the Straits of Messina ; the weather was always calm and clear ; and I smelt no marine monsters, nothing but the brisk pungent air of the sea.

25. 4. The ancient inscription declared etc. From the occurrence of the name Messenians in the inscription, we may infer that the statue was made after 494 B.C., about which time the old name Zancle was changed into Messene or Messana. On the other hand, as the later inscription on the statue was by Hippias, who flourished about 436 B.C., we may suppose that the statue was made not later than that year. Hence the date of Callon, the artist who made it, would seem to fall somewhere between 494 and 436 B.C. See H. Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 113 *sq.* But an inscription from the base of a statue by this sculptor points to his having been at work between 420 and 410 B.C. (see note on v. 27. 8).

25. 4. **Hippias.** This is the sophist whom Plato gibbeted in the dialogue called after him. (The second dialogue which bears the name of Hippias—the *Hippias Minor*—is perhaps spurious.)

25. 5. **At Pachynum —— there is a city Motye.** Motye was situated, not at Cape Pachynum, the southern extremity of Sicily, but in the neighbourhood of Lilybaeum, the most westerly cape of the island. Pausanias appears to speak of Motye as if it were still in existence, though it was finally abandoned about 396 B.C. Hence Prof. Holm (*Geschichte Siciliens im Alterthum*, 1. p. 318) has conjectured that the authority on whom Pausanias here relied was Antiochus, a contemporary of Herodotus (fifth century B.C.) and author of a history of Sicily, with which Pausanias was acquainted. See x. 11. 3.

25. 5. **stretching out their right hands as if praying.** Cp. vi. 1. 7. On the attitude of prayer in ancient art, see *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 6 (1881), p. 157 *sq.*; A. Conze, 'Der betende Knabe,' *Jahrbuch d. archäolog. Inst.* 1 (1886), pp. 1-13; Ch. Scherer, *De Olympionicarum statuis*, p. 31 *sqq.*; C. Sittl, *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer*, p. 305 *sqq.*

25. 5. **works of Calamis.** Calamis was a master of the older style of sculpture, one of the immediate predecessors of Phidias; he would seem to have flourished about 500-460 B.C. The list of his works points to a great versatility and range of talent. "The verdict of antiquity has ascribed to him a subdued and refined gracefulness in his female figures, unrivalled excellence in his horses, and withal a certain remainder of archaic stiffness. . . . He is not to be regarded as having created a new epoch in sculpture, but as one who, while adhering to the principles in which he had been trained, developed a more natural, finer, and higher conception of what was beautiful in human expression and physical form, in this way rather preparing the way for his successors than opening it himself" (A. S. Murray). It has been conjectured that the victory of the Agrigentines over the Phoenicians and Libyans of Motye may have coincided with the defeat of the Carthaginians by Gelo in 480 B.C., and hence that the bronze group of praying boys, here described by Pausanias, may have been executed by Calamis soon after that date.

See Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, §§ 508-532; *id.*, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. p. 277 *sqq.*; Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 125 *sqq.*; Murray, *Hist. of Greek Sculpture*,[2] 1. p. 226 *sqq.*; Lucy M. Mitchell, *Hist. of Ancient Sculpture*, p. 289 *sqq.*; Collignon, *Histoire de la Sculpture grecque*, 1. pp. 397-408; E. Gardner, *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, 1. pp. 232-236.

25. 6. **Sicily is inhabited by the following races** etc. On the various ancient races in Sicily, see Holm, *Geschichte des Siciliens*, 1. p. 57 *sqq.*; B. Heisterbergk, 'Fragen der ältesten Geschichte Siciliens, *Berliner Studien für classische Philologie*, 9, Heft 3 (Berlin, 1889).

25. 7. **Nicodamus.** See Index and note on vi. 6. 3.

25. 8. **statues of the men who** etc. See Homer, *Il.* vii. 161 *sqq.* This group of Greek heroes is believed to have occupied the large curved pedestal which stands 15 metres east of the south-east corner of

the temple of Zeus. The pedestal, which is of *poros* stone, is only partially preserved; originally it may have formed a semicircle with a radius of nearly 11 metres (36 feet). The statue of Nestor shaking the lots in the helmet is supposed to have stood on the round base on the opposite side of the way, which in material and technique agrees exactly with the other base. The group of Greek heroes must have been older than the temple of Zeus, since the foundations of the pedestal extend under the rubbish-heaps thrown up in building the temple. See A. Furtwängler, in *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 37 (1879), p. 44, note 3; K. Purgold, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse, Textband* 2. p. 145 *sqq.*; Flasch, 'Olympia,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1092 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 340.

25. 9. the cock is sacred to the Sun. On the religious significance of the cock in antiquity, see E. Baethgen, *De vi ac significatione galli in religionibus et artibus Graecorum et Romanorum* (Göttingen, 1887); G. Schlumberger, in *Gazette archéologique*, 6 (1880), p. 192 *sq.*

25. 10. Onatas. This sculptor is only known from Pausanias (see Index), a mention in the Greek anthology (*Anthol. Palat.* ix. 238), and an inscription from the base of a statue by him. The base was found on the Acropolis at Athens, and bears the sculptor's name. See Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1887, p. 145 *sq.* Cp. notes on viii. 42. 7 and 8.

25. 11. Aristocles, a Cydonian. This sculptor is otherwise unknown. Zancle took the name of Messene (Messana) about 494 B.C. (see note on iv. 23. 6). A fragment of Parian marble, which was found in the temple of Zeus in 1876, is conjectured to have belonged to the pedestal of the group described by Pausanias. It bears in large archaic letters the word [Κυ]δωνιάτας. See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 836; *Archäolog. Zeitung*, 40 (1882), p. 88, No. 426; Roehl, *I. G. A.* No. 577.

25. 12. The Thasians —— dedicated a statue of Hercules. This dedication probably took place between 480 B.C. and 462 B.C., the period when Thasos was free. For some years before 480 the island had been subject to the Persians; in 462 it was conquered by the Athenians. This helps to fix the date of Onatas, the sculptor who made the statue. Cp. Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 89; Murray, *Hist. of Greek Sculpture*,[2] 1. p. 200; and the note on viii. 42. 8. As to the Phoenician origin of the Thasians, cp. Herodotus, ii. 44, vi. 47; Conon, *Narrationes*, 37.

25. 12. Hercules whom the Tyrians revere. The Tyrian Hercules was Melcarth (W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*,[2] p. 292).

25. 13. the Aeginetan school of sculpture. Pausanias often refers to the Aeginetan school of sculpture. See i. 42. 5; ii. 30. 1; vii. 5. 5; viii. 53. 11; x. 17. 12, 36. 5. "It is clear that by the 'Aeginetan manner' he understood a rigidity and spareness of form approaching that of Egyptian statuary, and that generally 'Aeginetan' was a current equivalent with him for 'archaic,' whereas 'Attic' represented the highest art" (Murray, *Hist. of Greek Sculpture*,[2] 1. p. 201). Prof. Furtwängler's interpretation of the terms 'Aeginetan' and 'Attic,' as applied by Pausanias to works

of art, is different. He holds that by 'Aeginetan' Pausanias meant the very archaic statues in which the legs are not separated at all; that by 'Egyptian' (i. 42. 5; ii. 19. 3; iv. 32. 1; vii. 5. 5) he meant the somewhat less archaic statues in which, though the legs are not completely separated, the left foot is a little in advance of the right—a common Egyptian type of statue; and that by 'Attic' (cp. x. 33. 4; x. 37. 8) he meant archaic statues in which the legs are wholly separate so as to produce the effect of free and rapid motion. According to Prof. Furtwängler, Smilis was regarded by Pausanias as the founder of the 'Aeginetan' style, and Daedalus as the founder of the 'Attic' style of archaic sculpture. See Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, pp. 720-723.

26. 1. **the image of Victory that stands on the pillar.** This statue was found in the course of the German excavations at Olympia, 21st December 1875. It originally occupied a lofty triangular pedestal, about 30 metres east of the south-east corner of the temple of Zeus. This triangular pedestal, composed of a number of prism-shaped blocks of yellowish marble with large crystals (the same marble of which the statue is made), is the 'pillar' which Pausanias speaks of. Nine of the blocks of the pedestal have been found; five of them lay beside the statue. It is estimated that there were twelve of these blocks in all, placed one above the other, and that the total height of the pedestal was about 9 metres (nearly 30 feet). The statue is colossal and represents the goddess of Victory flying through the air. Her drapery floats behind her on the wind. Underneath her feet is a bird, perhaps an eagle, showing that she is conceived as actually aloft in the air. With the exception of the face, the lower arms, and the wings, the statue is nearly perfect. The style is remarkably bold and free; the figure graceful and rounded; the lines of the ample drapery are easy and flowing. Altogether it shows an immense artistic advance upon the somewhat stiff and angular figures of the eastern gable, and if it were not for the express statement of Pausanias (v. 10. 8) that the latter were by Paeonius, nobody, probably, would have thought of attributing them and the Victory to the same sculptor. If they are really by the same artist, we must suppose that the Victory was executed by him some years after the gable sculptures, and that in the interval he had made great strides, not merely in technical skill, but in artistic conception. In fact the resemblance of the Victory to the sculptures of the Parthenon in respect of grace, dignity, and freedom of style is so great, that we can hardly help concluding that when Paeonius executed it he must have studied under Phidias, and caught his manner.

The pedestal of the statue bears the following inscription:—

Μεσσάνιοι καὶ Ναυπάκτιοι ἀνέθεν Διὶ
Ὀλυμπίῳ δεκάταν ἀπὸ τῶμ πολεμίων.

Παιώνιος ἐποίησε Μενδαῖος,
καὶ τἀκρωτήρια ποιῶν ἐπὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐνίκα.

"Messenians and Naupactians dedicated (this statue) to Olympian Zeus as a tithe from their enemies. Paeonius, a Mendaean, made (it),



FIG. [illegible].—THE VICTORY OF PAEONIUS (MARBLE STATUE FOUND AT OLYMPIA).

and he was victorious in making the top-figures (*akroteria*) which were to be placed on the temple." The alphabet of the inscription is the Ionic throughout; the first two lines of it are in the Doric dialect, the second two are in the Attic or more probably Ionic dialect (see below).

This inscription has been much discussed. (1) Who are the 'enemies' referred to? The remarks of Pausanias on this subject show that the question was debated in his day, and modern scholars have not yet arrived at an agreement on the subject. Pausanias himself thought that the statue was erected from the booty taken by the Messenians of Naupactus from the Acarnanians of Oeniadae. He probably refers to the capture of Oeniadae by the Messenians of Naupactus, as to which see iv. 25. It must have occurred soon after 456 or 455 B.C., the year when the Messenians were settled at Naupactus. But as the Messenians were forced to evacuate Oeniadae in the following year, its temporary conquest seems hardly a fit subject for a grand triumphal monument. The other view mentioned by Pausanias, that the Victory was erected as a trophy of the success which the Messenians, as allies of the Athenians, obtained over the Spartans at Sphacteria in 425 B.C. (Thucydides, iv. chs. 9, 32, 36, 41) agrees much better with the style of the statue (see above). Against this view, however, it has been urged with some force that the booty taken at Sphacteria was too scanty to suffice for the erection of so splendid a monument, and that the Naupactians would not have joined the Messenians in erecting a trophy of a victory in which they had no share. For it is to be observed that the Naupactians mentioned in the inscription can hardly be the Messenians settled at Naupactus, but must be a remnant of the old population who were suffered to remain in Naupactus after the Messenian settlement and who fought on the side of the Messenian settlers in their wars. The most probable view seems to be that the trophy was erected jointly by the new Messenian settlers and some of the old inhabitants of Naupactus for victories achieved by them alone or as allies of the Athenians in the early years of the Peloponnesian war (cp. Thucydides, iii. 105-113). On this hypothesis we may suppose that the monument was set up on the conclusion of the peace of Nicias in 421 B.C. (Thucydides, v. 18 *sq.*), and that the enemies mentioned in the inscription comprised a number of peoples (Ambraciots, Aetolians, etc.) who had been vanquished on various occasions by the allied Messenians and Naupactians. In inscriptions commemorative of victories it was not uncommon to refer to 'the enemies' in general terms without specifying them by name (Pausanias, v. 24. 7; Roehl, *I. G. A.* 3 a, p. 169; *Bull. de Corr. hellén.* 1 (1877), p. 84, No. 17; *id.*, 15 (1891), p. 629, No. 1; *C. I. A.* 2. No. 1154). Hence there is no reason for supposing that in this particular case the name of the enemies was suppressed from fear, and that consequently the enemies in question were the Lacedaemonians. Another inscription found at Olympia proves that a much feebler people than the Messenians (to wit the Methanians) were not afraid openly to commemorate a victory won by them over the Lacedaemonians (*Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 247; Roehl, *I. G. A.* No. 46; Cauer, *Delectus Inscr. Graec.*[2] No.

63; Roberts, *Greek Epigraphy*, No. 286; Collitz, *G. D. I.* 3. No. 3369).

(2) The meaning of *τἀκρωτήρια* in the last line of the inscription has been much debated (see note on v. 10. 8). The nature of the competition in which Paeonius was victorious (*ἐνίκα*) is also uncertain. Was the competition between designs sent in by various artists? or was it between finished works of art? The practice of antiquity seems in favour of the latter view. See Pliny, *N. H.* xxxiv. 59, xxxv. 65 and 72, xxxvi. 17. Mr. A. S. Murray has suggested that there was no competition at all, and that the verb *ἐνίκα*, 'was victorious,' merely contains a punning reference to the fact that Paeonius had made several statues of Victory (namely one, or perhaps two, on the roof of the temple, besides the colossal one in question). But this seems very unlikely.

The town of Mende, to which Paeonius belonged, is supposed to have been, not the Mende on Pallene, but the Thracian Mende mentioned by Pausanias elsewhere (v. 27. 12). The inhabitants of the latter town were Ionians by descent, and this may explain why the inscription on the base of the Messenian Victory is in the Ionic alphabet, and why the artist apparently recorded his name and achievements in the Ionic dialect.

At a later time, about 140 B.C., the Messenians engraved on two of the blocks of the pedestal a copy of the award which certain Milesian arbitrators had given in favour of Messenia in the dispute between Messenia and Laconia for the possession of the Denthelian district (*Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 52; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 240; Hicks, *Greek histor. Inscript.* No. 200; as to the Denthelian district see note on iv. 31. 1).

As to the statue and its inscription, see *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Tafelband 3. plates xlvi.-xlviii.; *id.*, Tafelband 2. pl. xciii.; *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 259; K. Purgold, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. pp. 153-155; *Die Funde von Olympia*, pl. xvi.; E. Curtius, in *Archäologische Zeitung*, 33. pp. 178-181; *id.*, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 2. pp. 440-442; *id.*, in *Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 7 October 1893, p. 1308 *sq.*; A. Michaelis, in *Archäologische Zeitung*, 34 (1876), p. 168 *sqq.*; R. Weil, *ib.* p. 229 *sq.*; J. Schubring, *ib.* 35 (1877), pp. 59-67; H. Brunn, in *Sitzungsberichte* of the Bavarian Academy (Munich), Philosoph.-philolog. Cl., 1876, pp. 338-342; *ib.* 1877, p. 21 *sqq.*; Schubart, in *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 22 (1876), pp. 397-401; *ib.* 23 (1877), p. 385 *sq.*; Hicks, *Greek histor. Inscriptions*, No. 49; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 30; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, No. 49; Roehl, *I. G. A.* No. 348; L. Urlichs, *Bemerkungen über den olympischen Tempel*, p. 7 *sqq.*; W. Gurlitt, in *Histor. u. philolog. Aufsätze Ernst Curtius gewidmet*, p. 263 *sqq.*; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. pp. 541-548; A. S. Murray, *Hist of Greek Sculpture*, 2. p. 162 *sqq.*; *id.*, in *Academy*, 2 October 1880, p. 230; Lucy M. Mitchell, *Hist. of Ancient Sculpture*, pp. 402-405; A. Kirchhoff, *Studien zur Geschichte des griech. Alphabets*,[4] p. 120 note 1; A. Bötticher, *Olympia*,[2] p. 329 *sqq.*; Flasch, 'Olympia,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, pp. 1104 G G *sqq.*, 1104 L L *sqq.*; Fr. Koepp, 'Ueber die Weihinschrift der Nike des Paionios,' *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. 50 (1895), pp. 268-276.

26. 2. **the votive offerings of Micythus.** As to Micythus, see § 4 *sq.* Herodotus says of him (vii. 170), "Micythus, being a slave of Anaxilas, was left by him regent of Rhegium. It was he who, after being banished from Rhegium and taking up his abode at Tegea in

Arcadia, dedicated the many statues at Olympia." Diodorus tells us (xi. 48) that when Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegium, died in 476 B.C., he bequeathed the tyranny to Micythus in trust for his children; and that in 467 B.C., when the sons of Anaxilas came of age, they demanded an account from Micythus. He gave them a good account of all he had done, proving that he had been faithful to his trust; they entreated him to resume the government, but he declined; and, placing his substance on shipboard, sailed away, followed by the good wishes of all the common people; he then settled at Tegea in Arcadia, where he died highly esteemed (Diodorus, xi. 66). Cp. Justin, iv. 2; Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 11. 29. Hence the votive offerings of Micythus at Olympia must have been made later than 467 B.C., the year in which he settled at Tegea. Cp. Bentley, *Dissertations upon the epistles of Phalaris*, p. 201 *sq.*, ed. Wagner.

Fragments of the pedestal which supported some of the votive offerings of Micythus have been found at Olympia. One block of greyish-white marble was found (20th May 1879) to the south-east of the temple of Hera bearing the following fragmentary inscription in the Chalcidian alphabet:

νιος Ϝοικέων ἐν Τεγέῃ
ν καὶ θεαῖς πάσαις
αι χρημάτων, ὅσσα Ϝοι πλεῖστα ἐγεν
ἐλθών, ἔπειτα εὐξάμεν

The block now lies outside the north-east corner of the Pelopium. The mutilated inscription is thus restored by Prof. Kaibel:—

[*Μίκυθος ὁ Χοίρου Ῥηγῖνος καὶ Μεσσή*]*νιος, Ϝοικέων ἐν Τεγέῃ*
[*τἀγάλματα τάδε θεοῖς ἀνέθηκε πᾶσι*]*ν καὶ θεαῖς πάσαις·*
[*παιδὸς δὲ νόσον φθινάδα νοσέοντος κ*]*αὶ χρημάτων ὅσσα Ϝοι πλεῖστα ἐγέν*[*ετο δυνατὸν*]
[*ἰητροῖς δαπανηθέντων, ἐς Ὀλυμπίην*] *ἐλθών, ἔπειτα εὐξάμεν*
[*ος . . . . ἀνέθηκεν*]·

"Micythus of Rhegium and Messene, son of Choerus, dwelling in Tegea, dedicated these images to all gods and goddesses. His son being sick of a wasting sickness, and having spent all the money he could upon physicians, he (Micythus) came to Olympia, and having made a vow dedicated . . . . ."

Again, to the north-east of the temple of Zeus, another block of greyish-white marble was found, bearing the same inscription in a still more mutilated state, but differing from the former inscription somewhat in spelling and alphabet. It appears, however, to have belonged to the same pedestal. One of the groups dedicated by Micythus contained so many figures that a large pedestal must have been required to support them, and the same inscription may have been engraved on two parts of it. But it is equally possible that the second inscription may have belonged to a separate pedestal of similar style; for we know from Pausanias that the offerings of Micythus were not all together. Lastly, five small pieces of marble inscribed with a few letters of the

same inscription have been found at Olympia; whether they belong to one or other of the two mutilated copies of the inscription already mentioned or to a third copy of it, we cannot say for certain.

It is conjectured that the foundations of a pedestal (about 40 feet long) which are to be seen about 30 feet to the north of the temple of Zeus, and nearly parallel with it, may have supported what Pausanias calls (§ 6) the greater offerings of Micythus. This would agree with the statement of Pausanias that they were "on the left side of the great temple," supposing that in giving this direction Pausanias conceived himself facing eastward. The foundations in question are of *poros* stone; but the pedestal which they supported may have been of marble. If this identification is right, the offerings were later than the temple of Zeus, for the pedestal stands upon the rubbish which was thrown up in building the temple; on this hypothesis they can hardly have been set up sooner than 460 B.C.

See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, Nos. 267, 268, 269; *Archäologische Zeitung*, 36 (1878), p. 139, Inscr. No. 175; *id.*, 37 (1879), pp. 149-151 (Inscr. No. 300); Roehl, *I. G. A.* Nos. 532, 533; Cauer, *Delectus Inscr. Graec.*[2] No. 537; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, No. 31; Roberts, *Greek Epigraphy*, Nos. 180, 181; G. Kaibel, in *Hermes*, 28 (1893), pp. 60-62; A. Bötticher,[2] *Olympia*, p. 327 *sq.*; Flasch, 'Olympia,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1093.

26. 2. Ecechiria crowning Iphitus etc. See v. 10. 10.

26. 2. Glaucus, an Argive. This sculptor is otherwise unknown. He must have flourished soon after 467 B.C. See note on § 1.

26. 2. Hesiod. On portraits of Hesiod see Panofka, in *Archäologische Zeitung*, 1856, p. 253 *sq.*

26. 3. a figure of Contest. For this personification, cp. v. 20. 3. Personified Contest is thought by some to have been occasionally represented as a winged youth, but this is doubtful. See Gerhard, in *Archäologische Zeitung*, 7 (1849), pp. 9-15; *id.*, *Akademische Abhandlungen*, 1. p. 162 *sq.*, with pl. xii. 2 and 3; De Witte, in *Revue archéologique*, N.S. 17 (1868), pp. 372-381; K. O. Müller, *Archäologie der Kunst*, § 406. 2; Schreiber, in Roscher's *Lexikon*, *s.v.* 'Agon'; Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. des Antiquités*, 1. p. 147; Reisch, in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopädie*, ed. Wissowa, *s.v.* 'Agon.'

26. 3. leaping-weights. Cp. v. 27. 12; vi. 3. 10. As to leaping-weights see Lucian, *Anacharsis*, 27; Philostratus, *De arte gymnastica*, 55; *Etymol. Magnum*, p. 71. 20 *sqq.* In the Museum at Olympia there is a leaping-weight, made of stone, with a place for the fingers to slip through, such as Pausanias describes. A pair of ancient leaping-weights, of exactly the shape described by Pausanias, was also found at Corinth some years ago. The weights are of stone, each being in the shape of an ellipse or elongated circle (as Pausanias calls it). In the diameter is a hole, with hollows on each side, through which the fingers slipped in grasping the weight. See Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1883, pp. 103-105; Schreiber, *Bilder-Atlas*, taf. xxii. No. 10. On pp. 189, 190 of the same number of the Ἐφημ. ἀρχ. is represented a leaden leaping-weight of a different shape. On a votive disc of bronze, found in Sicily, an athlete is represented holding a pair of

leaping-weights in his raised and outstretched arms. See *Gazette archéologique*, 1 (1875), pl. 35, with Fr. Lenormant's remarks, p. 130 *sq.* In later times the leaping-weights seem to have had the shape of our dumb-bells. See *Monumenti Inediti*, 5 (1851), tav. xxxiii.; Ad. Bötticher, *Olympia*,[2] p. 108 *sq.*

26. 3. **Dionysius, an Argive.** Cp. § 7 of this chapter and § 2 of the next. The sculptor is otherwise unknown. Like Glaucus (§ 2) he must have flourished soon after 467 B.C.

26. 7. **some Boeotians of Tanagra also shared in planting the colony.** Justin (xvi. 3) speaks of Heraclea Pontica as if it were a purely Boeotian colony. According to Strabo (xii. p. 542) it was a colony of Miletus.

27. 2. **Simon an Aeginetan.** As a contemporary of Gelo and Hiero, as well as of the sculptor Dionysius (see § 3 note), Simon the Aeginetan must have flourished about 488-460 B.C. Pliny (*Nat. hist.* xxxiv. 90) mentions a sculptor Simon who made figures of a dog and an archer. Cp. Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 84.

27. 3. **the Hippomanes.** The story which follows about the bronze horse of Phormis is told in substance also by Aelian (*De nat. anim.* xiv. 18) and Pliny (*Nat. hist.* xxviii. 181). On the Hippomanes, see Stephani, in *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg), 1864, p. 26 *sq.*

27. 6. **he chants the words from a book.** The book may have been the Zend Avesta, or at all events some of the hymns which were afterwards included in the Zend Avesta. See Darmesteter's introduction to his translation of the Zend Avesta, vol. 1. p. xlii.

27. 8. **Hermes carrying the ram under his arm.** See note on ix. 22. 1.

27. 8. **Calliteles.** Nothing more is known of this artist.

27. 8. **a herald's staff.** This is what the Romans called the *caduceus*. The common form of the *caduceus* is a staff surmounted by a circle, and that again by an incomplete circle, the circles being formed by two serpents intertwined. But there are a number of minor variations of form. On the various forms of the *caduceus*, see L. Preller, *Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, pp. 147-157; and cp. Gerhard, *Apulische Vasenbilder*, plates xi. and xiii.; *Monumenti Inediti*, 8. taf. ix. Sometimes the serpents which compose the *caduceus* are represented locked together in the so-called 'knot of Hercules.' See Migliarini, in *Annali dell' Instituto*, 24 (1852), pp. 105-107, with tav. d' agg. F; Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 19. 16. As to the 'knot of Hercules,' see also Pliny, *Nat. hist.* xxviii. 63; Festus, *s.v.* 'Cingulo,' p. 63, ed. Müller; Athenaeus, xi. p. 500 a. On representations of the 'knot of Hercules' in ancient art, see Stephani, in *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg), 1880, p. 32 *sqq.* From these representations it appears, as my lamented friend the late W. Robertson Smith pointed out to me, that the 'knot of Hercules' is the common 'sailor's knot.' Hence it is absurd to suggest, as Stephani does, that the Gordian knot may have been 'the knot of Hercules,' for the 'sailor's knot' is the easiest of all knots to untie. Robertson Smith suggested that the 'knot of Hercules' may

have been the knot used by the Phoenician sailors ; the name seems to point to an eastern origin.

Three ancient heralds' staves (*caducei*) are known to be in existence. They are of bronze, and all bear inscriptions. They were found in Southern Italy. See Th. Mommsen, in *Hermes*, 3 (1869), p. 298 *sq.* A figure holding a *caduceus* appears on an ancient Phrygian monument ; hence Prof. W. M. Ramsay has conjectured that the *caduceus*, "like so many other religious ideas," came to Greece from Phrygia. See *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 3 (1882), p. 9 *sq.* The *caduceus* also appears on Phoenician monuments. See Mr. Philippe Berger, in *Gazette Archéologique*, 6 (1880), p. 167 ; and for a Carthaginian monument with two *caducei* on it, see *ib.* 9 (1884), pl. 12. In classical art the *caduceus* is generally represented in the hand of Hermes, the herald of the gods ; but it is also an attribute of Iris, the messenger of the gods. For examples of Iris with the *caduceus*, see *Monumenti Inediti*, 6, pl. 58 ; *ib.* 6 and 7, pl. 66 ; *Annali dell' Instituto*, 1859, pl. G H ; *Gazette archéologique*, 10 (1884), pl. 12. On a marble cippus found near the Flaminian Way, the dog- or jackal-headed Egyptian Anubis is represented holding a *caduceus*. See *Annali dell' Instituto*, 1879, tav. d' agg. I, with the remarks of Mr. Marucchi, p. 158 *sqq.*

With regard to the meaning of the *caduceus*, it may be observed that magic virtue seems to have been ascribed to serpents intertwined. For the soothsayer Tiresias was said to have been changed from a man into a woman in consequence of seeing and wounding two snakes which he found coupling on Cyllene, the sacred mountain of Hermes, and he afterwards recovered his former sex by seeing the same snakes coupling again (Apollodorus, iii. 6. 7). At the present day people at San Demetrio in Calabria believe that a stick which has touched or killed two intertwined serpents has special virtues as an amulet (Vincenso Dorsa, *La tradizione Greco-latina negli usi e nelle credenze popolari della Calabria Citeriore*,[2] p. 141).

Intertwined serpents like those on the *caduceus* are carved on one of the rock-hewn temples of Ellora in India. See *Asiatick Researches*, vol. 6, plate facing p. 389 (8vo edition). "In the district of Kulbargá, in the Nizám of Haidarábád's territories at Wádí, there are to be found in every village slabs of limestone placed near Hindú shrines, on which are engraved rude images of two serpents entwined beneath a sun, like those on the *caduceus* of Mercury" (*Panjab Notes and Queries*, 2 (1885), § 446). In the neighbourhood of Bangalor stones carved with representations of intertwined serpents are worshipped by women. See *Indian Antiquary*, 4 (1875), p. 5, with the plate.

27. 8. **an inscription on it declares that it was dedicated by Glaucias of Rhegium** etc. This inscription has been found. It is on two fragments of grey volcanic stone, which were found in the court of the Wrestling-School (*Palaestra*) at Olympia. The inscription is mutilated ; as restored it runs :

[Γλαυκί]αι με Κάλλων γεν[εαῖ ϝ]αλεῖορ ἐποίη.
[Γλα]υκίης ὁ Λυκκίδεω
[τῶ]ι Ἑρμῇ Ῥ[η]γῖνος.

"Callon, by birth an Elean, made me for Glaucias. Glaucias of Rhegium, the son of Lyccides, (dedicated me) to Hermes." The dialect and alphabet of the first line, which forms a hexameter, are Elean; but the dialect of the two last lines is Chalcidian, and the alphabet of these two last lines is Chalcidian, modified by Ionic influence. From the palaeographical character of these lines compared with the legends on coins of Rhegium, it would seem that the inscription is to be dated between 420 and 410 B.C.

See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 271; *Archäologische Zeitung*, 36 (1878), p. 142, No. 187; Roehl, *I. G. A.* No. 536; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, No. 33; Cauer, *Delectus Inscr. Graec.*[2] No. 538; Roberts, *Greek Epigraphy*, No. 182; Collitz, *G. D. I.* No. 1169; E. Hoffmann, *Sylloge Epigram. Graec.* No. 402. As to Callon's date, see v. 25. 4 note.

27. 9. **the other of the Eretrians.** The pedestal which supported the Eretrian bull is still standing in its original position, about 32 metres east of the north-east corner of the temple of Zeus. It is about 11 feet long and is composed of two blocks of Parian marble resting on a substructure of native shell-limestone. On the upper surface of the pedestal are the marks of the four places where the feet of the bronze bull were fastened. These marks show that the bull faced southward, and was represented walking with the two feet of the left side in advance. A long narrow slit or incision at the north-east corner of the upper surface of the base probably contained a bronze tablet with inscription. On the eastern edge of the upper surface of the pedestal is the following inscription, carved in large archaic letters:

Φιλέσιος ἐποί(ε).
Ἐρετριε͂ς τõι Δί.

"Philesius made (it). The Eretrians (dedicated it) to Zeus." The inscription appears to belong to the beginning of the fifth century B.C. On the pedestal was found one of the bronze ears of the bull, in perfect preservation, weighing about 6 lbs. A few paces to the north of the pedestal was found one of the horns of the bull; lacking the point it measures about 18 inches long and weighs about 20 lbs. Both ear and horn may be seen in the Museum at Olympia.

See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 248; K. Purgold, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. p. 147; *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Tafelband 2. pl. xcii. No. 12; *Archäologische Zeitung*, 34 (1876), p. 226, Inscr. No. 31; Roehl, *I. G. A.* No. 373; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, No. 26; Roberts, *Greek Epigraphy*, No. 170; Cauer, *Delectus Inscr. Graec.*[2] No. 552; Kirchhoff, *Studien zur Geschichte des griech. Alphabets*,[4] p. 116 *sq.*; Flasch, 'Olympia,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1094.

27. 9. **will be shown in my description of Phocis.** See x. 9. 3 *sq.*

27. 10. **guilty of blood.** As to the idea that inanimate objects can incur the guilt of bloodshed, see note on i. 28. 10.

27. 11. **a bronze trophy —— for a victory over the Lacedaemonians** etc. According to Pausanias this battle was fought within the Altis itself in the reign of Agis (v. 20. 4; vi. 2. 3). Thus the war

in the course of which the battle took place was that of 401-399 B.C., which Pausanias has narrated elsewhere (v. 8. 3-5). But Xenophon, who is our chief authority for that war (*Hellenica*, iii. 2. 21-31), makes no mention of a battle in the Altis. Hence Prof. Robert conjectures that the Elean victory commemorated by the trophy in the Altis was not gained in this war at all, but that it may have been some success achieved by the Eleans in 418 B.C., when an Elean contingent of 3000 men joined the Argive army which was operating against the Lacedaemonians (Thucydides, v. 58-60). As to Pausanias's statement that a battle was fought within the Altis, Prof. Robert dismisses it on the ground that it is probably a mere unwarranted inference from the fact that the trophy stood in the Altis. See C. Robert, in *Hermes*, 23 (1888), pp. 424-429. But we have no right to reject Pausanias's express and repeated statement on such purely conjectural grounds. The silence of Xenophon as to a battle in the Altis proves little, for Pausanias may well have had access to other sources. Nor does Prof. Robert's conjecture as to the date of the victory receive any countenance from Thucydides, who mentions no encounter between the Eleans and the Lacedaemonians in 418 B.C., but on the contrary informs us that the hostile armies returned home without coming to a battle.

27. 12. **Mende, in Thrace.** This town, not to be confounded with Mende on the peninsula of Pallene, appears to be mentioned by no other writer. Cp. note on v. 26. 1.

END OF VOL. III

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